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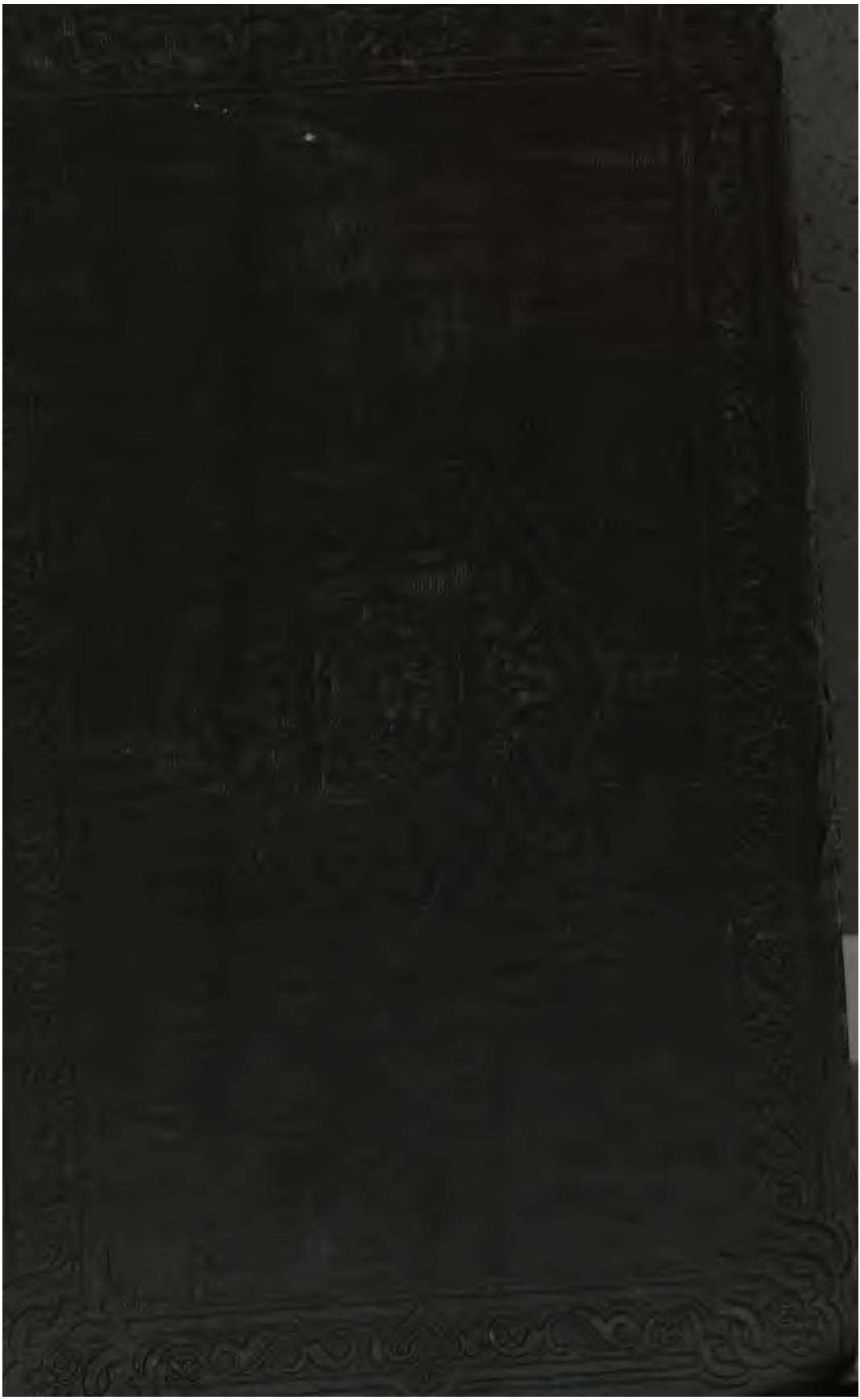

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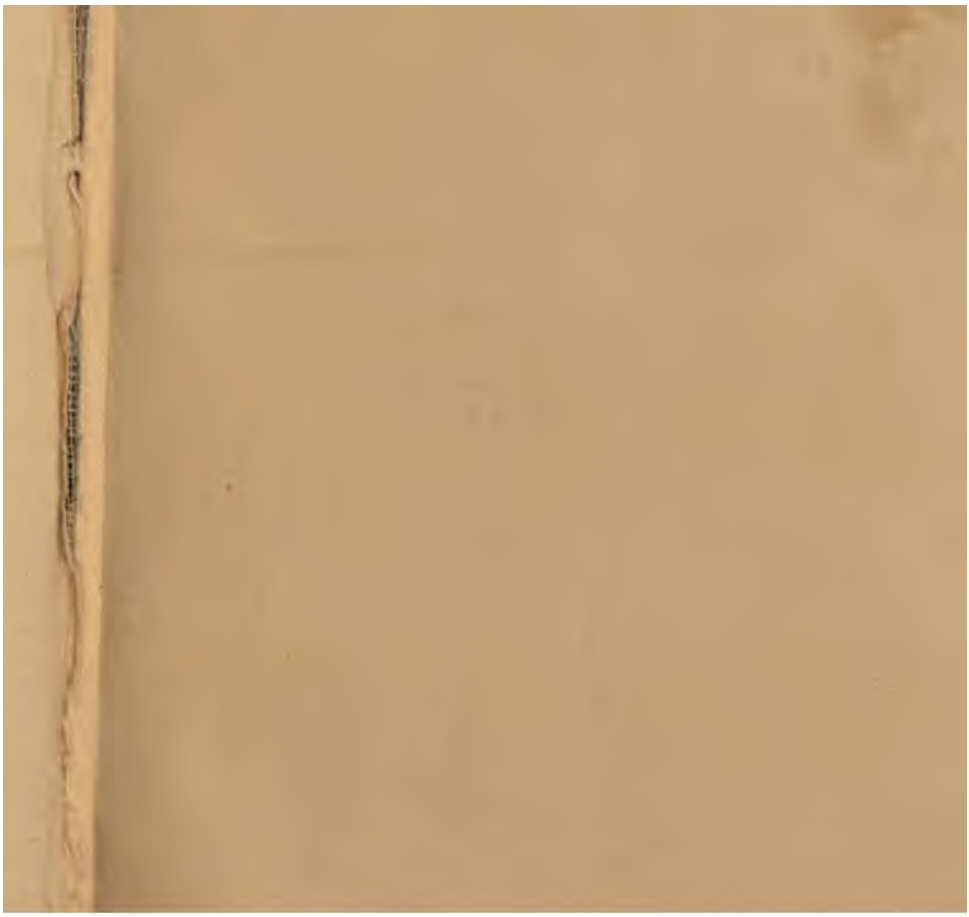

J.Bonomi del.

IBRAHIM PASCHA OF MEKKA.
Commander in Chief of the Egyptian Forces.
Ætatis suæ 40

THE

MODERN HISTORY AND CONDITION

OF

E G Y P T,

ITS CLIMATE, DISEASES, AND CAPABILITIES;

EXHIBITED IN A

PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF TRAVELS IN THAT COUNTRY:

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF

MOHAMMED ALI PASCHA,

FROM 1801 TO 1843;

INTERSPERSED

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE HISTORY,

THE FULFILMENT OF PROPHECY,

AND

THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION IN THE EAST.

BY

WILLIAM HOLT YATES, M.D.

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"L'univers est un gros livre dont celui qui n'a jamais voyagé, ressemble à quelqu'un qui n'a lu que la première page."

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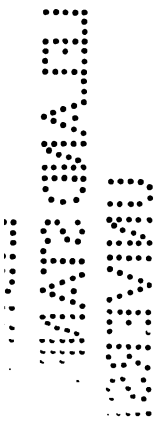

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THE

MODERN CONDITION OF EGYPT.

CHAPTER I.

THE GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT UNDER MOHAMMED ALI—HABBEB EFFENDI AND THE MAGISTRACY—STATE ETIQUETTE—THE "NUMMUD"—SALUTATIONS—PUNISHMENTS—THE BASTINADO—THE PROVINCIAL RULERS—PRESENTS—ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE—THE INTERCOURSE OF RICH AND POOR—THE BANEFUL EFFECTS OF EDUCATION WITHOUT RELIGION—THE TAX-GATHERER, THE CADI, AND THE FELLAH—THE PORTE AND THE PASCHA OF ACRIA—THE VICEROY'S PRETEXT FOR INVADING PALESTINE—TREACHERY AND INCENDIARISM—THE PROPAGANDI FIDEI, ETC.

THE Government of Egypt, like that of every other country which has no definite code of laws, but depends on the fiat of the chief ruler, is best understood by reference to well-authenticated facts. Keeping this in view, I have endeavoured throughout the whole of the first volume, to give a faithful representation of the condition of the people, that my readers might draw their own conclusions. Mo-

hammed Ali's name will be handed down to posterity, as that of an extraordinary and talented individual; and it is only by an accurate account of his proceedings, that future generations will be enabled to form a just estimate of his character. To facts, therefore, I again refer. Let us then enquire a little more particularly into the nature of the Pascha's administration. Notwithstanding the very quiet, and apparently unconcerned, manner in which business seems to be transacted in the "Hall of Audience," at Cairo, there must be a multiplicity of important matters brought under the consideration of the government functionaries in the course of the year, within those walls. It is chiefly from thence, that the edicts of the Pascha himself are issued; and that every thing connected with state affairs, and the regulation of public works, manufactories, customs and taxes, is put into form, signed, sealed, and executed. All minor transactions are left to the judgment of the respective officers, who report to the higher powers concerning the affairs of their own districts; and it is here, that all charges which are brought against them, must be refuted or substantiated, and that appeals are made. Subjects are continually brought under the notice of the Pascha's Grand Vizier, which, in Europe, would excite discussion, and take months to determine. There are disputes enough,—and knotty points too; nevertheless, there is not half the work for lawyers in the East, which there is in the West; things are managed in a much more summary way,—whether with equal impartiality, may possibly be doubtful; but no man gains his cause because he has learned to *split a straw;* nor are

there any tedious processes waiting for the consideration of a particular court, or the decision of some celebrated judge: differences are settled almost as soon as the complaint is made,—that is, when the poor are the only parties concerned; but when it refers to the rich, excuses *may be* found for delays, even in Egypt! "He who hath most gold, hath most justice!" The feelings and the judgment of the authorities require to be wound up by something like talismanic influence, before they can be put in right tune; for, as the Persians say,—"like the earth, they require Rishweh:"*—and if their interests are not *highly excited*, they certainly will not bring forth fruit. There is no doubt ample opportunity afforded for the practice of roguery, and it is sometimes carried to a very considerable extent.

After our interview with Mohammed Ali, we were introduced to Habbeb Effendi, the governor of Cairo. We found him at his "Nummud," in one of the anti-chambers of the hall;—that is to say, he was seated in the Oriental fashion, on a carpet and cushions, with a secretary or scribe at his elbow. Various other officers were in attendance, and he was in close conversation with a venerable-looking person by his side. On the floor before them, were handsome candelabra, with wax lights, writing materials, and a "nar-ghi'leh," or hook'ah. Further off, I remarked four or five individuals, who apparently were waiting for an audience with the minister; and near the door, were some Janizaries. Habbeb Effendi is now somewhat advanced in years. His beard is very grey. As a young man, he must have been good looking; but he has rather a stern and severe aspect,

* Bribery—but it means also manure.

and possesses all the deliberate calmness of the Turk. He holds a very responsible situation; and from his manner, when we saw him, he had evidently much to do; but business was for a short time suspended when we approached. He received us with politeness; and after a few general enquiries, made through an Armenian interpreter, (as usual, in Italian,) pipes and coffee were presented, and the old man leaving us to talk to his officers, excused himself, and went on with his duties,—which I was very glad of, for it gave us an opportunity of observing what passed. I was particularly struck with the rigorous etiquette which is kept up between the authorities and their inferiors. The rank of every person may be known by the seat he takes on the side carpet. This is common all over the East; and it is usual when a person enters the presence of a great man, to salute him with marked respect; but there is not the same abject humiliation among the Arabs, as we are told, exists in Persia and China. When a man approaches a superior, he bows low to the earth, just as it would seem, the brethren of the patriarch Joseph did to the governor in their day. He then remains standing until told to sit; on which he places himself in an inconvenient position on his knees, the whole weight of the body resting upon his instep. He does not presume to take a more easy posture until invited to do so *three several times;* and each invitation he fails not to acknowledge by a low inclination of the head, at the same time placing the right hand on his heart. None but the vanquished are required to touch the ground with the head, as in some countries;* but they kiss the hand or beard, and apply it to their forehead. This has been called the

* Vide Psalm lxxii. 9. and Isaiah xlix. 23.

"kiss of homage," or the "kiss of majesty,"—and frequent allusion is made to it in the scriptures.* It is very common for a person to press the end of your garment to his lips, in token of humility or gratitude; or when he is desirous of conciliating your good offices. This has often occurred to myself, when attending upon the sick; but the most general salutation consists in simply bending the body to the earth; and when seated on the bended knees, in frequently bowing the head, and touching the turban with the points of the open palm, especially when spoken to. It is very graceful and beautiful. We had many opportunities of observing this whilst reclining at our ease in the presence of the governor, who was applied to, in common with other dignitaries, by a variety of persons while we stayed, concerning public affairs. Many functionaries came and went; and numerous papers were presented to him; some of which he glanced at, and laid aside for further examination; to others he applied his seal, i. e., his ring, dipping it in a kind of blue ink, not wax:† then he would make a few

* Consult Psalm ii. 12.—1 Sam. x. 1.—2 Sam. xx. 9.—Job vii. 19.—xxxi. 26, 27.—Luke vii. 38.—Matt. v. 47.

† Signet or seal-rings have been in common use from the earliest period. Many specimens have been found among the ruins, and they do not appear to have differed from those described in the Bible, and which are employed in the present day. They consisted of coloured glass, agate, or cornelian, set in gold, silver, brass, or polished iron. Among the Egyptians, the impression was hieroglyphic; but in more modern times, a motto extracted from the Bible, or Khoran, has been substituted. It is seldom that wax is now used; the moistened finger being first applied to the paper, the seal, over which a little blue ink has been gently rubbed, is pressed upon it. Formerly, as now, the application of the seal to any document, was regarded as the personal acknowledgment of the owner, and was respected among men. It was no uncommon thing to stamp the slaves on the forehead with the name or symbolic character adopted by the owner. (Ezek. ix. 4.—Jer. xxii. 24—Rev. vii. 3.—xiv. 9.—ix. 4.) When Pharaoh invested Joseph with power, and when Ahasuerus exalted his servant Haman, confidence was displayed by the presentation of the sovereign's ring. In like manner, we read that "Jezebel wrote letters in Ahab's name, and

enquiries, whisper to one of the scribes, return the salutation of some stranger about to withdraw from his presence—indulge in a few whiffs at his pipe, or sip coffee, whilst he lent his ear to a person in authority, who, having taken his seat near him on the edge of the carpet, related to him, in an under tone of voice, something of consequence. Every thing seemed to be conducted in a systematic, orderly way; and if we can only suppose the magistrate to be a just and good man, (and I have no reason to doubt the fact,) a great deal of important business might be transacted in a very short time. The strictest silence was observed, although the door was occasionally opened by the government officers, and various individuals were admitted. In fact, this audience chamber precisely coincides with the "Defter-Kh'aneh" of the Persians, a sort of justice hall, in which the Grand Vizier sits in the morning, in precisely the same way, for the dispatch of business, surrounded by Mirzas, Mollâhs, Kháns, Ket-khódas, peasants and couriers from all nations,—answering one, dictating to another, writing himself, giving abuse to a fourth, and ordering the bastinado to a fifth!

The bastinado seems to have been in vogue in the days of the Hebrew bondage;* and the inhabitants of Egypt have not been able to do without it since: the Moslems adopted it; and finding it to be so very efficacious, have declared that "the *stick* came down from heaven, a blessing from God!" It has certainly not been dispensed with a *sparing* hand; many take merit to themselves for the address with which they contrive

sealed them with his seal." Vide 1 Kings xxi. 8.—Gen. xli. 42.—Esther iii. 10, 12.—Job xxxviii. 14.—and Cantic. viii. 6.

* Exodus, v. 14.

to evade the taxes, and rather glory in being able to exhibit marks of the scourgings to which they have at various times been condemned; nor are the minor authorities ashamed of such stripes, provided only they can extort money from their inferiors by similar means. The Jews used to beat their prisoners with ropes' ends and leather thongs, as well as with rods, and twigs taken from the branches of trees; and they were wont to repeat passages of Scripture whilst the castigation was proceeding, as a salutary lesson to the offender. * The bastinado is not peculiar to Egypt; it is the penalty enforced by most Oriental nations, especially when it is known that the transgressor is not in a condition to be fined. The man being thrown on his back, the feet are suspended in the air by means of a pole and a loop of strong cord; a stick or thong of leather is then briskly applied to the bare soles,—sometimes to the outer sides of the knees; but no constitution can hold out long against that. In Egypt, the instrument is called a "Koorbasch," or "Koorbad'j;" it consists of a large tendon, or a portion of the hide of the hippopotamus, or buffalo.

It is questionable whether such inflictions ever do any good; they may intimidate a few; but it does not appear that they diminish crime; the more hardened ruffians are seldom to be diverted from vicious courses by corporeal punishments; whereas the innocent often suffer for the guilty, and become the victims of cruelty and barbarism: there are many cases on record of persons being bastinadoed to death,—or, which is the same thing, dying of the fever which the severity of such torture has produced; and it is by no means

* See Deut. xxviii. 58.—xxix. 9.—Psalm lxxviii. 38.—Matt. x. 17.—2 Samuel iii. 34.—Acts xvi. 22.

uncommon for individuals to be rendered lame for life.*

The bastinado is frequently employed, indirectly if not directly, as the means of extorting money, or of satiating revenge. In Egypt, for instance, the authorities are always desirous of cultivating the acquaintance of Franks, and particularly of the English. Accordingly, if, after the extreme heat of the day, when seated at their ease in their delightful Kiosks on the Nile, they catch a glimpse of an European cand'gia, (at all times distinguishable by its colours and manner of sailing), they immediately send an officer down to the river side to await its arrival; and ascertaining the rank and country of the travellers, lose no time in forwarding a handsome present with many compliments, and a request to know whether it is in the power of the governor to render them any service. The present is of course accepted, or it would be taken amiss; it is duly acknowledged, and a message returned, announcing the intention of the Franks to thank the Agah, Kiascheff, or whatever he may be, in person. A visit is then paid, and perhaps returned by the governor, who, at all events, expects a donation of *at least* double the value of that received, and sometimes does not hesitate to ask for European articles, a brace of English pistols, an English watch, a telescope, or some other similar *trifle*. I would therefore caution

* Mr. Maddox informs us, that in April, 1824, in consequence of the Pascha's exactions, many of the Arabs revolted, which gave rise to terrific slaughtering. At Thebes, "three Arabs were shot from the cannon's mouth at once, and their scattered limbs thrown into the Nile." "Another Arab was bastinadoed nearly to death, and then flung down the tank, where a Turkish soldier, seeing he was not quite dead, slipped a cord round his neck, set his foot on his head, and pulling the noose tight, strangled him, and threw him into the river." "Four Scheikhs were also bastinadoed to death by the Pascha's order, at Gamouli and Hamámdi,"—i. e. near Ghéneh.—Excursions in the Holy Land, &c., vol. ii. pages 23, 29.

every traveller to put all such *trifles* out of sight. Should they then be inquired for, it is easy to apologize, expressing our regret that we have not any at his service, offer him an amber mouth-piece for his pipe, or some India muslin for a turban,—or if the "present-box" is empty, and the compliment really *cannot* be returned in kind, give him some money; he will not be offended: for we may rest assured it is all profit, and a very pleasant sort of taxation for him to levy upon those who pass through his district. The gifts of these "dispensers of *justice*," usually consist of live stock,—two, three, or more sheep, according to the supposed rank of the traveller; but these are not sent at his own cost; they are generally *borrowed*, or taken by force from any one of the villagers who happens to have them; and it may be, that the person sent to obtain them, takes one extra for himself, on his master's account; but provided they are obtained, the latter cares nothing about that. It is of no use for the poor Fellah to remonstrate,—he would only call forth the governor's resentment; and the utmost that he might hope to elicit would be a *promise* of payment, which however he knows too well from past experience, will never be fulfilled. Should he be rash enough to make a great *talk* about the matter, even among his friends, and deplore the loss of his property, (for not unfrequently the unfortunate man is deprived of nearly all that he has, and by the sale of which at the proper season, he had possibly calculated on procuring the means of subsistence during the next quarter), woe be unto him, if there be any arrears of taxes due, or defalcation in regard to other money transactions in the district; and hard will be his fate should his manhood get the better of his resolution,

and he be tempted to resent an injury. It is not unlikely that some pampered menial may even be set on to provoke him to anger, on purpose to induce him to do that which would afford a pretext to his enemies to impose a fine, which, should he neglect to pay, he will assuredly endure the penalty of the "*Koorbasch*;" and in proportion as he may have braved the governor's insolence and power—so may he expect to experience mercy at his hands. This species of extortion is very common, and when a "Scheikh el Bellad" (the chief of a village), has sent me down a couple of sheep, as an overture of friendship, I have always suspected that I was receiving that which had been unjustly obtained; yet I had no means of ascertaining the fact, or of restoring them to their rightful owner.

This is at all times a painful reflection; and it is one of the disagreeables that the Oriental traveller may expect to meet with. We have a beautiful illustration of the same thing in the 12th chap. of the 2nd Book of Samuel, where Nathan reproves David by relating to him a similar act of tyranny on the part of a rich man who had "exceeding many flocks and herds," yet when he was visited by a traveller, "spared to take of the fatlings of his own flocks, but sent and deprived the poor man of a favourite pet lamb, which was all that he had, and which he had nourished and brought up with his children." There is not a more beautiful story than this in the whole of the sacred writings, or one that is more illustrative of the oppression that exists in despotic countries.

It happened at Thebes, that Hassan Bey, the Governor of Khenèh, took possession of the two ferry-boats for himself and attendants, in order to return

home after an excursion of pleasure in that neighbourhood. The boatmen were compelled to give their services; nor did they venture to complain, at least in the hearing of the Pascha's people, although they received nothing for their labours, neglected their families which depended on their industry for subsistence; and after being detained three days, under false pretences, were sent back without receiving even "Backscheesh." Still they dared not rebel, or they too would have experienced the sting of the "Koorbasch" at no very distant period, if they did not even expiate their crime on the spot!

Such is the injustice of these provincial rulers, that in expectation of a handsome present from European travellers, they would punish any poor Arab who might be brought before them as an offender, however innocent he might be, without hearing a word he had to say, provided only his accusers were Franks of sufficient rank and substance to be worth obliging. It is, and always has been, a common practice in the East, when one person wishes to ask a favor of another, more especially of a superior, to send a present before hand; and in proportion to the consequence of the party, and the value of the present received, so may he expect to obtain the assistance required. Of course, due allowance is always made for the condition of the petitioner, but something *must be* offered as an acknowledgment of the obligation. It is usual with kings and princes, to make a great display of their gifts; they cause them to be paraded on the backs of horses, amid the discharges of musketry and the shouts of the multitude, whether they be free-will offerings, offerings of tribute, conciliation, gratitude, or friendship,—(such as provisions in time of need, which great

men always expect), and they are for the most part, numerous and costly.* When the request to be made is more a matter of civility between equals, than a thing of absolute importance, the custom is still adhered to, for the sake of courtesy; but then it is not so much the intrinsic value of the gift which is thought of, as the respect which it is intended to convey;—a shawl, or a basket of fruit or flowers, would have its effect; and travellers would do well to provide themselves with a stock of articles to distribute to the native chiefs and scheikhs.† We are told of a celebrated poet named Cufáh dying possessed of 500 turbans, besides suits of clothes and other things which had been given him at various times. The visits of Orientals are often of long duration; it is no uncommon thing for whole families to take up their abode at each others' houses for several days, and even weeks; in which case, they carry with them presents of food and linen, at least sufficient for their own use.

On birth-days, and on certain religious festivals, the inhabitants of Germany and other parts of Europe, are wont to confer upon their relations and intimate friends, some trifling mark of their affection and regard, though it consist in nothing more than the offer of a few bons-bons, with an appropriate inscription. The greatest sociality and good feeling exist on such occasions; all petty bickerings and accidental disputes are for the time forgotten, or finally settled, and harmony is again restored. Moreover, it is very common, particularly in Switzerland and Italy, for the junior

* Gen. xlv. 22.—1 Sam. xii. 3.—Numb. xvi. 15.—Psalm lxxii. 10.—2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29.—1 Sam. x. 27.—Judges viii. 5—17.

† Job xxvii. 16.

branches of the peasantry to assemble at an early hour, around the door of their benefactors on the anniversary of some memorable event, and greet them with expressive songs, bouquêts, and garlands of flowers, appropriately selected and arranged. The same compliment is paid to a bride on the morning of her marriage; and there is little doubt that the participators in this delightful and truly classic custom, at the moment that they advance to kiss the hand of the individual whom they design to honour, and who deigns to receive from each in person, this simple token of attachment, are conscious of more real happiness than words are able to express. If, however, in consequence of any misdemeanor, such token were refused in any one instance, it is obvious that the disgrace attending so painful a circumstance, would serve as a warning to others, and make a salutary impression on the minds of all.

Much good therefore is to be derived from this amiable association of the rich with the poor; it goes very far towards the promotion and encouragement of virtue; and it is much to be regretted that in England, where there is so much charity and kindness, some of these good old customs are gradually dwindling away to nothing; for the present state of society seems almost to preclude so friendly an interchange of feeling between the different ranks; and, except in particular districts,—the poor, in consequence of the "march of intellect," a mania for politics, the baneful influence of immoral publications, and apparently a want of confidence in their superiors, have almost learned to be ashamed of their once native simplicity. In proportion as the nobles of any country reside on their estates, so are they likely to insure the respect and

good will of their tenants, who naturally attach themselves to those who afford them protection and example, and whose good qualities they have learned to discover and appreciate.

It is here, as among the Arabs,—a certain degree of condescension on the part of the great, so far from compromising their dignity, or undermining their authority, not only inspires their dependents with confidence, but is sure to endear them to their hearts. In despotic countries, however, and in none perhaps more than in Egypt, the poor man has nothing to expect from his superiors, but hard knocks and abuse; for he has no money, alas! for the oppressor to take away, and therefore he is compelled to work for him in order to obtain a daily subsistence. He is in constant dread of the bastinado, if he unfortunately look more plump than his neighbours, or wear a better shirt; because he would then become a fit object for the tax-gatherer, who, having a certain sum to make up, compels those to pay who seem able to pay, and it is a very common thing for the poor to live among the rubbish of the town, let their children run about naked, and clothe themselves in rags, in order to avoid suspicion and escape his clutches; although they may have corn and money buried in the sand, sufficient to supply the emergencies of the times. I am afraid a man would have little chance of obtaining redress for any grievance, without first sending a present to the Cadi, or magistrate; for, "Every one's teeth are blunted by acids except the Cadi's, which are by sweets;—and the Cadi who takes five cucumbers as a bribe, will admit any evidence for ten beds of melons."*

There is something very beautiful in the interchange

* Persian Proverb.

of presents, when the practice is held sacred to friendship and love; but the moment it is adopted as a mere matter of expediency, the whole illusion is lost, every honorable association is destroyed, and the most virtuous feeling degenerates into meanness. As an Oriental custom, it is so commonly had recourse to, that a different view is taken of it altogether: persons understand one another pretty well, and do not regard it as a matter of serious or religious importance, the breach of which would argue a want of sincerity or principle; and accordingly, between individuals of equal rank, who are commonly jealous of each other's power, a valuable present may prove to be a cloak for the basest hypocrisy and deceit; and by the aid of such treachery, many a man has fallen a victim to the sword, or the cup, at a time perhaps when he thought himself most secure. The death of Eglon, King of Moab,* affords a striking instance of this; and many others of a similar nature might be cited as occurring in modern times. Presents are nevertheless often intended to be regarded as peace-offerings, and an earnest of veneration and homage; as in the case of the Wise Men who journeyed from the East in quest of the Infant Jesus; for when they beheld the Saviour of mankind, they not only "fell down and worshipped Him," but when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto Him gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh."†

Presents are still interchanged by European and Oriental nations, as a covenant, or as terms of agreement, and as a bond of union; though frequently, in modern, as in ancient times, such overtures are rather

* Judges iii. 18, et seq.—See Vol. I. page 412.

† Matthew ii. 11.—1 Sam. ix. 7.—1 Kings x. 1.—xiv. 3.—Psalms lxxii. 10.

to be considered as political schemes than as a proof of friendship. Compacts and covenants were made in the early ages by various tokens or symbols, which were invariably held sacred by the parties concerned, just as in the present day, the "breaking of bread," or "the eating of salt," is revered among the Arabs, and "taking the bust," i. e. claiming the sanctuary of the king's stable, or the shrine of a saint, is respected by other nations. The interchange of gifts has bound or betrothed many individuals to each other, even in England, and on all great occasions, some pledge of fidelity has been given and required. Thus soldiers swear by the crossing of swords; formerly they would dip the point of the sword in the blood of him whose death they vowed to avenge, or they would smear some of their own blood on their daggers, and write with it in token of their zeal. Instances are recorded of men binding one another in the same cause, by each licking up a little of his friend's blood purposely shed; they would join hands, divide a garment, or exchange girdles; and this is alluded to by Zenophon and Tacitus, as well as by the sacred writers.*

Presents were often had recourse to as means of reconciliation: thus when Jacob was returning to his native land, he went forth to meet his brother Esau, taking with him a valuable peace-offering. During the prevalence of the great famine in Egypt, when Jacob sent his sons to buy corn, he desired them to take the governor who had *spoken roughly*, "a present, a little balm, (i. e. the balm of Gilead, a thing of great price and highly esteemed), and a little

* Vide 2 Kings xviii. 31.—1 Sam. xviii. 3, 4.—Gen. xviii. 10.—xv. 10.—Jer. xxiv. 18.—Lev. ii. 13.—Prov. xi. 21.

honey, spices and myrrh, nuts and almonds:"—and a similar instance is related of Abigail, when David was wandering in the wilderness of Paran.* But although we should endeavour to be reconciled to our neighbour, it is bad policy to purchase peace from an *oppressor* by means of presents; for it is obviously holding out an inducement to further extortion. Even Lady Hester Stanhope felt the inconvenience of her liberality to the authorities in the country where she resided. On her first arrival she found it necessary, in order to obtain the protection of the Arab Scheikhs, and the civility of others, to make them frequent presents: but in proportion as she discontinued the practice, so was she compelled to endure a variety of inconveniences which she had previously avoided, and which, though they were not of such a nature perhaps as to expose her life to any risk, tended, nevertheless, greatly to disturb her peace of mind.

If then the rich stranger is liable to the exactions of these crafty rulers, who, situated at a distance from the Porte, are not overlooked, and have it in their power to abuse the authority with which they have been invested, it is not surprising that the poor Fellah should feel the scourge of their avarice; for the heads of the government are too much occupied with state affairs to trouble themselves about the outrageous caprices of their officers: they set them a bad example, and encourage them to exact as much as they can from the people by a promise of reward. Thus, when the Porte was in difficulties, — because the Pascha of Damascus contrived to send greater supplies to Constantinople than Abd'allah, Pascha of

* Genesis xxxii. 14; xlii. 1; xliii. 11. 1 Sam. xxv. 11—18.

Acria, the district of Jerusalem, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea, was taken away from the one and given to the other: whereas circumstances have since proved, that it would have been better policy for Mahmoud to have strengthened the Egyptian frontier, by ingratiating himself with the inhabitants, by adopting lenient measures, by encouraging new settlers, by scrutinizing the conduct of Abd'allah, whom he knew to be a pusillanimous, wasted debauchee, and instead of draining the resources of the country, to have done everything in his power to have protected the people from avarice and injustice, and from the over-reaching extravagances of Mohammed Ali, who, it was evident, was only waiting his time and opportunity to assert his independence.

When I was in Egypt, the continued exactions of the Pascha and his subalterns induced great numbers of the Arabs to quit the country, and enter Palestine by El Arisch. They settled among the mountains of Judea, and threw themselves upon the protection of the Pascha of Acria, and therefore of the Sultan. As soon as the Viceroy of Egypt was informed of the fact, he sent to Acria, and demanded that these families should be sent back. Abd'allah refused to interfere, replying very properly, that if they chose to settle in his dominions, he could have no objection; and that as long as they conducted themselves well, he considered himself justified in letting them remain. Poor creatures! I doubt whether they would better their condition very much; but as they could not well be worse off, any change was desirable. I afterwards fell in with some of these people in the hill country of Samaria. I found them living among the woods of Naplous, enduring great privations; and at the time,

in the most frightful suspense, as they could not tell what the intentions of Abd'allah might be concerning them,—how they might fare if they were compelled to return, or what kind of reception they might expect from the native tribes if they remained; and lastly, if they did remain, what they should do to support their families. Here then was an opportunity for the Sultan to have interfered. Had due encouragement been given, hundreds would have followed the example of these individuals, and emigrated to Palestine; by which the cause of Mahmoud would have been strengthened, at the same time that the power of Mohammed Ali was diminished: the resources of Egypt would have rapidly failed, and the ambitious schemes of the Viceroy would have fallen to the ground. Instead, however, of Abd'allah Pascha communicating with the Sultan on the subject, as a faithful and wise officer would have done, he satisfied himself by simple non-interference: the new comers were left to starve in the woods, and their reception gave no encouragement to the desertion of others. I mentioned in a former chapter, that many of them fell into the clutches of the Defterdar Bey, and were barbarously murdered.

Mohammed Ali being thus allowed to take his own measures, he issued a proclamation that "No Arab should quit the country at all, without a 'Teskereh' or pass, under pain of death."* He then made this subject a pretext for a war with Abd'allah, who was soon

* Wishing to take an Arab with me to Palestine, about this time, I encountered great difficulties. Being a Frank, I obtained permission, at last, through the medium of the British Consul, and in consideration that the man was well known to the authorities to have a wife and family in Egypt,—which was regarded as sufficient guarantee for his return.

taken prisoner; the fortress of Acria was stormed by Ibrahim; and by degrees, as I have stated, the whole of Syria was besieged. In vain did the Sultan then endeavour to bring the Pascha to account. The Ottoman and Egyptian fleets were continually cruizing within sight of each other, without engaging, and the facts to which I have already alluded, proved that Mahmoud was the dupe of his own servants; and at last, his whole fleet was betrayed into the hands of the Viceroy. Treachery had also been at work in the Egyptian camp; for in 1834, Idris Bey, and Hussein Bey, colonels, and Selim Bey, general of brigade, besides several majors, captains, and lieutenants, took, as the saying is, French leave, and left Mohammed Ali to fight his own battles. A little before, Osman Pascha, Admiral of the Fleet, did the same; but on arriving at Constantinople, died *suddenly!* About the same time, the ship "Mansoura" (104 guns), was set on fire by a Turk from the Bosphorus, and had he not been arrested, in half an hour longer, the whole of the dock-yard would have been in flames. It was not to be imagined that so serious a disaster would be lightly borne by Mohammed Ali. He declared that such an event could not have transpired without great neglect on the part of the watch, and the connivance of certain individuals on board. A most rigorous investigation took place; and although nothing was proved, he deemed it expedient to make a lasting impression on the marine. Accordingly, the captain and his lieutenant were sent to the gallies for life; and nine of the crew were shot, in parties of three, as an example to others,—the poor fellows persisting in their innocence to the last! The Turk who was the actual perpetrator of the deed, was impaled.

On the 21st of June, 1838, a most destructive fire broke out at Cairo, which was also the work of an incendiary. The soldiers, who were evidently disaffected, set forth very coolly, that "they were only the houses of the Giaours that were burning." They not only did not attempt to extinguish the flames, but carried lighted brands into other buildings under various pretences, and the Turkish officers shewed the greatest indifference in the matter; until Achmed Pascha swore he would have some of them thrown into the flames, if the fire reached the Pascha's cotton warehouses. The monks of the Convent of the "Propaganda Fidei" evinced great resolution; and when the soldiers offered their assistance, they pelted them with stones. "These are brave chaps, these Dervishes," said the flying Turks, "we must leave them quiet."

CHAPTER II.

THE INTELLECTUAL CONDITION OF EGYPT — "THE LEARNED PROFESSIONS:" THEOLOGIANS—THE OTTOMAN MINISTRY—MOHAMMED ALI'S JURISDICTION IN SYRIA—THE SULTAN AND THE MOUNTAINEERS: —IN WHAT WAY THE COUNTRY MAY BE CIVILIZED: ITS CLIMATE, DISEASES, AND RESOURCES — THE JEWS: THEIR LANGUAGE, CHARACTER AND ATTRIBUTES: THEIR CONDITION IN THE LEVANT, AND RECENT PERSECUTIONS:—INTERPOSITION OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS IN THEIR BEHALF—SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE: HIS INTERVIEW WITH THE SULTAN —FULFILMENT OF PROPHECY—THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL—THE PROTESTANT FAITH—THE ORTHODOX CHURCH — ENGLISH AND AMERICAN MISSIONARIES — THE CONVENTS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE—DEATH OF MR. BRADFORD—TALMUDIC PROPHECY, ETC.

THE modern Egyptians are for the most part, illiterate. Education, in the general acceptation of the term, is confined within very narrow limits. It is not considered necessary that a person should speak any language but his own. Scientific pursuits are almost unheard of; and he who is able to write with ease, and read the Khoran, is considered a learned man. A rigid Mussulmaun thinks it a sin to peruse any other

book. According to Mr. Sale, the title of the sacred volume is derived from the Arabic verb "Káraa," to read; and signifies properly *the reading;* or rather *that which ought to be read;*—but the more pious put a still wider interpretation upon it, and assert that "no other book *should be read,*"—and to this they adhere most scrupulously. The store of knowledge requisite for those who are designed for either of the "learned professions" is not very great. I have already said enough about the doctors, the lawyers, and the scribes; these three are occasionally united in the same person. I have also spoken of the theologians: their reasoning powers are not always the most brilliant; and their reading is neither extensive nor deep; their prejudices are considerable; and as the works which are to be found at the "Meddresséhs" or colleges, are, with few exceptions, Mohammedan productions, there is little chance of their principles being *contaminated,*—if even they should be tempted to look at them. Sects do nevertheless exist; and when controversies arise, they are not usually conducted with the best feeling: the most bitter animosity is displayed on both sides; and very often, fanaticism bordering on insanity. The mos'ques are generally well endowed; deficiencies are supplied by rates, and not unfrequently, rich bequests are made by the penitent with a view of purchasing admission into Paradise. There is, on the whole, a great deal of fervour and sincerity on the part of the dervishes or priests; and though deficient in knowledge, there are many well conducted and exemplary characters among them. As regards the higher functionaries of the land, they receive, or ought to receive, their appointments from those above them,—just in the same way as in Constantinople, and other parts of

the Ottoman Empire, where the Scheikh ul Islam or Mouftj, ranks supreme, and has it in his power to influence even the Grand Seigneur himself. He only can issue a fethwa, and declare peace or war. He and the Grand Vizier are regarded as the two first subjects in the realm: the one taking cognizance of spiritual, the other of temporal matters; though the former has a voice in both. Every imperial mos'que has a college attached to it: and none can belong to the Ulemah, who have not obtained a degree at one of these from the "Muderis" or professors. The chief of the Ulemah or magistracy, next in order to the Mouftj, are the Cazi-askérs of Roumelia and Anatolia; they hold the rank of Chief Justice.

The Mollahs are divided into four classes, according to their respective jurisdictions:—these are the Cadjs or judges in ordinary, to whom application is made on a great diversity of matters, whenever there is any question or dispute, either in regard to individuals, or the minor affairs of government; and according to the importance of the subject, so do they take the responsibility upon themselves, or refer it to their superiors in office for decision. In conformity with the "Tewd'jihh-Fermanj,"—or grant conferred upon the higher orders of the Mollah,—the royal ordinances, and decrees, state-papers, proclamations, and warrants, and even the Sultan's signature, (a most elaborate affair) are prepared by them for distribution, which being matters of great consequence, the strictest secresy is required, and of course the post is one of great honour.* On

* It is not easy to give a satisfactory interpretation of technical terms. A competent knowledge of the prevailing customs must be pre-supposed. In the East, the thing granted is often called by the same name as the thing implied. Thus, when a person states that he has got a "Firmaun," or a "Teskerêh," he

the other hand, the Grand Vizier holds his divan at the palace, three times a-week, to administer to the affairs of state,—assisted by his Kiaya Bey, or lieutenant, and the Reis-Effendi or prime minister, who is in possession of all the government secrets, and has the entire management of foreign affairs; the Defterdar Bey, or minister of Finance, and various other officers. The Grand Vizier being also general-en-chêf has often occasion to absent himself. His excellency then appoints a person to act for him, who takes the title of Qy'machám. The various Paschas and Beys form the executive, and are responsible for the districts which they command.* Accordingly, every district-governor in Egypt may be regarded as a despotic monarch in a small way: he makes his own laws, alters them to suit the emergency of the occasion, and changes them again when they have answered the end desired. All he has to do to retain his power and secure the favor of the Viceroy, is, to send as much money as he can to the treasury, and prove himself ready at all times, to do his master's bidding. In order to accomplish this, he must necessarily be arbitrary, not to say *tyrannical:* he has his officers under him, and they too command their subordinates, who are not very tender-hearted, being obliged, in self defence, to furnish the supplies of men and money, and ascertain the exact capabilities of

means simply, that he has obtained the Royal assent, or the sanction of those in office. In like manner, the designation of the patent or grant by which a great functionary is empowered to do a thing, is often applied to the thing done, authorized, or commanded: it is in fact, only another title for the same object, the particulars of the order being always specified in each document.

* For further information on this subject, consult D'Ohsson's "Tableau General de l'Egypte."—"Ceremonies et Coutumes Religieuses de tous les peuples du Monde," par Bernard Picart:—an excellent work by Charles Pertusier, attaché of the French Embassy, entitled "Promenades Pittoresques dans Constantinople;" and another, by M. Grassi, entitled, "Charte Turque, ou Organisation Religieuse Civile et Militaire de L'Empire Ottoman."

the neighbourhood in which they dwell. I have already touched upon these points, and I proceed now to a further illustration of the subject. It has been asserted that Egypt is in a better condition than when Mohammed Ali first became Viceroy. I have endeavoured to shew that in one sense, this is true. Fanaticism has diminished, and the foundation is laid for the propagation of Christianity and civilization; but I have also demonstrated, I think, that the means adopted caused a reckless sacrifice of human life; whereas the same amount of good might have been accomplished by a different policy; and that the Israelites during the term of their Egyptian bondage, were not more wretched than the Sais Arabs under their present ambitious task-master. A very little reflection might have convinced the Pascha that the European Powers would not sanction his views concerning Syria, for this plain reason:—he cultivated the friendship of France: he suffered himself to be guided *entirely* by her, and set a higher value upon her as a nation than was just. He imagined things rather as he wished them to be, than as they really were: he was deceived by the gasconading plausibilities of the people about him, and entirely overlooked the important fact, that after all, the chief question for Europe to consider, would be, "the balance of power in the Mediterranean." Until lately, the predilection of the Viceroy for every thing French was evident. England was least of all appreciated; he regarded her with a jaundiced eye: her honest friendship was not understood, and he altogether slighted the advice which he continually received from her envoys, like a spoiled child who quarrels with his nurse, because she opposes his vagaries, for his own good! If the English had not taken

the matter up, he would have got the better of the Ottoman Porte, and British influence in the Levant would have fallen, in proportion as that of our neighbours rose. But the eyes of the Pascha being once opened to his true interests, he will, I trust, go hand in hand with us in commerce; and Egypt being the high road to our East India possessions, it will be his own fault if she do not become the connecting link in the chain of civilization and prosperity. In the course of a little time, he will forget his disappointment; he has quite enough to divert his attention, and so has the Sultan; for the mountains in Syria have long since fallen into a complete state of anarchy and confusion; the various war-like tribes that inhabit them, wishing to rid themselves of all sort of restraint, and to recover the state of wild freedom to do mischief which they were in before Mohammed Ali stopped their intestine broils.

When I was in Syria, I was exposed to every variety of insult. I had the Firmaun of the Porte in my pocket; but I am satisfied that if I had produced it, it would have been torn up before my face. The mountaineers, although nominally under the Pascha of the district, generally obey none but their own chiefs; they pay the stipulated tribute, because they find it convenient to keep on good terms with the reigning power—call it by whatever name we please; but they laugh at it. The character of these people is very different from that of the modern Egyptians: they are a much more hardy race: their pursuits render them bold and intrepid, independent, and less tractable; consequently they require to be ruled with firmness, and even rigour. The Arabs of the Nile do not stand in need of severity; they are quite sensible to

kindness, and may be led. The same measures are therefore not called for in the two countries. Mohamed Ali managed the Syrians better than Mahmoud, because his very name was a terror, and he had always a large army at hand, headed by his son, to enforce his authority if necessary; which intimidated the inhabitants, and kept the Paschas and the Scheikhs in check. But, whether Turk or Egyptian have the ascendancy, matters not; no good will be done, as long as extortion and oppression are permitted. Could the natives have a good example shewn them,—by degrees, they would give up their savage propensities, and learn to appreciate the arts of peace. But if left to themselves, or ruled solely by Turks and Albanians, whose cupidity and violence know no bounds, we cannot expect them to become civilized: they may submit for a season, but they are too brave to endure the over-bearing, marauding spirit of the Ottoman soldiery, which was restrained by the presence of an European force upon the coast, but immediately on its departure, broke forth with all its wonted ferocity; and we have since heard of nothing but revolt, bloodshed, and rapine. It will always be in the power of Mohammed Ali to annoy his master, by secretly stirring up rebellion, as he has hitherto done in Turkey. It would therefore be to the interest of the Sultan to encourage settlers from other parts,—and especially Europeans. His turbulent subjects would then be over-awed by numbers, and the country would become quiet: large tracts of land now running to waste, would be cultivated, and the manufactures would flourish.

Mahmoud might have done this years ago, when there was a disposition on the part of the Egyptians

to desert, and settle down with Abd'allah Pascha. By so doing, he might possibly have prevented the late war. One would have thought that an intelligent man like the late Sultan, who always viewed the proceedings of his ambitious Viceroy with suspicion, if not with jealousy, would have kept a more watchful eye on what was going on, and have lost no time in visiting and in strengthening his dominions in that quarter,—if not by these means, at all events, by augmenting the garrison at St. Jean d'Acre, and other places on the coast; by having his spies and cruisers on the alert in the Levant; and by substituting a shrewd, experienced, and trustworthy man (if such an one could be found), who was attached to his interest, for the enervated Abd'allah, who had neither the will nor the courage to serve him, and employed his time in drunkenness and riot. But such things were not to be; and perhaps it is better for the cause of civilization, that the Turkish Empire should be regulated by Europeans. There can be no improvement on the old system. It requires a very enlightened, and a very wise and discreet government to keep so large a territory in order. The people have been long accustomed to arbitrary measures, and except where they have an opportunity of beholding their sovereign, they have no good feeling towards him.

I conceive that the best, perhaps the only way, to promote the peace of Syria, would be to amalgamate the natives with Europeans. What a happy thing it would be if the Ottoman ministers could see this! Again; it is very important for England to strengthen her influence in that quarter. Instead therefore of sending so many of our countrymen to Australia and Canada, I would hold out inducements to some of

them to settle in Asia Minor, Palestine, and Syria. The Scottish Highlanders are peculiarly adapted to these countries. So are the Jews; and although, as a body, the latter have never distinguished themselves much in literature or science, they have many excellent qualities when properly understood. Hitherto the Jews have not had a fair chance, and they are, generally speaking, uneducated. They have been universally persecuted and enslaved; and we do not yet know any thing of their capabilities, when fostered and protected. That they do not want fortitude or perseverance, is certain; they are also a frugal, and mercantile people. We are assured that they are most anxious to return to the land of their fathers; and they believe that the time *is* at hand when they will be restored. Their own prophecies having failed, they begin to see that they have been mistaken. Some of the Rabbis have not hesitated to declare it; and many have lately been converted. That the remnant of Israel *will be* reinstated, we have the authority of Scripture; and how gratifying it would be to this, the most truly Christian country in the world, to be an humble instrument under Divine Providence, of bringing home the lost sheep of Israel to the happy fold of the Good Shepherd! Under British protection, they would indeed become "the third with Egypt and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land,"* and then "there shall be *no more* utter destruction, but Jerusalem shall be safely inhabited." † "It shall not be plucked up, nor thrown down *any*

* Vide Isaiah, xix. 24, 25.; also Zechariah, viii. 7, 8. 11—16, and 20 to the end; chap. ix. 9; xii. 6—11.

† Zechariah, xiv. 11.

more, for ever."* Whereas, *at present*, Jerusalem is a *heap of ruins*, and desolation and misery prevail on every side. It is not easy to conceive to what a state of degradation the Jews have been reduced. Sufferance is still their badge, and they rather make a merit of their toils, and look to receive hereafter, the reward of their forbearance. Happen what may, the Jews seek no justice, and obtain none. How they live, nobody knows; for there is little employment at the Holy City. Nevertheless, of late years their numbers have greatly augmented. In 1818, there were resident in Palestine, upon the average, about 12,000. There are now 22,000; and, in Syria their numbers are computed at 60,000. They are increasing in multitude by large annual additions, to say nothing of those who regularly perform the pilgrimage from the States of Morocco, Poland, and other places.

I was myself an eye-witness of their sorrows: their temple is overturned; the house of an impostor supplies its place: they are obliged to worship by stealth, dejected in spirit, and tremble under the accumulated insults of their oppressors. I found them in great tribulation at a recent failure of an ancient prophecy. Having volunteered my services professionally, I saw a great deal of them; and they declared to me that they came there, "not to live, but to worship at the tombs of their ancestors,—and die!"

Now is the time to emancipate the Jews. The Sultan has already interfered in their behalf, and he would be sure to co-operate with England, if the proper persons would take the matter up. He must have already discovered that, in Syria and Palestine, some counteracting power is necessary. The Be-

* Jer. xxxviii. 40.

doueen Arabs have recently laid all the inhabitants of Jerusalem under contribution, and they have attacked several caravans, one of which accompanied the Indian Mails. This is only a specimen of what may follow. The Sultan has always been at the mercy of his officers, who not being overlooked, extort money from the people in his name. They, on the other hand, act in self-defence, and plunder whenever they can. But if Europeans came among them, and were properly encouraged, having families to support, they would, for their own sakes, aid in putting down violence and robbery; the seeds of justice would be sown, offences punished, property defended, and a good example set. By degrees, new tastes would spring up, barbarians would be tamed, and virtue flourish. This would of course require time, as all great changes do; the sooner therefore a beginning is made, the better.

Let the Jews be established at Jerusalem, Damascus, and Aleppo; and in order to re-assure them, let them, *in common with the Franks*, consider themselves partly uuder European protection.* The benefits which I have already pointed out will then speedily ensue. There will be no want of employment. They would cultivate the vine; grow corn, tobacco, vegetables, and fruit: they would establish manufactures and trades, export silk, cotton, indigo, gums, drugs, and timber. The soil is most prolific, but not a tenth part of

* The Jews of Barbary are governed by their own laws, having a "Kaid" or ruler, appointed by the Bey of Tunis; but all spiritual matters are regulated by their own Rabbis. They are very industrious, and not avaricious; they are for the most part, poor: they work at various trades; but they are chiefly goldsmiths, tailors, shoemakers, and masons. In Tunis there are great numbers who believe in Jesus Christ, but dare not confess him openly for fear of the Jews. These would rejoice to meet with protection in Palestine. It is estimated that there are residing on the coast of Northern Africa, not less than from 325,000 to 330,000 Jews; and generally speaking, they retain their ancient habits, manners, language, and customs.

it is cultivated. The climate is good; but the valleys and shelving grounds require draining; which, together with the improved habits of the people, ventilation, and cleanliness, would prevent the recurrence of dysentery, cholera, and fever. At present, these maladies are produced by the effluvia arising from the vegetable matter which is washed down from the mountains by the heavy rains, and there decaying, is subsequently exposed to the intense heat of the sun, which sends forth volumes of noxious exhalations. All this might be obviated by draining.

Industry and a good government would render Syria and Palestine two of the most important countries in the world; and such we are assured they will become. "The seed shall be prosperous; the vine shall give her fruit, and the ground shall give her increase, and the heavens shall give their dew: and I will cause the remnant of this people to possess all these things."* That they will be empowered to defend themselves against the incursions of hostile tribes is equally certain. For we are told that they shall be gathered "from the east country and from the west," and increase so that "place shall not be found for them." "And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will seek to destroy all the nations that shall come against Jerusalem." "And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications; *and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced*," &c.† This and many other passages of Scripture prove that the prophecies respecting the restoration of the Jews,

* Zechariah, vii. v. 12.

† The whole book of Zechariah, and nearly all of Micah, and Malachi, refer to this subject: also Jeremiah chap. xvi. xxiv. xxxi. xxxviii. and John, chap. xii. v. 37—40, &c. See also Isaiah.

have not yet been fulfilled. That the proper time for their fulfilment *is at hand*, and that the important changes which are taking place in the Levant, are designed to *pave the way for it*, I firmly believe.

As long as Palestine and Syria remain in their present state, it is not to be supposed that any persons, whether Jews or Gentiles, would go and settle there; but no sooner shall it be known that there is protection for property, and that every man may sit in peace under his own vine, than hundreds, I might say thousands, will flock thither, and the happy condition which the Prophets have foretold, will commence.

Steam communication will do much, by establishing a free and regular intercourse between Europe and the Levant. The number of travellers has already increased in consequence, and every facility will shortly be afforded to the intellectual to visit the Holy Land; that is, if what I so devoutly wish may be brought to pass. Inns will be established, roads formed, and the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, will be again worshipped in purity and in truth, even as in the days of the Patriarchs; and the glory of our Redeemer will be acknowledged and declared throughout the land.

It is not my intention to enter much upon the subject of the persecution of the Jews in the East. It is a melancholy fact, that the same spirit of intolerance and savage cruelty has universally been exercised towards them as in the darkest ages; and we have lately had a specimen of the wickedness, in this respect, of some whose intercourse in the world might have taught them better. The late proceedings at Damascus in regard to the reputed murder of Padre Thomaso, it is perfectly well known, were to be attributed in a

great degree, to the avarice of certain parties in authority, who availed themselves of the opportunity of extorting money by means of threats and violence. At first, it was asserted that the unfortunate Capuchin had brought upon himself the ill will of ignorant men, by some mercantile transaction; and because he practised vaccination. The imagination once excited, the most diabolical fancies were circulated as authenticated facts, the chief of which was, that the deceased was killed by the Jews, that his blood might be used by them for the passover bread, according to an ancient custom of their religion! "But it is pretty evident, that this was only a hatched-up tale, as an excuse for despoiling the Israelites of their wealth. So far from any such practice being likely, the Jews were commanded, from the earliest period, to "abstain from blood," and the idea is at variance with every thing that we know of the tenets of their religion. It did not require much, however, to rouse the fanaticism of the people in Damascus. The Rabbins were arrested by the government, although no murder had been proved;—it was enough that the monk and his servant were missing. Immediately, hundreds were seized, imprisoned, and subjected to the most ferocious torture, and the French Consul issued a proclamation promising a reward of 60,000 piastres for the discovery of the bodies. This threw both Christian and Mussulmaun population into a species of fever. They spread themselves every where, laying open vaults, pulling down walls, digging up the fields in all directions, more especially the Jewish burial-grounds, and even tearing up the earth with their nails! A company of soldiers was despatched by the Pascha of the district, to aid in this work of destruction. Were it not that

a premium had been offered by the French Consul, and that the grasping authorities were glad of an excuse for filling their own coffers, it would be rather a singular feature in the case, that Mussulmauns should evince such violent indignation at the untimely end of a Christian. They are not *usually* so eager to bring offenders to justice. At last, the people became so infuriated at not finding the objects of their search, that the strictest exercise of power was required to prevent the extermination of all the Jews in Damascus. A child being lost at Rhodes, was also made a pretext for similar persecutions in that island. But this is not the first time that such things have happened. The Jews detest the very name of a Christian: and they have always shewn themselves particularly inveterate against the Greeks, probably because they regard them as the orthodox founders of Christianity, consequently the chief source of all their troubles. They took an active part against them during the Insurrection, and when the Greek Patriarch was hanged at Constantinople, they volunteered to throw his corpse into the Bosphorus, which they did, offering it every possible indignity, and dragging it exultingly through the streets, by a cord. This the Greeks never forgot: they have since, availed themselves of every opportunity and excuse for retaliation; and when they could find nothing as a pretext to indulge their malice, they invented many false accusations, by which if possible, to bring the Jews under the lash of their common enemy, the Turk, who, like our countryman Prince John, was too ready to profit by their disputes, and generally decided in favor of those who were least worth the trouble of *squeezing!**

* See Scott's "Ivanhoe," Hume's England, &c.

We read that in the early ages of Christianity, the Jews denounced the Christians as "eaters of their own children:" and the Rev. Dr. Walsh, (every line of whose writings is to be depended on, from the high character and extensive opportunities of the author) assures us that the Christians of Constantinople charge the Jews with "purloining *their* children, and sacrificing them as paschal lambs, at their passover."* The

* "I was one day," he states, "at Galata, a suburb of Pera, where a great commotion was just excited. The child of a Greek merchant had disappeared, and no one could give any account of it. It was a beautiful boy, and it was imagined it had been taken by a Turk for a slave; after some time, however, the body was found in the Bosphorus, its legs and arms were bound, and certain wounds on its side indicated that it had been put to death in some extraordinary manner, and for some extraordinary purpose. Suspicion immediately fell upon the Jews; and as it was just after their paschal feast, suspicion, people said, was confirmed to certainty. Nothing could be discovered to give a clue to the perpetrators, but the story was universally talked of, and generally believed all over Pera. The prejudice has also been greatly increased by a book written by a Jewish Rabbi converted to Christianity, which is a great curiosity. It is entitled 'A Confutation of the Religion of the Jews,' by Neophytus, a Greek monk, formerly a Jewish Rabbi. The original work was in the Moldavian language, and was printed in the year 1803; but it is said that the Jews, at that time, gave a large sum of money to the Hospodar, and the book was suppressed and destroyed. A copy, however, escaped, which was translated into modern Greek and printed at Yasi, in 1818, of which I had a specimen at Constantinople. The first chapter is entitled *μυστηρίοι κεκρυμμένοι νὺν δὲ ἀποκεκαλυμμένοι*—'The Concealed Mysteries now made Public.' The subject is 'the blood which the Jews take from Christians, and the purposes to which they apply it.' After detailing a number of the most extraordinary particulars, he concludes in the following words:—'When I was thirteen years old, my father revealed to me the mystery of the blood, and cursed me by all the elements of heaven and earth, if ever I should divulge the secret even to my brethren; and when I was married, and should even have ten sons, I should not discover it to all, but only to one, who should be the most prudent and learned, and, at the same time, firm and unmoved in the faith; but to a female I should never disclose it on any account.' 'May the earth,' said he, 'never receive thee, if thou revealest these secrets!' So said my father; but I, since I have taken as my father the Lord Jesus Christ, will proclaim the truth in every place; and as the wise Sirac says 'even unto death, strive for the truth.'—Much of these and similar representations," observes Dr. Walsh, "are to be attributed to prejudice, and great deductions are to be made from them; but certainly the Jews of Constantinople are a fierce and fanatic race; persecution and suffering have not taught them moderation, and they pursue, even to death, any apostate from their own

excesses therefore which have recently been committed against the Jews, are nothing new, horrible as they may be; the reason assigned for them is no palliation of the wickedness; it is the old story revived, and is founded on bigotry and vice. Such animosities ought to be put a stop to by those in power, because they tend in more ways than one, to gratify the worst feelings of man's nature, and disturb the peace of society. I cannot bring my mind to believe, notwithstanding all that is said, and all which I myself have seen, of the degraded condition of the Jews in these countries, that human beings exist who are so debased and so diabolical as to deserve the imputations which their enemies have brought against them. Fanaticism and ignorance may go great lengths, but I am unwilling to credit the existence of vampires and demons. Very dreadful things do sometimes come under the notice of travellers,—things which would not be believed if named; but I doubt whether any but Cannibals and Hottentots would be capable of atrocities like those in question. In India, Mexico, Cochin China, and other Pagan countries, human sacrifices are made to idols; but

doctrines." These people did not come direct from Palestine, as many suppose; they are the remnant of those who were driven out of Spain, and fled, to escape the horrors of the Inquisition, to different parts of the Ottoman Empire and the mountainous regions of Poland and the Black Sea. A district or suburb of the capital was assigned them, called "Hassa Kuï,"—they gradually increased to 50,000, and were denominated "Mousaphir," or visitors, being regarded by the Turks as refugees. Here they were not only tolerated, but allowed to exercise lucrative callings: "they are generally the brokers who transact business for merchants, and the "saraafs" or bankers with whom the Turks deposit their property. The women are allowed to enter the harams with merchandize, and so become agents of intrigue, and acquire extraordinary influence in Turkish houses. The lower orders, however, are marked by that peculiarity which distinguishes them in every other country; squalor and raggedness in their persons, filth and nastiness in their dwellings, their morals are very lax, and they are ready to engage in any base business which the less vile would have a repugnance to."

then there is this difference: the votaries of heathenism have never heard of the one true God, and they have only associated with people who are as ignorant and superstitious as themselves; they are to be pitied, and Providence is even now, graciously interposing in their behalf. I can foresee that the present expedition to Pekin will obtain for us, by degrees, a substantial footing in Tartary and other obscure regions to which civilized beings have never yet had access. Similar changes are also going on in the States of South America; and it will not be long before the condition of these deluded people will be improved. It is true that the Jews are, many of them, scarcely more enlightened; but they are in daily intercourse with the Turks and Christians, who — albeit they set them bad example, — are able to appreciate the joys of domestic life;—besides, they have the law and the Prophets, and profess to observe the institutions of men. Their condition is altogether different, and it is high time that steps were taken to prevent the recurrence of such events as have lately disgraced the pages of modern history. As soon as the proceedings were fairly represented in the proper quarters, the savage recriminations and cruelties to which they had given rise, were put a stop to; and great merit is due to those who so philanthropically exerted themselves on the occasion. Mr. Paires, an emissary of the Bible Society, who was on the spot at the time, published a journal relative to the reputed murder, which did great good; and I cannot close these remarks without alluding to the labours and benevolence of Sir Moses Montefiore. It may not be universally known, that this gentleman set out for the East, for the express purpose of enquiring into the condition of the resident Jews. This was in

1837, before what I have been describing, took place. He found them living, as I did, in a state of inconceivable wretchedness, and in the most lamentable ignorance, unacquainted with the language of the country, poor and degraded, the common butt of the multitude, and patiently enduring all things for the sake of their religion.*

We are informed that Sir Moses Montefiore, during his visit to the Holy Land, presented a dollar to each of the Israelites. He made also very careful enquiries respecting the various biblical antiquities of the country,

* The ancient Hebrew is, to a certain extent, lost among them. As they flock thither from all parts, they hold communion by a sort of "jargon," peculiar to themselves; it is made up of almost every language of Europe, but chiefly bad Spanish and Italian, with a few Rabbinical words intermixed. They adhere to their old prejudices with religious pertinacity, and enforce heavy penalties on those of their creed who voluntarily render the least assistance to the Turks,—on account of the persecutions which they have experienced at their hands. The first time I went to visit a patient in the Jews' Quarter, I excited the wrath of the neighbours against the man of the house, as it was supposed that he was holding social intercourse with a Turk; but their wrath was turned into gladness when they found that an English physician had come among them, and that he was willing to administer to their necessities; for however ill a man may be at Jerusalem, or any other part of Palestine and Syria, whether he be Jew or Gentile, there is no assistance to be obtained; it *may so happen* that at one of the convents, there is a monk who, by the exercise of a little common sense, may do some good: but in critical cases, like that of my poor friend Bradford, (see Chap. I. Vol. I.) such persons often do the very things they ought not to do; and even interrupt the salutary operations of Nature. I am happy to say that an effort is making to remedy this evil. Sir Culling Smith first took the matter up, and he has been aided by the Honourable and Reverend Baptist Noel, the Honourable W. Cooper, Major Harvey, and many other gentlemen, who are even now exerting themselves to obtain a fund sufficient to enable them to send out duly qualified medical men. When a Jew first arrives at the Holy City, he presents himself before the Muzzellim or governor, to purchase his consent to choose a place of burial. There are three things which principally guide him in this matter. It must be in the valley of Jehoshaphat, as near as possible to the tomb of Zechariah, and in the shadow of the temple, that is, when the sun sets, the boundary-wall of the temple, now enclosing the mos'que of Omar, shall cast its shadow upon the grave. Of course he has to pay accordingly; and the price is sometimes considerable. A stone is then laid down, but it not unfrequently comes to pass, that after a short time, it is either purposely broken up by the boys, and carried away piecemeal, or stolen; for which however there is no redress, and his only alternative is,—to buy another!

and ascertained the amount of duty which the sacred places and villages paid to the Egyptian government. It amounted to 64,000 purses, about 12,350*l.* On arriving afterwards at Alexandria, he generously offered to pay the Viceroy this sum out of his own pocket, provided His Highness would allow him to colonize the places particularized, with Israelites. The Viceroy assented to his proposal; with the understanding, however, that the colony should be considered as national, and not under European protection. Nothing more has since transpired upon the subject; but I sincerely hope that the work which Sir Moses Montefiore has so magnanimously undertaken will not end here. I know that he is anxious to establish schools among the Jews, and that he has obtained the Sultan's Firmaun for their protection; but the question is, as I have already said, whether the Sultan's authority in Syria *can* be enforced!*

We read, moreover, that in consequence of an application which the consuls made by command of their

* On Thursday, April 30, 1840, a deputation consisting of Mr. J. G. Henriques, President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, Baron de Rothschild, Sir Moses Montefiore, and Messrs. J. L. Goldsmid, A. A. Goldsmid, David Solomons, Jacob Montefiore, &c., attended Lord Palmerston at the Foreign Office, for the purpose of soliciting the interference of the English Government, to stay the persecutions carrying on against the Jews of Damascus and Rhodes, and to prevent their recurrence. Mr. Henriques stated to his Lordship the object of the deputation, and referred to several authentic documents received through the medium of the elders of the Jewish congregation at Constantinople, from the Jewish inhabitants of Damascus and Rhodes, containing a most distressing detail of their sufferings. Lord Palmerston in reply, expressed his willingness to aid the object sought by the deputation, and that for this purpose, he would immediately forward instructions to Lord Ponsonby, the English Ambassador at Constantinople, and also to Colonel Hodges, the English representative at Alexandria, directing them to use every remonstrance in their power to prevent the continuance of atrocities so disgraceful to the present era. The deputation expressed their gratitude to his Lordship for his Lordship's kind assurance, and their acknowledgments for the courtesy with which he had received them." About the same period, the other European Powers made similar communications to the Turkish and Egyptian governments.

respective ministers, Mohammed Ali issued an order to the following effect.

"We have been informed that certain powerful men among the Christians attack our Hebrew subjects of Damascus, and that complaints have been variously addressed to you. Such aggressions displease us: they are contrary to our wishes. I *command* you therefore to prevent their recurrence."

The Pascha also desired that the decision of the affair of the supposed murder should be left to the Consuls of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England.

That something may be done to the permanent advantage of the Jews, if the exertions of Sir Moses Montefiore are vigorously followed up at the present time, I feel very sanguine; and that the Sultan is disposed to aid the cause is pretty evident, from the friendly reception that gentleman met with at Constantinople.* There is something quite novel in the

* Since the firmaun was given by Mohammed Ali which ordered that the prisoners should be set at liberty, and particularly since the late events in Syria, the question has ceased to be Egyptian. This affair, which had awakened public attention in Europe by the interest excited in consequence of those persons having been the victims of religious prejudices, received a solution in the capital of Islamism, which in a philosophic and political point of view, is of the highest importance. As soon as the accused persons, who had not expired under the tortures inflicted upon them, had been liberated, and secured against any further persecution, Sir Moses Montefiore hastened to Constantinople to obtain from the Sultan, not simply a verdict of acquittal, but substantial justice, which would set at nought the absurd accusations which had served as a pretext for those persecutions by which the Israelites of all nations were so sensibly affected.

The following is the recital of the steps which preceded the obtaining the firmaun granted by his Highness Abd-ul-Medjid, a firmaun which produced so great a sensation at Constantinople, that it is there considered the charter of religious liberty in the East:—

"Sir Moses Montefiore, on his arrival at Constantinople, claimed an audience of the Sultan through Redschid Pascha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in order to thank His Highness for the justice which had been exercised towards the Israelites of Rhodes, and to request a similar firmaun in favour of those of Damascus, who required, like the former, to be released from the odious imputation of making use of human blood in their religious ceremonies. His

idea of Jews being admitted to the presence of the representative of the Prophet. Had such a thing occurred a few years ago, when the power of the Janizaries was at its height, it would have caused a serious revolt; the Ulemah would never have wiped away such contamination. It might even have cost the Sultan his life. But this is not the only inroad which

Excellency replied in favourable terms to these requests, and said that if Damascus had been in the Sultan's power, ample justice would have been done to the victims. The festival of the "Rhamazan" having, however, commenced before the audience had been promised, it was generally supposed that the firmaun could not be granted until after the fast, which lasts thirty days. Sir Moses Montefiore was nevertheless sent for on the third of Ramazan, 1256 (28th of October) to the Palace of Beshik Tash, where he went, accompanied by Mr. George Samuels, Mr. D. W. Wire, M. de Loewe, and Mr. Frederick Pisani, first dragoman of the English Embassy.

"At their arrival, they were saluted by a guard of honour; they were then introduced with Oriental pomp, and accompanied by military music, into an apartment of the palace, where their Excellencies Redschid Pascha and Riza Pascha were waiting for them. Pipes and coffee were served in the same apartment. Some minutes afterwards, an officer announced that His Highness was ready to receive them. Preceded and followed by a great number of officers, they traversed a magnificent garden, and were introduced into the great reception hall, where they found His Highness seated.

"Sir Moses Montefiore read an address to explain the object of his request. This address was translated into Turkish by the dragoman.

"Abd-ul-Medjid made the following reply, which was immediately written by one of the officers and transmitted to Sir Moses Montefiore by His Excellency Redschid Pascha:—

"'I am perfectly satisfied with the communication made, and the sentiments expressed, by the deputation. I have been much grieved at hearing of the events which occurred at Damascus, but I have endeavoured to give some satisfaction to the Jewish nation by commanding that justice should be done in the affair of Rhodes. *The Jewish nation shall always enjoy the same protection and the same advantages as the other subjects of my empire.*

"'I will grant the deputation what it has requested of me.

"'I fully appreciate, gentlemen, the philanthropic sentiments which have induced you to visit this capital.'

"After these words, His Highness invited Sir Moses Montefiore to approach He then requested Sir Moses to present the other members of the deputation, which he did by name.

"The deputation then retired, and was conducted into a neighbouring saloon, where refreshments were served, and where it received the congratulations of the ministers present."

For an account of these proceedings, I am indebted to "The Times," and the "Journal des Débats."

has been made upon the hitherto deeply-rooted prejudices of the people. The admission of the principles of contagion, and the practical application of them, is another most important innovation lately introduced by the Ottoman Government, in opposition to the spirit of Mohammedan tenets. Surely then we may anticipate some good from all this; and it is not too much to believe that the remnant of this once favored people will ere long be recalled, and their kingdom restored. Superstition and bigotry will be rooted out, and the fair city of Zion will rejoice. "Peace shall be within her walls, and joy within her palaces," and the only true Messiah shall be acknowledged and glorified. The pious work has already commenced. Islamism is on the wane, and bows her head to Christianity. A Protestant church has lately been erected at Jerusalem, Pera, and Alexandria; and religion will advance as the rude wanderer becomes informed, and his nature tamed.* A letter from Jerusalem, in May 1840, stated that the building of the Protestant chapel was then proceeding; that a house was hired in the mean time, as a place of worship: that the English church liturgy had been translated into Hebrew, and printed; that the Missionary Nicolayson regularly performed divine service with his assistant Pient; and that of 400 Jews, 100 had embraced Christianity. An institution for converts had been established by the English Missionary Society; and it was intended to publish a Hebrew prayer-book. England having appointed a vice-consul for all Palestine, to reside at Jerusalem, that gentleman was endeavouring to engage

* On the 24th of January, 1839, to the great satisfaction of the English residing at Constantinople, the chapel lately built, was opened for the first time. An impressive sermon suited to the occasion was read by the chaplain of the British Embassy, the Rev. Dr. Bennett.

the Jews to cultivate the land of their fathers; and considerable quantities had been purchased for foreign emigrants.

There is some where a Talmudic saying, "that when there shall be 25,000 Jews permanently residing in the Holy Land, the laws and regulations which prevailed when Palestine was a Hebrew State, shall be again enforced." The Rabbis in Turkey are therefore endeavouring to complete the number by colonists; which would doubtless not be difficult under the powerful auspices of England. It was reported that some rich Jews in London and Italy intended to establish factories in Jerusalem, and some other considerable towns, under European protection.

However the philanthropic and humane may endeavour to restore peace and good order in this interesting portion of the globe, their efforts as individuals can establish nothing on a firm and lasting basis. It is melancholy to reflect that when steps are taken to instruct the ignorant and disseminate the truths of the Gospel in foreign lands, persons should be found ready to counteract and undermine the good which is done,—from a spirit of intolerance,—those who have undertaken the task being called by a different name, coming from a different country, and holding tenets not *their own:* or that they should oppose them upon political grounds—referring all they do to hypocrisy, ostentation, or ambition,—anything but the true motive. There are comparatively few who give men credit for piety, generosity, and disinterestedness; the world being always uppermost in their own thoughts, a great many attribute the actions of their neighbours to selfish speculations and temporal causes. How gratifying then must it be to those who *are* labouring in the great

work of Christianity, from a pure and conscientious desire to benefit their fellow-creatures, and lead them away from wickedness into the path of virtue and religion, — to find that an influential nation like this has at length been induced to interfere, and follow the example which they have set them. But let not individuals relax on this account: let them rather double their energies; for I tell them as one who speaks from what he has *seen* in these countries, and not from what he has heard, that it *is* in their power *individually* and collectively to do much good, and that in fact, unless aided by individuals, no government, however powerful, sincere, and excellent, can accomplish such objects as they have now in view.

Education without religion is calculated to make men cunning, shrewd, and worthless; it may advance their temporal interests, but it corrupts the heart, and abandons them in their old age, to the gnawings of an evil conscience, and the misgivings of those who are without consolation in the hour of trial, and have no sure hope in their God. Throughout the whole of this work I have been endeavouring to shew how much is to be done by good example. The conduct of the great invariably affects the small: a virtuous prince will make a virtuous people; but a tyrant lives in danger of the assassin's knife. Syria contains some of the best of men; but they are rude and uncivilized, and I trust it will be seen, before I have done, that it is in the power of Europeans to make them useful members of society. I could say something about the mountaineers of Lebanon and the tent-livers of Arabia, having dwelt among them, and visited them when sick, and when their true character was unfolded to my view; but the limits of this work do not admit of it. I can

merely state in general terms, that I know their heart to be good, and their understanding capable of cultivation. A just government, and good example, are all they want.

I have already mentioned, that one reason why Oriental nations are prejudiced against us is, that we are not seen by them to pray: hence they think that we either have no religion, or that we are ashamed of it: they are prejudiced still more against the Roman Catholics and Greeks, because they believe them to worship images, which is so strenuously forbidden in the Khoran. Surely then these are sufficient arguments (to say nothing of the spiritual wants of resident Protestants) why the Church of England should establish places of worship in the principal towns. Were I writing a work on Palestine, I could add my testimony to that of Maundrell and others, to prove that the Christians who visit the Holy Sepulchre are held by Mohammedans in the greatest contempt; for they are continual witnesses of the schisms which exist among them, and are often obliged to interfere in their disputes to prevent the spilling of blood; moreover, they see the disorderly conduct of those who call themselves priests;* and it is an undeniable fact that the

* On landing at Jaffa, I was met by Monsieur de Breuverie, a French gentleman, who had formed one of our party in Upper Egypt. It was he who gave me the melancholy intelligence of Mr. Bradford's death, to which I have already alluded in my introductory chapter. I was unwilling to believe it: but the son of the French Consul, a Syrian who had just returned from the Holy City, confirmed the account; adding, that he continually prayed that I might arrive in time. Poor fellow! he had just been dead three days! God only knows whether I might have been permitted to save him. I was very much shocked, and set out immediately for Jerusalem, being under a strong impression that my friend had been poisoned; for the details of the case were by no means satisfactory, and there was at that time, a very bad feeling displayed by the Latin monks towards *all* protestants, but especially towards Americans; for Episcopalians contribute nothing to the support of the convents, and the American missionaries had recently distinguished themselves by their religious

native Christians are some of the most dissolute and abandoned people in Palestine.

We cannot wonder then if the Mohammedans of

zeal; indeed, one of them had lost his life in consequence. I may acquit the monks of the crime which my feelings at first justly led me to charge them with; but I have reason to believe that they hastened the young man's death by improper treatment. I would not trust myself in their hands; but took up my abode with the Greeks, from whom I experienced every kindness and attention. I applied several times at the Latin Convent, before I could gain admittance to the Prior, my errand being known. He was not disposed to give me the least intelligence concerning the deceased, nor was I permitted to see his papers. I tried every scheme I could think of, being determined to sift the matter to the bottom. At last I reminded him, that Mr. Bradford being United States' Consul at Lyons, and an intimate friend of General La Fayette, the cause and circumstances of his death would be fully investigated; and that if any of the facts were withheld, it would bring eternal disgrace upon the Convent, and call forth the anger of the French Government, on which the establishment chiefly depended for protection and support. He tried to brave it out; but I did then succeed in getting possession of a few lines, four only, which the poor fellow had written on a scrap of paper, to his mother, just before he died; and these I forwarded to New York. A Roman Catholic gentleman who visited him during his last illness, told me, that having opened a letter for him, the seal of which he was too feeble to break, he withdrew, promising to return soon. "I came back," he added, "in two hours; and to my inexpressible horror and astonishment learned that he was dead, and — *buried!* although Mount Zion, the place of his interment, was half an hour distant from the convent!" The monks retained all his effects until compelled to give them up. I wrote to General La Fayette, and afterwards saw him about them, and the monks were reprimanded. Their conduct was most disgraceful, and I spoke my mind so freely to the prior, the padre procuratore, and the secretary, that Monsieur de Breuverie thought it necessary to caution me. "I am a Roman Catholic," said he, "but I am not a bigot; you do not know these men; I do: be advised: take care: they are capable of having you assassinated three leagues from the city. This convent is a general receptacle for bad characters; the refuse of all the religious houses in Spain, Portugal, and other Roman Catholic countries, find their way there in turn. For instance, if a monk has committed a murder or a rape, he is banished to Jerusalem to *do penance* for one, two, or three years. As you value your life, beware how you exasperate them!" Mr. Abbot, who was formerly British Consul General for Syria, confirmed these statements. He assured me that during the eight years which he had resided at Beyrout, the monks of the Latin convent at Jerusalem had destroyed two of their priors, because they would not sanction all their proceedings. Nevertheless, I believe that here as elsewhere, there is a mixture of persons. It would be very wrong to condemn all alike, and to say that there are no good men among them. Generally speaking, those who reside in the convents in Palestine are certainly less enlightened and more bigoted than the recluses of Europe, but I have met with some conscientious and truly pious individuals. I remarked

these countries should think lightly of our religion. The present state of the Christian church is certainly most deplorable: but important changes are taking place.

Late events have given the English great influence in the Levant; and something will soon be done for the spiritual, as well as the temporal condition of the people. The Greek must ever be considered the *orthodox* church: it was founded in the days of the Apostles, and demands our especial protection; for it has always been more tolerant towards Protestants, than the church of Rome, and we have many interests in common.* Besides, the Latins have attempted to tyrannize over the Greeks, and many very frightful contentions have at different times, arisen between them. At one period, the Greek church at the Holy Sepulchre becoming dilapidated, the community being poor, were unable to repair it; they were opposed in every way, and to such an extent were the disputes carried, that at last, the French government was obliged

three different classes among them; the first were ignorant zealots, full of superstition, formalists:—the second were more knaves than fools, shrewd, arrogant, subtle, and ready to impose upon the credulity of the simple, professed atheists:—the third were persons who had probably been disappointed in life, and withdrawn themselves from society, to pass the remainder of their days in solitude; a few of them educated, and belonging to good families in Europe,—men devoted to prayer and contemplation.

* The Rev. Mr. Palmer, of Worcester College, Oxford, informs us in his "Treatise on the Church," p. 184, that all the Orthodox churches of the East are ruled by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; that these constitute the Catholic church of Christ; that it is so considered by theologians, though they regret certain imperfections, abuses, and errors which have crept in upon them; and he adds, that the Church of England is sanctioned and approved by the Greek Patriarchs, in proof of which, that in 1653, Archdeacon Basire was allowed to preach at Constantinople, by Paisius, the patriarch of that See, who presented him with his seal in token of his desire to be in communion with the church of England.

See Arundel's "Seven Churches of Asia,"—Grant "On the Nestorian Churches,"—and "The Churches in the East," by the Rev. W. Freemantle.

to interfere. The pope has always felt jealous of the Patriarchal power, and the Greeks have hitherto had no alternative but to appeal to Russia. It is certainly not the interest of this country, politically speaking, to encourage this; and an opportunity now offers to advance the pure doctrines of Christianity, by affording that protection to the genuine descendants of the Apostolic teachers which they so much require. It is quite evident that this may be done, without interfering with the simplicity of the Protestant form of worship. As I said before, let the inhabitants of these countries associate with enlightened people, and they will be very glad to adopt their Institutions and their laws: their eyes will soon be opened to the advantages of civilization; ancient prejudice will gradually give way, and the doctrines of superstition will cease to exercise further influence over them. At present, there are five nominal Bishops of different communions, at Jerusalem,—the Maronite, the Nestorian, the Jacobite, the Latin, and the Greek. Thus it appears that the Armenian, and the other Christian churches are all represented in the Levant; but that of England is not. This will not be the case long; the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London have, greatly to their credit, taken the matter up with the same zeal and judgment which have always distinguished their proceedings; the Sultan's Firmaun has been obtained for the protection of a Protestant Bishop, to be appointed for Palestine, and to reside chiefly at Jerusalem.

The Ecclesiastical Gazette announces that His Majesty the King of Prussia also takes a warm interest in the religious affairs of the East, and has contributed largely to the endowment of the Protestant Bishop. A worthy and eminent individual has been selected;

and it was the intention of the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate him as Bishop of the Church of St. James of Jerusalem. The person first proposed, was Dr. McCaul, the well-known Hebrew scholar; but this gentleman declined it, on the plea that a Jew should fill the Episcopate, having himself long advocated the national claims of the Jews to the consideration of the established church. This self-denial does him infinite honour, both as a man and as a Christian. The appointment has since been accepted by the Rev. Michael Solomon Alexander, the Hebrew professor of King's College; a gentleman who has already had great experience as a Protestant teacher, in Poland, and other countries, and who is known to be a man of ability, excellent character, and genuine piety,—one who has advanced the objects of his Christian profession by his consistency and integrity; therefore, his elevation will doubtless have great influence over all new converts.* As it is known that protection will

* The Rev. Michael S. Alexander was consecrated "*Bishop of England and Ireland united in Jerusalem*" on Sunday, November 7th, 1841, in the chapel at Lambeth Palace, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. An appropriate sermon was preached on the occasion by the Rev. Dr. McCaul, *now* Professor of Hebrew at King's College; and it is not a little singular, that a day or two afterwards, intelligence was received from a correspondent of the "Allgemeine Zeitung" that "through the activity of the Evangelical missionaries, a number of Jews at Jerusalem, including many distinguished men of learning, had been converted to Christianity, and thus an additional Evangelical congregation had been formed." The same paper of November 5th also announced, that Mr. Rassam an Englishman, and an American, both Church of England Missionaries, had succeeded in causing the Nestorian and Chaldæan Christians of Kourdistan, to declare themselves in favour of the Church of England. Bibles had been distributed among them, and they were very eager to be instructed. A letter was also received from Mr. Nicolayson, a member of the London Church Missionary Society, announcing, that the Druses had requested him to send them English teachers. The King of Prussia, not only contributes *half* of Bishop Alexander's endowment out of his private fortune, but is about to build a church at Jerusalem for German Protestants, establish schools, and an hospital, or place of refuge for Protestant travellers. His Majesty has ordered a collection to be made throughout his dominions, for this purpose; and has signified his intention

be henceforth impartially afforded to the European population, regardless of sect or condition; a great many persons have already evinced a desire to settle in the country. Let this be encouraged, and we may depend upon it, there will soon be a complete regeneration. The subject is rapidly gaining ground in Europe, and I trust that before many years pass over our heads, there will be no impediment to the progress of the pious wanderer, Jew as well as Gentile; that the mountains of Judæa will again be traversed, and their recesses explored; that the hyæna will be disturbed in his den, and the rocky passes of Engaddi and Saba, even to the solemn shores of the Salt Sea, will afford a beaten track to the pilgrim. Their terrors will diminish as civilization extends, and the wrath of the Almighty, whose judgments have been so signally shewn at every step, will be appeased. The once rich plains of Jordan will then look green again, and the roses that were so celebrated, will spring up, and send forth their rich perfumes to Heaven, in testimony of the fulfilment of the promises of God. The walls and towers of Jericho will re-appear, Hebron and the pastures of Mamre will teem with lowing herds and bleating flocks, and the happy days of Abraham, of David, and of Solomon, will return to bless the industry of man!

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of taking means to extend and protect Science and Commerce in the Levant. Too much cannot be said in praise of this noble and highly enlightened Sovereign.

The Emir Ismail Imblât, a younger brother of the Emir Beschir, sailed from Beyrout on the 27th of Sept. on board H. B. M. Ship "Inconstant," and is now in England to be educated. Bishop Alexander embarked for the Mediterranean by the "Devastation" Steam Frigate, on Monday, November 29th, accompanied by his officiating Chaplain, and a resident Physician, viz. Dr. Mc Gowan. A very extensive schism has lately broken out among the Jews in England and in Prussia—one half calling themselves Reformers, now reject the Talmud. (See Appendix.)

CHAPTER III.

THE OSMANLIS — PRESENT RESOURCES OF EGYPT — PROJECTS FOR THE FUTURE—AGRICULTURE — THE TENURE OF LAND — TITHES AND OTHER TAXES: HOW COLLECTED—SUMMARY LEGISLATION — USURY AND OATHS—THE FUNCTIONS, TITLES, AND SALARIES OF DISTRICT-GOVERNORS—THE OLD AND NEW SYSTEM—CONFISCATION OF PROPERTY, ETC.

The Osmanlis are by no means an insignificant people: it would be absurd to judge the great mass of the Turkish Empire by the specimen that is presented to us at Constantinople,—and even in Turkey Proper: there are numerous conflicting interests to consider, and a great variety of character and disposition; for the territories of the Porte include many nations and languages. We cannot therefore determine the policy which may be requisite in the administration of the remoter provinces, simply by what we observe at the capital, or the countries adjacent. It is true that the Turks are, as a nation, haughty, proud, arrogant, and overbearing; sullen, prejudiced, and often revengeful, and cruel. Nevertheless their character has been a good deal misrepresented in Europe. Whatever faults may sully its brightness, there can be no doubt, that it is adorned with many amiable qualities. We find

them, for instance, pious, brave, hospitable, domesticated, fond of their children, just, and honourable; and when we meet with instances to the contrary, we ought rather to regard them as the exceptions which prove the rule; and not generalize upon individual cases. That a great deal of tyranny and vice exist, is true; but in semi-barbarous countries, where the blessings of education are unknown, some allowance must be made for those, who, having been bred in ignorance, and taught to succumb to their superiors, look for a corresponding degree of deference in others that are beneath them; and it is not surprising if they should sometimes attempt to exact money when an opportunity occurs; for they enjoy only a precarious sort of existence, and are often called upon for sums which it would be almost impossible to raise in a fair and honourable way. Every one is jealous of his neighbour who is equal in authority to himself,—and even suspicious of those beneath him:—difficulties arise, and enemies spring up. They are constantly in want of money to enable them to uphold their consequence; and however they may wish to act upon honest principles, they cannot always escape the traps that are laid for them, without having recourse to stratagem, extortion, or monopoly. The fault is often in the system rather than the individual, and when a person is appointed, under such circumstances, to a responsible situation, and invested with almost unlimited power, he must be a very good and talented man indeed, to be able to resist the temptation to self-aggrandizement, and yet succeed in settling the differences of the people, and shelter them from the petty tyranny of the minor authorities, who, when they are anxious to carry any particular point which requires the sanction

or co-operation of a superior, invariably have recourse to bribery. Many of these evils are owing to the seat of Government being at the remote corner of the Empire, which is so extensive, that it is impossible the Sovereign can ever shew himself to his people, or know what is really going on at a distance; he is obliged to trust the reins of power to others, and he becomes their dupe in a variety of ways. He cannot even tell the number of inhabitants that exist in any particular district; how is he then to know whether his officers forward to him the various sums of money which they levy on his account? It is notorious that they collect a great deal more than they ought, and apply the surplus to their own uses! Thus, if the Sultan sent a firmaun to a Pascha for 6000 purses, *he* would in turn, desire the Governors of the towns under him to levy each their portion; *they* again, adopt a similar plan in regard to the Authorities that rank beneath them; *these* do the same; and the latter at last apply to the people of their respective villages: every one of these worthies, however, takes care to enrich himself, and woe be to him who withholds his modicum of tribute! If he is not actually tortured on the spot, it may not be difficult to find a pretext for applying the "koorbasch," as I have already attempted to illustrate.

"In the world," says the proverb, "do not forget to look out among men for a chance bone, and spring some game for yourself;" and many of the authorities do certainly not lose sight of this very *wholesome* maxim; particularly when they happen to be settled in a very remote district, where there is little probability of their being overlooked, or their proceedings enquired into: indeed, the practice is so general, both in Egypt and Turkey, that one ruler would hardly

venture to interfere with another in this respect, for his own sake; but the onus of the burden necessarily falls the heaviest on the poor Fellah, who must either be stripped of all that he has, or render himself liable to the "Koorbasch."

In Egypt, it is no uncommon thing for a man to pay his taxes *twice over;* and as no means can possibly be contrived for "squeezing" from him that which he has not, the difference is made up by blows, that he may do his *utmost* another time; and a pretext is obtained for a further demand on those who possess a "greater share of this world's goods." As then, there is, in point of fact, no law for taxation,—(for beyond a certain general limit, money is extorted when, and how, and where there is a possibility of obtaining it, and in proportion to the extent of the Pascha's ambitious projects, the Sultan's necessities, and the no less pinching avarice of the collectors)—it is easy to understand that the great mass of the people are almost always in arrears; and those who have it in their power to bribe, are sure to receive favor at the hands of the collector: it will shew itself either in the false measurement of the grain, or of the land the man cultivates, or by some other marked indulgence: or, if taxed to the full amount, it is made up to him in a variety of other ways, by which in the end, Mohammed Ali may be the loser; although any indulgence that is granted to one person, is generally more than compensated for at the moment, by the additional exactions that devolve upon his neighbours. But it is felt by the Pascha at last: because this iniquitous practice puts an end to all exertion, and of course the land is not half cultivated.

It would be quite possible to curb the rapacity of the Provincial Governors; and the Pascha does fre-

quently exclaim against it; for the people have no heart to labour in his cause, and the resources of the country dwindle in consequence. But for the blinding influence of ambition, Mohammed Ali would have seen his advantage in protecting the rights of the peasant, and in encouraging him to labour; whereas, the poor man has learned, that whether he is industrious or not, his condition remains the same. The Pascha has hitherto sacrificed everything for the gratification of his vanity, and now that his wild schemes have failed, he is beginning to turn his attention to agriculture. If the old man lives a few years longer, and makes a proper use of his abilities, he may still render Egypt one of the most fertile countries in the world. But he must give up his monopolies, and attempt something like justice, or it will avail him little to invite European merchants and artizans to settle near him; for men of principle soon become disgusted at his intolerance. It is easy for him to call out against the duplicity of those on whom he has lavished so much wealth; but he is well aware, that although the sufferings of the wretched Fellah may have been aggravated by the rapacity of his officers, they were caused by his own edicts; and that, if the former have enriched themselves at his expense, and left him in the lurch, they have only profited by his example. It is obvious, that in order to carry his various projects into effect, he required enormous sums of money, and the almost gratuitous services of his vassals; and these could only be obtained by arbitrary measures, and by conniving at the dishonest conduct of those whom he had placed in authority. Such misrule was not likely to be productive of any permanent good. At the beginning of the year 1841, he found his revenue, great as it was, by

no means adequate to his demands. His out-goings are still considerable. Besides other expenses, he has an immense army and navy to support, and the tribute money to provide. His manufactures are impaired; the agricultural produce has been diminishing; Syria and Candia are lost; the desert is in arms; the people are discontented; and all his resources have failed.* He must now disarm, one would think; for

* The annual revenue of Egypt and its dependencies, even including Syria and Candia, has lately amounted to 1,000,000 of purses, of about seven guineas each—viz. for Egypt, 780,000; Syria, 150,000; Nigritia, 25,000; Hedjaz, 25,000; Candia, 20,000:—thus making the receipts exceed the expenditure only by about 6000 purses. The crop of cotton during the year 1840, was less than usual. It was said to amount to 150,000 bales; but the Mudirs and Nazirs (the Administrators and Inspectors) returned only 14,000,—saying, that the Nile had destroyed the rest! Mohammed Ali was in a great rage, and swore that they had applied it to their own uses. The Viceroy took care to keep his eye upon them afterwards; and although the Nile rose four inches higher last year, than it did in 1840, the floods caused *very little mischief*. The crops were most abundant, especially the cotton: nevertheless, the soil in Egypt is very badly managed. It is estimated that not more than a quarter of the arable land is cultivated, owing to bad Government and want of labourers. "In the present state of the country," remarks a correspondent in Nov. 1841, "one may reckon that the quantity of grain annually exported, is, upon the average, between 500,000 and 600,000 ardebs (313,000 to 380,000 imperial quarters) of wheat; and 200,000 to 300,000 ardebs (130,000 to 200,000 imperial quarters) of barley. England, in times of scarcity, receives wheat from the Baltic, the Black Sea, and the Mediterranean ports, which latter ship their stocks of hard wheat, and replenish their stores with Egyptian grain." * In 1835, the priests tried to put down the dancing-girls. The Pascha granted their request; but he made them pay the "appalto," or tax, instead. This they did not at all relish; so the "Ghâwazee" were let loose again.—See Vol. I. Chap. IV. and VII.

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* A return of the quantity of corn, of the crop of 1840, exported from Egypt to the 26th of July, 1841, gives—

Wheat	314,791	ardebs.
Barley	317,694	
Maize	16,173	
Beans	426,912	
Peas	12,240	
Lentils	20,000	
Total	1,107,810	
Ready to be exported	22,200	

An ardeb is equal to 14½ bushels French.

by what fiscal measures he is to obtain the necessary supplies, it is not easy to determine. He has reduced the population to little more than 2,300,000 ; whereas in the time of the Romans, it was 12,000,000 ! Scarcely twelve months have elapsed since he was on the verge of a precipice, down which he narrowly escaped being hurled. Treachery favoured his cause ; and it is fortunate for him that the power of the Sultan has been crippled, and that the policy of European nations does not now induce them to look towards Egypt ; for, in my opinion, the natives would rise in favour of any warlike people that offered to protect them. They would be glad of any change, and they speak of it without reserve.

Numerous reports have been in circulation respecting the Pascha's future intentions. Many men of his age, would have been so cast down by the defeat which he has lately sustained, that their energies would have become paralysed. Not so with Mohammed Ali. For a short time, he appeared dispirited, and ill ; but his spirits soon rallied : he has never yet been at a loss for a resource, and his imagination is now as active as ever. In 1834, he was advised by Marshal Marmont, to establish military colonies, on the same plan as is adopted on the Hungarian and Russian frontiers ; so, in conformity with these views, he made up his mind to convert his soldiers and sailors into agriculturists ;— that is, if his thirst for conquest did not induce him to turn their arms against the countries of Arabia and Abyssinia, where he would have to contend with undisciplined troops, and be out of the reach of Europeans.* But before he could adopt this, or any other

* The whole of the Hungarian frontier along the course of the Sau to Belgrade and Semlin, where that river meets the Danube, on to Orsowa, Bannât

plan, it was necessary that he should recruit the wasted strength of his veterans, and quiet the "unruly spirits" at the Bosphorus; for there were still several important matters to arrange. The details of the Hatti-Scheriff, the amount of tribute, and the right of succession, he foresaw, were difficulties yet to be encountered. Accordingly, he affected an air of submission to the decrees of the Porte, and was most assiduous in his attentions to Europeans, but particularly to the English; nevertheless, the works at the arsenal, and the fortifications on the coast, proceeded with unabated vigour. Besides, he had *accounts to settle* with a great many, who doubtless thought themselves secure. This done, he

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County, and Sieben-Bürgen, separating the Austrian dominions from the confines of Turkey and Russia, is defended by militia, who regularly mount guard, and attend drill systematically and punctually, without interfering with their agricultural pursuits. By law, every male child is required, as long as he resides on the frontier, to belong to the militia; and thus, the Emperor has the services of about 180,000 effective troops, which cost the Government nothing but the price of their accoutrements, powder and shot; for, being volunteers, they find their own clothes, and are proud of the confidence reposed in them. They have many privileges, and are not expected to leave the country unless they please; but like the inhabitants of the Channel Islands, they consider themselves bound to turn out, in the event of foreign invasion, for the defence of their homes and families. I have seen them, and was very much pleased with their appearance and deportment. Their uniform consists of a plain green surtout and trousers, and a sort of Hussar undress cap. Hungary is one of the most interesting countries in Europe; it is very rich in gold, silver, and lead mines, mineral waters, and vineyards; and presents scenery of every description; it is, in fact, "the world in miniature," and abounds in the most delightful associations. The people are quite unique,—unpolished, but brave, hospitable, and sincere. The women are justly celebrated for their beauty. In reference to this subject, see "Hietzinger's Statistik der Militärgränze des Österreichischen Kaiserthums," —"Csaplovics' Gemälde von Ungern,"—"Topographisch-Statistiches Archiv des Königreichs Ungern," by the same author; and "Schwartner's Statistik des Königreichs Ungern;"—"Voyage Mineralogique et Geologique en Hongrie, par F. S. Beudant;"—"Bright's Travels in Hungary,"—and "Townson's Travels in Hungary." See also, "Prof. Osann's Heilquellen der Vorzüglichsten Länder Europa's,"—and "Zipser's Badegast zu Sliatsch in Nieder-Ungarn." In the London Medical Gazette for the 19th of May, 1832, I have myself given an account of the remarkable effects produced by the hot baths of Sliatsch. The paper is entitled "Remarks on the Medical Virtues of Carbonic Acid Gas."

talked of applying his whole powers to the internal government of the country. The waste lands in the province of "El Sharkye" were to be allotted to Ibrahim's army for cultivation; trade was to be thrown open; the conscription modified; and a promise was held out, that the "Ferdeh," or poll-tax, should be diminished in 1841, and abolished altogether in 1842. The poorer classes were of course delighted at the idea of peace, and the disbanding of the national guard. It was resolved that M. Mimaust, a French engineer, should make an immense addition to the irrigation of the country; and economy and agricultural industry were to be the order of the day. This was all very well *in theory*, and it is precisely what should have been adopted years ago. The question now is, whether the restless disposition of the Viceroy will permit him to allow the labourer to enjoy the fruits of his industry, and whether he will really check the rapacity of the Provincial Rulers. Hitherto, he has laid claim to every thing; and I fear it will be difficult for him to relinquish his old practices. According to the present system, if a man cultivate a portion of ground, he is not allowed to sell the produce to any person he chooses, and so to make his own bargain. The Pascha has taken the whole of the land, or nearly the whole, to himself, and lets it out, not on lease, as in Europe, but at will. The agriculturist who receives it in charge, is compelled to make the most of it; and when the harvest is ripe, the officers come and take an account of the grain. It is measured with the Pascha's measure, and taken at the Pascha's price, which we may be sure, is low enough,—much less than the actual value; and it is measured out with more or less justice, according as the overseer has been entertained, and

his conscience *softened.* But we must not suppose that the money is paid down when the grain is delivered up.

The Egyptian "feddan," i. e. about an acre,* will furnish a medium product of four or five ardebs of wheat; the maximum amounting to eight ardebs, the minimum being only one. Two, and sometimes three crops are obtained every year; but although the cultivation of the soil depends as much on the degree of irrigation, as the skill and industry of the husbandman, the known or supposed value of the soil is the general criterion as to quantity; and this again, gives rise to disputes and tyrannical acts, as it is always in the power of the officer, if not well bribed, to seek revenge by a charge of embezzlement, or concealment. It is pretty well known what the soil has produced in former years, and the poor man is obliged to render an account accordingly, or he may expect to be hardly dealt with. Nevertheless, it is very common for a husbandman to withhold a portion of what is really his own, and bury it in the sand.

These matters having been adjusted, an account is then drawn up, the taxes deducted,—and all that the labourer receives in return for his grain, is a certain quantity for his own particular use, and a "teskerèh" or written acknowledgment of the Pascha's *debt,* for which he is told he may receive cash on application at the treasury in Cairo, or some other Government-office. It generally happens, that he has then a difficult and perilous journey to make;—he may even be under the necessity of going to the Capital, which subjects him, not only to expense of time and money, but the chances are, in these adventurous days, that he is kid-

* As much as two oxen may plough in a day.

napped on the road, and compelled to turn soldier, go to sea, or work at the arsenal, or a cotton-mill, or something else, according to the emergencies of the time. The Pascha's officers are constantly on the look-out, and hesitate not to lay their hands on any man they happen to meet, especially if he be unable to give a very distinct account of himself, and still more, if he be imprudent enough to avow that he is wending his way towards the public Treasury! It is a very common thing for a Fellah, when pursued by the officers on such occasions, to run into the Frank Quarter, and throw himself upon the protection of the first European he meets, and who has only to declare that the fugitive is one of his dependents, and he would be set at liberty. When an Arab engages a Cand'gia to convey goods or otherwise, he is never sure that he shall be able to retain the boat's crew; for, should he fall in with a Government-officer, who needs, or says that he needs, their services for the Pascha, he has no alternative but to submit. It is, therefore, best in mounting the Nile, to hoist the European colours, which is usually a certain safeguard from all such interruptions. It may easily be conceived then, that an Egyptian who was proceeding to make a demand upon the public purse, would hardly be permitted to escape. Should he, however, by taking a circuitous route, avoiding the different towns and villages, or passing through them at night, contrive to elude the vigilance of the Authorities, and the snares of the plunderer, and so arrive at his place of destination, without accident or ill treatment, he presents himself forthwith at the Treasury; there he is detained, and it is long before he can obtain a hearing: for his appearance and general demeanour are such as, for the most part, to

proclaim the nature of his errand, especially if he finds himself in a populous city for the first time in his life. He is humble and timid, afraid to speak, and over-awed by the austere looks of those in office. At last, having obtained a hearing, and in a tremulous tone, made it appear that he comes to draw upon the great national bank; he is immediately dismissed with assurances that there are no effects, that he must wait awhile, that he may present himself a week hence, when, *perhaps* he may be more fortunate; but he is put off again and again, and constantly told that the Pascha's expenditure is so great, that it is impossible he can attend to such people as he is,—that so far from complaining at this, he ought to be obliged to Mohammed Ali for taking up the cause of the people,—for that it is all for their good,—that he is anxious to free them from the tyranny and fearful exactions of the Porte,—that the source of all their sufferings is the Sultan, who hesitates not to disregard their happiness, and to squander away the public money;—but that, in order to liberate them from such slavery, he (Mohammed Ali) requires great supplies both of men and means, and that without considerable exertion, and even sacrifices on their part, he would be compelled to abandon them and their wives and children to their hapless fate! Such, and many other similar stories are hatched up in order to impose upon their credulity: and, for a time, they succeed; for living at so remote a distance, unaccustomed to the schemings of diplomatic agents, these simple men are easily duped. At all events, they have no redress,—there is no money forthcoming: the onus is invariably laid on the shoulders of the Sultan, and Mohammed Ali Pascha is upheld to their deluded imaginations, as a noble and virtuous character, a valiant

hero, the liberator of his people, and the pious "Defender of the Faith!" It is nevertheless, very hard for a man to be without food, and without a home,—a stranger in a strange city—away from his family, who are anxiously expecting his return, and stand in great need of his assistance; but "Allah Kereem" (God is merciful)! all will yet go well! the Pascha has doubtless much to do, and they will be better off *by and bye!* "Ibrahim," they exclaim, "has been fighting their enemies in Syria,—he always beats them, and would have returned victorious, as he did from Mekka, but for a conspiracy of the Giaours—(may their fathers burn!)"—Then they console themselves with the idea that, because there is a new Sultan, there will be no more fighting, and the Redif will soon be given up, and the taxes are to be done away—and—and "Inschallah!" they will then "have plenty of corn and money, and they will be *free!*" "Allah! Allah! il Allah!"—This seems rather Utopian; but it may be all very philosophical: they do, no doubt, find relief to their mental sufferings, by appealing to the Providence of God:—they may derive comfort by employing their leisure hours upon their carpet in the Mos'que; but unfortunately they have none *but* leisure hours; and in the Mos'que they eat, drink, and sleep,—i. e. as long as they are able to supply their wants. Hunger is a sharp monitor: her decrees are irresistible; and however pious the individual may be, he cannot, like the chameleons of the desert, grow fat upon mosquitoes and atmospheric air!

When, therefore, he has expended his little store which he brought with him as provender for the way, when, after repeated fruitless visits to the Government, having represented his forlorn, and now, desperate situ-

ation, yet exciting no sympathy, he finds himself actually without the common necessaries of life,—he knows not what to do:—he walks about the bazaars and every crowded portion of the city, and yet procures not the means of alleviating his sorrows. He retires to his mos'que at night, to weep and lament the hardness of "his Destiny;" but the morrow brings forth only a renewal of his grief: he is almost driven to madness; and, at last, in an agony of despair, he avails himself of the only resource that is left—the Jews; whose leading characteristic in the East, as elsewhere, is usury. Reluctantly he bends his steps towards their obscure, yet thrifty quarter;—again he makes a pause; for he recollects that the Jews are alike the enemies of his tribe and his religion. He turns in disgust away, yet turns again; for, like Antonio in the drama, he once had called them knaves and—

> ——"Misbelievers, cut-throat dogs,
> And spit upon their Jewish gaberdine."

Full many a time and oft, he had rated them about their "monies, and their usances," yet still they bore it with a patient shrug;

> "For sufferance is the badge of all their tribe."

Like Antonio, therefore, wanting money, he is now compelled to stifle all his rising passions, and spite of hatred and disgust,

> "To hold the world but as the world,—
> A stage where every man must play his part."

To the Jews then he applies, and having no credit, offers as "commodity for money," the Pascha's *Teskerèh!* The sons of Israel accede to his request. They are accustomed to such transactions; but, in self-defence, they are obliged to bear in mind the caprice of the Viceroy, his political schemes, his expensive projects, and calculate the amount of all their

risks! They do not feel secure that the money will be paid at all; or it may be withheld three or four years. At length, the poor Fellah sets out on his journey homewards, exposed to the same dangers as when he came. Should he perchance escape the "Redif," and arrive in safety, he finds that, what with the expenses of the journey, and the exactions of the Government, and the Jews, he has little or nothing left him as the produce of a whole year's hard labour!

Precisely similar is the system adopted in regard to the cultivation of flax: the Pascha monopolizes the whole. It is woven into linen, and manufactured into various useful articles; but not only is a tax levied on the raw material, but every article so made is impressed with the Government stamp. A certain portion is allotted to the agriculturalist for his own use; but should he think proper to convert it into wearing apparel, he must apply at the proper place, and see that it be duly *stamped*;—indeed, it is only a very few years since a poor Egyptian, who attempted to evade this law, had his shirt burned from off his back as a punishment. I might enlarge upon this subject, but one instance is as good as a thousand, and I think I have stated quite enough to illustrate the Pascha's method of obtaining money.

In 1831-2, the cholera morbus excited a great panic in Egypt, and carried off considerable numbers of the inhabitants: by the end of November, however, the disease had entirely subsided, and the people every where resumed their customary avocations. The crop of cotton amounted to about 200,000 bags, but the Pascha took care to regulate the market in such a way as he knew would be profitable to himself. He still exercises a complete monopoly in regard to this staple

article, as well as in other commodities equally essential to trade. Mocha coffee, for instance, which formerly came in great abundance into Egypt, and was from thence exported to Smyrna, Constantinople, and the whole of the Archipelago, ceased to arrive, because the Pascha's extreme avidity deprived the exporters at Mocha, of every chance of profit for themselves. A variety of restrictions also exist with regard to importations of West India coffee, and other articles; and just so it is with almost every thing else by which there is any thing to be gained. The whole trade, in fact, is in the hands of one individual. It may be justly said that the Pascha of Egypt is its only merchant; for he can, and does, always regulate the price, as well as the policy; and with the exception of a few of the principal Frank residents, who have certain advantages, and fewer impositions,—nobody else derives any benefit from commerce.*

Land is generally held either of the Government or of the Mos'ques, some of which are very rich. There is little to choose between the two; for, in either case, the same system of persecution prevails, and to an

* "Mohammed Ali," says an intelligent correspondent, "has unquestionably done a great deal for the country over which he governs, inasmuch as he has called into action almost the whole of its various and extensive resources, which had long remained dormant before his arrival; but he has converted the whole land of Egypt into a private estate of his own, which he has cultivated at no expense whatever to himself. Private profit was always the stimulus of the improvements he achieved, and selfish enjoyment his only encouragement to go on. It is therefore a question, whether the world has had much cause to be indebted to Mohammed Ali for the fruits of his Government of Egypt. It is true, that they have at least, shown what that country is capable of doing hereafter, under a less despotic sway; but there is reason to fear anarchy, confusion, and the triumph of barbarism, once more in that "*land of promise*," when its present ruler has ceased to exist."—Since this was written, the evil last alluded to, has been guarded against, by the provision which the European Powers have caused to be made in reference to the succession.

equal degree. Terror is universally diffused, and the labourers are little better than acknowledged slaves.

When Pharaoh was commanded to lay up corn, and provide against the coming dearth, he was content to take a *fifth* part of the produce only; leaving the people to do what they liked with the rest. There was wisdom, and justice, and charity in this; but in time of plenty, when no scarcity was expected, Mohammed Ali over-stocked his granaries to such an extent, that the people cried aloud for food at the very doors of his palace; and he was inexorable. He turned away, nor once stopped to pity their condition; hundreds of them sank down from exhaustion, in the public streets, and died! (See Vol. I. Chap. VII.) Not content with compelling the people to till the ground in his own way, and afterwards taking the *whole* of the produce to himself on his own terms—(to say nothing of the extortions to which his system of Government necessarily exposed them,) he instituted the "Zecchât," or tribute of the *tenth* part of *all* merchandise or grain, though it did not refer to either houses or land. He took care, however, to exempt his own family and descendants from this impost, on the plea that it would be an *indignity*. He also established a capitation tax, especially on Jews and prostitutes; but it extended to the whole population. All imported and exported goods are taxed, so are slaves; there is also a duty upon baths, and public-houses or cafés. Even the trees are taxed (one piastre each); and as they would certainly be cut down by some kind neighbour, as soon as they could be turned to account, it is seldom that any are planted, except by the Pascha and his sons, or by the European merchants and Consuls. But so far

from Christians being persecuted in Egypt, they are allowed to remain in the land without even paying tribute.*

After what has been said, it would appear ridiculous to talk of definite laws or legitimate Government. In despotic countries, laws are constantly broken through by the very persons who enact them: and it is obvious that all domination must depend very much on the caprice of the authorities, who play into each other's hands in a variety of ways, and suit their own convenience in every thing over which they have control. Although they are often tempted to acts of cruelty and injustice, and can, if they please, dispose of the lives of their fellow-creatures by a nod, they have it in their power to accomplish much good; and frequently do so, in very summary ways, conferring upon rogues and impostors their due, in cases where in more civilized countries, the heartless ruffian has escaped, and even laughed at his accusers; a species of legislation which would perhaps be incompatible with European notions

* Perhaps I may be excused if I refer to the account given by Bourrienne in his "Memoirs of Napoleon," concerning the rapacity of the Egyptian Government, as it goes very far to confirm the statements I have been making. Frenchmen are generally favourably inclined towards Mohammed Ali. "On reaching Damanhour," he observes, "our head-quarters were established at the residence of a Scheikh. The house had been newly whitened, and looked well enough outside, but the interior was inconceivably wretched. Every domestic utensil was broken, and the only seats were a few dirty, tattered mats. Buonaparte knew that the Scheikh was *rich*, and having somewhat won his confidence, he asked, through the medium of his interpreter, why, being in easy circumstances, he thus deprived himself of all comfort? 'Some years ago,' replied the Scheikh, 'I repaired and furnished my house. When this was made known at Cairo, a demand was made upon me for money; and in consequence, I was ill-treated; and at length, forced to pay it. From that time, I have allowed myself only the *bare necessaries of life*, and I shall buy no furniture for my house.' The old man was lame, in consequence of the ill-treatment he had suffered. Woe to him, who, in this country, is *suspected* of having a *competency!* A hundred spies are always ready to denounce him! The appearance of poverty is the only security against the rapine of power, and the cupidity of barbarism!"

of liberty, but which is nevertheless very salutary sometimes. I might relate many facts in illustration. The following is a well authenticated specimen of Turkish justice. The late lamented Mr. Abbot, who resided many years in the Levant, in a public capacity, was at Constantinople when the circumstance occurred. A most respectable Turkish merchant, who amassed considerable wealth, had occasion to employ a Greek, a man of talent and ingenuity, but poor and friendless. Willing to promote his interest, he advanced him unasked, a sum of money that he might engage in mercantile pursuits. The Greek made many professions of gratitude, and declared that he was bound to him for ever. He bought, he sold, he speculated, and, being a shrewd fellow, grew rich, but at the same time, became proud, imperious, and vain. He soon forgot that he had traded with his neighbour's money, and thereby filled his own coffers. The love of gain, that "canker of the soul" that renders thousands wretched, destroyed the better feelings of his nature: his avarice increased with his prosperity, and kept pace only with his ambition. He ceased to acknowledge the source from which he had sprung, and blushed to think that he had once accepted aid of a Turk. He boasted of his ancestors, wore fine clothes, cursed the whole race of Islam, and thought of nothing but self-aggrandizement. Losses he had; but his connexions were numerous, and his credit good: although therefore, much had been extorted from him, in common with his countrymen, he had still plenty left, and he was doubtless reserved by those in power, as a convenient resource when occasion might require. But misfortune is not confined to the imprudent and depraved: the severest trials sometimes attend the just; and the

wicked are often allowed to prosper. The Moslem was a pious, upright man; nevertheless he became poor: for in addition to sundry heavy losses in trade, he had been robbed of a rich cargo in the desert, and plundered by the Government Authorities at home. "The life of a man," observes Saadi, "is like the traveller in the mountains of Kâf. If at the summit, he receives the rays of light before any other mortal; if half way down, he is partly obscured; if at the bottom of the valley, all the world look down upon him!" Just so, it was with the Moslem's friends. Notwithstanding all his generosity and benevolence, he was forgotten in his adversity by those, who, when Fortune smiled, were always ready to feast and revel at his expense. Even the heartless individual for whom he had done so much, seemed now ashamed to acknowledge him: he was too much engrossed with his own affairs, and the pleasures of the world, to trouble himself about his benefactor. Vanity, frivolity, and deceit, still characterize the descendants of the crafty Ulysses: and the gaily attired Helenite never once thought of returning the money which he had borrowed several years before. The Moslem was too high-minded to ask for it; although at this time reduced to great extremities. By mere accident, a friend—one only remaining friend—who, like himself, had been stripped of nearly all that he possessed, discovered how he had been treated; and without saying a word to his companion, sought out the Greek, and unceremoniously reminded him of his obligations. The ungrateful fellow stammered out an apology for his neglect, talked about his losses, and the state of the times,—and afterwards sent the money: but he made few enquiries concerning the individual to whom it was

due: and although living in the midst of luxury, neither offered to console nor assist him; nor did he present him with the smallest token in acknowledgment of past favors. This so exasperated the old man's friend, that he mentioned it to every body he met. At last, it came to the ears of the Grand Vizier himself, who, being a good man, was very indignant, and declared that if the report were true, the cold-hearted Greek deserved to be punished, and that justice should be satisfied. He sent for the poor Moslem, who was now bowed down with cares rather than age, and also for the Greek. Both presented themselves, wondering what the Vizier could want them for; and trembling lest some evil should befall them. The story was soon told: the Greek pleaded that it was not usual among Mohammedans to receive interest for money lent: the Khoran forbade it. "So then," replied the Vizier, "you avail yourself of this as an excuse for sordid meanness:—you see before you one whose generosity raised you from insignificance to affluence, and now that you are rich and he is poor, you neither enquire about his misfortunes, nor wish to relieve them: you do not so much as make him a present, which according to ancient custom, you know very well, is the *least* that you could do. You are a wicked, unprincipled wretch, and you shall be looked after. How long have you had the use of the money?" "Eleven years." "I command you then," said he, "to lend this excellent man a sum of money equal to that which he lent you: you shall procure for him from a scribe, a written document, declaring that you will never require him to return the amount, until the full expiration of *the same term;* and that you relinquish all claim to interest or any other recompense whatever.

I command you also to make him a *donation* of an equal sum, for present use, for which you shall also be bound *never* to ask him *at all!* Now, go and fetch th money; and think yourself well off that you are able to do so without being *carried!*" Persons having been appointed to see the sentence properly executed, the parties withdrew. In consequence of this event, the Greek obtained rather more notoriety than he liked: rumours went abroad concerning his wealth; and report says, that not long afterwards, he was applied to for a Government *loan!*

To descend from the grave to the ridiculous, I may allude to an event which, I dare say, some of my Eastern friends will recollect, as it occurred in the same city. A barber made a contract with a vender of faggots, for all the wood which his donkey had on his back. The money was paid, and the faggots deposited; but the knight of the razor insisted upon having the pannier also, because it was made of the same material. This was of course objected to. In the end, they referred the dispute to the Cadi, who decided without hesitation, that the pannier must be given up. As the barber withdrew, chuckling to himself, the Cadi whispered something into the ear of his opponent, who went the following morning very good-humouredly, spite of jeers and grimaces, to be shaved. He agreed with the barber that he should shave him and a friend of his, for a certain sum. After the operation was performed, the latter remarked, "that he was glad to find he bore him no ill-will." "Oh!" said the faggot-dealer, opening his large round eyes, and looking him full in the face,—"the Cadi is a wise man—truth is truth—justice is justice—law is law! Have we not the Moufti, and the Mollahs, and the

Khoran? Blessed be God! Who shall dispute the words of the Prophet? Mash'allah!" "True! very true!" said the other, stroking his beard, and sagely putting his head on one side.—"The Cadi *is* a wise man; and God is great!" "God *is* great," said his companion, "and Mohammed is his Prophet!—But, —*dont* you think the Cadi is a wise man?" "Belli! belli!" (yes! yes!) was the reply,—"the Cadi *is* a wise man,—a *very* wise man!" By this time, the wood-merchant had adjusted his turban; and then proceeded at the barber's request, to introduce his *friend*, who had been patiently waiting at the door, and now thrust in his head, displaying, to the confusion of the barber, a pair of long ears, a shaggy pole, and *rather* a rough chin, appertaining, as it seemed, to the identical gentleman who only a few hours before, had carried the wood! "This is my friend," said the other, "and a capital fellow he is—certainly one of the best friends I ever had in my life; for he works hard every day for my support, and when I am tired, he carries me on his back. I want you to shave him!" The barber's surprise and indignation may be conceived. "What! shave a donkey! Who ever heard of such a thing?" "No matter," said the other, "you agreed to shave him, and you must;—or come before the Cadi!" "W'allah! Billah! Shave a donkey! By the beard of my father, and the heads of the holy Imaums,—never!" "The Cadi is a wise man," rejoined the *man of wood*,—"I do think the Cadi is a *very* wise man! Let us ask him about it!" The barber walked up and down, tore his turban, appealed to his customers, talked largely about abominations, and curses, and his own pedigree, until he foamed and frothed at the mouth: his adversary with a half-

suppressed smile, coolly reminded him of his *contract*. "Law is law," said he, "and truth is truth, and the Cadi is a *very wise man!*" This made him more furious than ever; he stalked out of his shop, and—to the Cadi they went, followed by a crowd of people. "What now?" said the judge; "here again so soon! How is this?" The barber made one of his profoundest salaams. "Oh! my Agah!" said he, "this fellow whom your Excellency yesterday confounded in his roguery, when he was attempting to cheat an honest man, has been at his tricks again. It will scarcely be believed, that he has had the assurance to ask me to shave his donkey—an insolent, unsainted cur—me! a Had'ji too! But, thanks to Mahommed—(may his name be blessed!)—we have wise judges to protect us, and they will never allow the sons of the faithful to 'eat dirt' after this fashion, whilst such scums of impurity swagger and talk, and wallow in their uncleanness. Oh! my Agah! let him taste the Koorbadj, that he may know how to behave himself in the company of—"

Here the speaker was interrupted by the Furosh, who, at a sign from the Cadi, struck him a sharp blow on the mouth with his staff, which made his face swell up, and the blood run profusely down his beard to his feet. Now that there was an end of his eloquence, the Cadi read him a severe lecture, and the barber discovering his error, would have given all he possessed to have made his escape. One of the janizaries whispering just then to the magistrate, tended not a little to aggravate his fears and heighten his suspense. The Cadi nevertheless was merciful; the joke had succeeded better than he anticipated; but as the barber shewed himself to be so obstinate, imposing, and avaricious, he

decreed that he should restore the man his panniers, be put in the stocks, and pay a fine, or be bastinadoed. The culprit slunk out of the court to fetch the money, and as he regained the street, more than one voice was heard to say, "Don't you think the Cadi is a wise man!" On his return, he was exposed with his feet in the stocks, to the ridicule of the whole district, and he never forgot that "law is law, and truth is truth,"—for his neighbours took delight in teazing him about the Cadi; and his customers used "knowingly" to ask him, "how much he would charge to shave them and *a friend!*"

The Mohammedans do not admit of usury;—the Mussulmaun's word is his bond; oaths are unnecessary.* All important transactions are conducted in writing, and in the presence of witnesses; but there is no disputing about a point of law—no equivocating about the manner of the wording—no mental reservation—no attempt to misinterpret—all is open, fair, and honourable; i. e. when the Authority chooses to be just; for he sees at once, the original intentions of the parties, and takes the law into his own hands. If a man defraud his neighbour, or commit a theft, there is no time lost, no unnecessary delay; he is heard, condemned, and punished on the spot. No sooner is the sentence passed, than he is thrown down, his feet are

* The Porte, which, strange to say, always considered it a great sin to *receive interest* on money, yet allowed its officers to *extort*, and borrow money *on most exorbitant terms*, from Christian or Jewish subjects,—has now published a regulation, ordering that in future, individuals, whatsoever their religion, having payments to make to the Treasury, shall from the period of their becoming due, till the full acquittal of the debt, be responsible for an interest of twelve per cent. per annum, on the amount: a measure which is chiefly intended to be directed against the Saraafs or bankers in the employ of Government, who, it is well known, have been in the habit of holding back the money which they had received, and should have paid into the Treasury.

bound in the "Felek," and he feels the sting of the "koorbasch:" or the dishonest baker may be seen in the midst of the pitiless, jeering towns-people, who ridicule him as they pass, and glory to behold him groaning under the pain of his detected roguery, with his ears *nailed to his own door post!* But it is of no avail for the dishonest man to attempt to escape punishment, or to injure his neighbour by a quibble, and the ingenious twisting of sentences and words, as I am sorry to believe sometimes happens in England, where it is true, a man *may* have justice, but he *must* have plenty of money to pay for it; and it is notorious, that many an unprincipled scoundrel has had cunning enough to evade the penalty of the law, and been suffered to persist in his evil practices; and many a poor defenceless widow has been persecuted and frightened out of her rights, by the machinations of black-legged attornies and others; either because there *is* no law which referred to the particular case, or because the injured person was not in circumstances to take advantage of it. It would be well if a certain degree of discriminating power could, in general, as in criminal matters, be invested in the hands of the judge, together with those of a jury, in order that such men, who are the pest of society, should receive their reward.

There is no country in the world which can boast so many, and such noble Institutions, or where there is so much real liberty as Great Britain; yet it must be confessed, that we have too much law and too little. It is impossible that the Legislature can provide for every case that may happen: many things must be left to the discrimination, judgment, and principle of the magistrate; for which reason, there ought to be some court of appeal, that justice and protection may be

awarded to *all*, even to the humble tradesman and others of limited means, who cannot afford to employ a legal adviser. In a great country like this, surely there should be an *open Tribunal*, to which the poorest man in the Empire might have free access, as in the days of ancient Rome, so that *in no instance*, should persecution exist, or villany go undetected! In Egypt, and often among the Bedoueens I have been delighted to see an Arab Scheikh, seated beneath the shade of a sycamore, like the Patriarchs of old, hearing complaints, and dispensing, without any particular code of laws, that justice which the constituted Authorities would do well to imitate.

In Egypt, the provincial governors *were*, for the most part, Turks: but Mohammed Ali excited the fears and the suspicion of the Sultan by appointing Arabs to the vacant offices, whenever an opportunity occurred. The Arabs have always been remarkable for their sagacity and love of country. It was therefore to be expected that when exalted to important situations, they would have more influence over the people than Turks would have, and rule them better. It was reasonable to suppose that they would advance the interest of the Pascha very considerably; and it was not surprising that Mahmoud should take alarm at this act of apparent insubordination, on the part of his vassal. His own authority was set at nought, and it afforded presumptive evidence that his ambitious Viceroy was gradually weaning himself from his allegiance. Lower Egypt is under the immediate surveillance of Mohammed Ali himself, as he is constantly on the spot. Upper Egypt was formerly governed by twenty-four Beys or "Sandjaks;" but since the overthrow of the Mamlûks, the chief responsibility has been invested in

the hands of one person, under the title of "Kiaihia Bey" or lieutenant. The country is nevertheless divided into Provinces and Districts, which have each their particular ruler. The Capital is Es-Sioût. In the absence of Ibrahim Pascha, the command of a fort is usually given to a Sudar, (who should be a Kiaschef) the Imaum of the Mos'ques, and the Cadi. The Governor of a Province is called a Mamoor, and he appoints to every district an Inspector, or Nazir. The authority of the Nazir extends over seven towns, and the country in their vicinity; each town being ruled by a "Kiaschef."

In like manner, every village has its Chief, or "Scheikh el Bellad," who is a native, and takes cognizance of whatever misdemeanours or disputes may occur; and there is also a Qy'maqam, whose duty it is to collect the taxes, and superintend the cultivation of the land. In this he is assisted by the Scheikh el Bellad, who, notwithstanding he is the native Chief, is overlooked, if not controlled, by a *Turkish* officer, the "Scheikh el Meschy'kh," a sort of Government spy, appointed by the Kiaschef. Besides these, there is always one, if not two Christian Inspectors, bearing the title of "Mobásher;" and these have the nomination of the Scribes (generally Copts), ignorant men, who do not forget their own interest, and avail themselves of the numerous opportunities afforded them of exacting money from the people. These individuals are often overweening; they are very numerous; and as the nature of their office opens the door to bribery, they become a source of great annoyance to the Fellah, and are bitterly complained of. It is in the power of these men, to *remit*, in part, if not entirely, the debts of the people; or they may, if they please,

extort money from one man, in order to make up for the indulgences shown to another, or supply the just balance of their own accounts! Unless, therefore, the Fellah is able to fee the Scribe,—who, in turn, no doubt, is obliged to offer a douceur to the "Scheikh-el-Beled," and other of his superiors,—it is obvious that he is left at his mercy. These Government officers are, or *ought to be*, paid out of the Treasury. "The only person," says Sir Gardner Wilkinson, "who has a direct and *legal* claim on the peasant, is the Scheikh-el-Beled, who takes the produce of one in every twenty-five feddans, with presents of different kinds, according to the means or fears of the donor."*

From what has been stated, it is, I think, sufficiently clear that Mohammed Ali is very much at the mercy of his Provincial officers, from the Kiaihia Bey himself, down to the Coptic Scribe and the Qy'maq'am,—who are

* The following statement may be depended on as a correct account of the salaries appointed to be paid annually to each of these officers, who, however, reserve to themselves, on all occasions, the privilege of making as much as they can on their own account. The Egyptian coin is very bad; its value is liable, therefore, to fluctuate.† The purse is reckoned at about from 6*l.* to 7*l.* sterling—that is, as near as may be, 500 piastres, counting the piastre as equal to 3*d.* or 3½*d.* English.

	Purses.		Sterling.
Kiaihia Bey, Governor of Upper Egypt	3000	=	about £21,000
Mamoor, Governor of a Province	120 to 180	=	720 and 1080
Názir, Inspector of a District.....	60 to 84	=	360 .. 504
Kiáschef, Governor of a Town	7 to 14	=	42 .. 84
Múbásher, Embasher, or Christian Inspector..	6 to 7	=	36 .. 42
Scheikh el Meshykh, or Názir Scheikh	5 to 6	=	30 .. 36
Qy'maq'am, Collector of Taxes, &c.....	3 to 4	=	18 .. 24

The Scribes receive a commission of one parah for every reál of taxes levied—that is, about three pence in the pound. It is to their interest, therefore, to collect as much as they can; and they invariably go hand-in-hand with the Qy'maq'ams, as might reasonably be expected. They are more burdensome to the people than any other Government officers.

† See Appendix. Consult also the excellent writings of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and Mr. Lane.

chiefly instrumental in procuring for him the means by which alone he can hope to enforce his authority. Before the Pascha came into power, the Sultan was satisfied with 2½ per cent. on all articles of trade held by Moslems, and the "Miri," or land-tax, which was comparatively just and reasonable, as it was levied according to the relative produce of the soil (viz. 5½ per cent.), and the agriculturalist had at least the satisfaction of knowing that he could dispose of the produce, *as he liked*. Now, the case is very different: there is *actually* no defined scale of taxation; for so much power is invested in the hands of the Provincial rulers, and so great inducement is held out to them to answer the extravagant demands of the Pascha, that money is obtained *where it is to be got*, no matter by what means!

After destroying the Mamlûks, the Viceroy seized the whole of their estates; and, availing himself of the same pretext, he usurped many of the lands which were appropriated to the benefit of the poor, and certain religious establishments, schools, and public Institutions; he prohibited the cultivators of such lands, disposing of any portion of the crops until the Government agents had first taken whatever they thought proper, at their own price. If he would do this, the Fellah could no longer wonder that the iron arm of despotism should be extended towards himself; nor would the land-holder be surprised to find that, although he had laboured hard from his youth upwards, he had neither soil nor money to bequeath to his sons, the Pascha having, in point of fact, assumed the control of the one, and altogether deprived him of the other; so that he had nothing to leave behind but his blessing and advice.

CHAPTER IV.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF TURKISH JUSTICE — THE PLAGUE, AND THE DESTROYING ANGEL—STATE PILFERING—THE ROYAL FIRMAUNS CONCERNING THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT — PROCEEDINGS OF MOHAMMED ALI — THE TREATY OF LONDON — STATE OF SYRIA—RETREAT OF IBRAHIM PASCHA—DIPLOMATIC OVERTURES — THE EXTENSION OF CHRISTIANITY—REVOLTS — COMMERCE — THE SULTAN MED-'JID—ANECDOTES, ETC.

THOSE who have travelled in the Ottoman Empire cannot fail to have remarked that many very original ideas still exist concerning the administration of justice. "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," has long been a proverb in the East.* In former days, it was acted upon literally and absolutely: among the Moors it is still in force; and a very few years ago, the principle was rigidly observed in Egypt. If the offender made his escape, it was usual to lay violent hands on the nearest relation, who was compelled to suffer the penalty which the law prescribed, in lieu of his kinsman;—and in no case was it remitted, except by a compromise between the parties concerned; but a full equivalent was invariably exacted: added to which,

* See Exodus, xxi. 24.; also Matt. v. 38.

it was considered disgraceful not to repair an injury: a stigma was supposed to remain with the family, if an attempt were not voluntarily made to satisfy the injured party; and it was thought essential to let the recompense be as nearly *in kind* as possible. The judgment of Solomon, as recorded in the third chapter of the first book of Kings, is a very good case in point, and many equally forcible incidents have occurred in modern times. In 1839, a circumstance transpired in Egypt, which, whilst it illustrates the Pascha's shrewdness where money is concerned, affords a striking instance of the notions which prevail on this subject in the present day. It bears some analogy to the story of the merchant, given at the close of the last chapter, but the characters are here reversed. A native Saraaf (banker or money changer) whose name was Michael, was one day surprised by a Turk, who, after an absense of ten years in the Hed'jas, now made his salaam, and uttered a prayer for his health and happiness, in grateful acknowledgment of a benefit formerly conferred upon him. Michael had forgotten both the favor and the person. The Turk stated that, before his departure, he had lent him 250 piastres, and that he had since been fortunate and become a "Bim-bashi" (chief of 1,000), and concluded, by tendering the amount of his debt. The "Saraaf" was surprised, but not satisfied; and insisted on receiving *interest and compound interest*, which, taking into account the difference of the exchange, made up a sum of 300 purses; and as the poor "Bim-bashi" could not pay it, he was sent to prison. The question being referred to the Pascha, His Highness paid the money himself, and set his officer at liberty: but he at the same time, reminded the "Saraaf," that upwards of twenty years ago, there

was a *deficit* in his accounts, of about 350 dollars, and insisted on immediate payment of the same, with *interest and compound interest*, according to the rate fixed by the "Saraaf" in the case of the "Bimbashi;" thus making a sum of about 6000 purses, at 5*l.* the purse! This may appear improbable; but in Egypt, money is worth 3 per cent. per month. As the banker could not pay, he was imprisoned for a fortnight. He was then liberated, on payment of 750 purses, and binding himself down to pay the rest by instalments.

The following anecdote is related of the Sultan Mahmoud. His Highness was some years ago, going in state to a mosque, and had proceeded as far as the tomb of his father, Abd-ul-Hamed Khan, at Baktchi Kapousi, when an old Mussulmaun, of mild but serious aspect, suddenly *seized his stirrup*, and said, "It is the will of God; I have a suit against you—accompany me to the Mekhemméh" (hall of justice). The Sultan without evincing the least surprise, replied, "It is well—I will go; but it will be by deputy." Then, turning to the "Stamboul Effendessi" (mayor), he added, "I constitute you my representative—let two gentlemen go with you to certify your identity, and do you see that justice takes its course." The man *quitted his hold of the stirrup*, the procession moved on, and the others went straight to the "Mekhemméh." It turned out that, the plaintiff having a piece of land which adjoined that of the Government in Adalia, the Muzzellim had, on some pretext or other, taken possession of it twenty-seven years before, notwithstanding that the owners held the title-deeds. These documents were now produced, examined, and found to be in order, and the Sultan was condemned, not only to

restore the property, but to pay the proprietor the rent of it for twenty-seven years. All was done without a remark, and the man, in a few days, set out for Adalia. Previous to leaving the Capital, however, Mahmoud sent for him, complimented him on his spirited determination, and loaded him with presents. He then dismissed his fortunate subject with words to this effect: "Return home, and should any man wrong you, if the Authorities fail to do you justice, recollect, I am here!"

Said Ahmed, El Ghárbi (i. e. of the west,) the late Commander of the Egyptian Redif, aspired to be made a Pascha, and therefore, to shew his zeal, boasted that he could raise the force 1000. He was stimulated to this by the Scheikh of the Levant, who had made a fine purse for himself by the sums privately paid to him as an indemnity for service. In fact he was in the receipt of one-twelfth of the wages of those servants who were thus excused. He became so insolent at last, that he counselled his friend the commander, to thrash all the Frank servants who resisted his authority. The consequence was, that complaints were lodged against the Scheikh, and he was severely bastinadoed by the Pascha's orders. El Ghárbi's authority was absolute; the country people were afraid to come into the city, lest they should be forced to enlist; and the sentries had strict orders not to allow any one to pass either in or out without a "Teskerêh" from *him*. Said was not only Commander-in-Chief of the Redif, but also President of the Tribunal of Commerce—of course, a very great and wealthy man! But great men in eastern climes are not *immortal;*—poor Said died one day, and Said was buried, "amid honors and execrations!" At least so says a correspondent of "The Times." An immense crowd followed him; the priests

chanting hymns for the soul of the good Mussulmaun —the poor to obtain a share of the death-dole, distributed in the shape of 500 piastres worth of white bread, and of three buffaloes, which were cut up and distributed at his grave;—and the citizens, to curse the man who had given them such trouble at their daily drill. "Allah la yerhemou!" (may God grant him no repose!) was the prayer heard amongst this class of his attendants. Five negresses, his domestic slaves, followed, displaying upon wands held on high, the certificates of their emancipation. His single widow (an Algerine or Mogrebbin) staid at home—to mourn. He left no child to inherit his great wealth; so the Pascha *of course*, "demanded his accounts," and *finding him indebted some thousand dollars more than he left*, seized the ready money, and forgave his soul the rest! Like many other *favourites*, he had received no pay; but then he had the patronage of agriculture, and the allotment of lands; and it is known that he helped himself pretty liberally. He was one of the cleverest and richest men in Egypt; he was thrust by the Pascha into every appointment in turn, when there was any difficulty to overcome; and his influence extended even to Algiers. He is described by the intelligent writer to whom I am indebted for the account of this man, as "a good friend and a dangerous enemy," and as "possessing two most remarkable characteristics as a judge, viz., *wrath and partiality*." Moreover, that he was "a true believer, hated the English, was feared while he lived, and died,—they—do—say,—because he was no longer wanted!" But report also attributes his death to dysentery.

Early in the spring of 1840, during the existence, or supposed existence, of the plague in Alexandria, the

health Authorities, in the course of their investigations, were enabled to bring to light the following appalling instance of female depravity.

In the Haram of the daughter of the Dey of Algiers, (who was married to one Kaid Ismail,) a woman died, who, when visited by the Greek female, whose office it was to inspect dead bodies, was found to be scarred with blows, and burnt in several places! The poor woman had been a Circassian slave, whom the mistress of the Haram, this fiend in human form, detecting in an intrigue with her husband, had caused to be slowly beaten to death, and tormented with burning oil,—allowing fifty piastres per day, to the miscreant Arabs who acted as executioners,—as long as the punishment lasted! When questioned by the Authorities on the subject, this tigress-hearted monster coolly replied, that she was as much mistress of her own slave as of her own goods; and though the affair was universally known, she was still respected at the palace, as being the daughter of a Pascha! With such facts before us, occurring under the very eyes of the Government in 1840,—what becomes of Mohammed Ali's pretended justice and boasted civilization?

It is usual for the Viceroy of Egypt to announce annually to the Porte, according to ancient custom, that the festival of the "Kourban Bairam" has been solemnly celebrated. The ceremony was performed in 1840, on the 10th of "Zelhid'gè" (February), by the pilgrims at Mekka in perfect tranquillity and security, without any molestation on the part of the Bedoueens; and it is said also, that the pilgrims altogether escaped the plague which usually attacks them, —"the Angel of the Lord having on this occasion, deigned not to look too closely into the sins of the

Faithful, and to pardon them!" On this account, pious Mussulmauns pretended that there was no plague in Egypt, though on the occasion to which the horrible anecdote related above, refers, those who had the misfortune to take it at Alexandria, died in twenty-four and thirty hours!

The inhabitants of Egypt, both Arabs and Copts, have a singular notion respecting the plague, believing that every person, no matter how young or how old, who dies in Egypt, falls a victim to this disease, and that this has been the case ever since the time when the Angel of the Lord "smote the first-born." Hence, they call the plague "Taun," which signifies "the wound of a lance,"—because they think that a blow with a lance is inflicted by the Angel. This extraordinary idea explains how it is that European travellers in the East are continually hearing that the plague is raging in particular spots or towns; the meaning of the assertion simply being, that "there is a great deal of sickness;" but not alluding to any particular complaint. There is a disease common in Egypt, Sierra Leone, and other parts, resembling plague, inasmuch as blains and boils break out more or less all over the body. It is not referable, as some suppose, to bad water: the water of the Nile is perhaps the finest in the world: but it depends on constitutional irritation, bad effluvia, sudden atmospheric changes, (particularly when the rains which occur within the tropics, are unusually protracted,) too much food, and the want of proper ventilation, and cleanliness. It is a mild form of the same complaint; though when it occurs in debilitated habits, it often proves fatal. It was very prevalent during the crowded state of Alexandria, in the winter of 1840 and 1841.

Europeans would hardly believe to what an extent wealth is accumulated by the Saraafs and Governors in despotic countries, according to the old regime. It is credibly asserted that, during the seven years that Tahir Pascha and his son, Hussein Bey, were the Governors of the rich Province of Aidin, near Smyrna, they paid to the Government for their various patents, attributes, and indulgences, the annual sum of 71,000*l.* sterling! On no occasion did they extract from the tyrannized people, less than 180,000*l.*; whilst one year they absolutely realized 210,000*l.*! Thus the country paid nearly three times the sum that found its way into the Treasury! The excess was not all profit. Every great man had to be bribed,—the Saraafs got their full share, and even the Sultan Mahmoud disdained not (it is said) to accept the gifts which were offered to him.

Tahir Pascha was once a famous Admiral; and has lately again distinguished himself by putting down the insurgents in Candia. When he went to Aidin, in 1838, it was arranged that he should receive a fixed salary, and administer for the account of his Government. He succeeded Fethi Ahmed Pascha, who was nominated to the Embassy at Paris. Tahir having had experience as a soldier as well as a sailor, lost no time in setting things "to rights," and began, we are told, by organizing a body of "Zeibecks," Asiatic mountaineers, very remarkable for long legs, and short "inexpressibles," — a species of biped that infest the land, levying contributions on travellers,* insolent in

* I might enlarge upon this subject, and advance many practical illustrations, having traversed the districts of Aidin, Anatolia, and other provinces of Asia Minor, and myself had to deal with the "Zeibecks;" but as this work refers more particularly to Egypt, I must refrain until some future opportunity.

office, running riot when uncontrolled, and who think no more of cutting a throat than they would of carving a water-melon! In Russia—State pilfering goes on very much in the same way: yet she appears to flourish; but there, as the gentleman remarks, to whom I am indebted for these statistics, "a strong constitution may sometimes bear with impunity, excesses which would lay the weakly prostrate." According to the new system, introduced by Redshid Pascha, all this is to be rectified; the Authorities are to be paid fixed salaries. The Governor of Cyprus is to receive 4,800*l.* per annum, beyond which he will have no excuse for pocketing anything, at least in the way of taxation; but pocket he will! Nevertheless, the work of civilization is now rapidly progressing in the Turkish Empire. One of the first Institutions promised by the "Hatti-Scheriff of Gulhanèh," is the formation of a "Council of Justice," on the plan of the "Council of State" of France, in which all Government measures are to be hereafter discussed, previous to their being submitted to the sanction of the Sultan. The members of the Council are to have the faculty of voting for or against any proposed law. Without having been approved by the majority of this Council, none can be decreed. A report on every affair which may come under consideration, is to be made several days previously, and distributed to the members of the Assembly, in order to enable them to study it, and to prepare for its discussion. Those who intend to speak, are to set down their names in a book, and they will then be heard in rotation, and with attention; "nobody having any right to interrupt them!" Short-hand writers are to take down the speeches, which, after being revised by the speaker, are to be entered in the books of the

Council. Every article of a law must be thus read, debated, and discussed separately. Whenever the votes of the Assembly may be equally divided, then the Sultan will have the casting voice.

If those members whose opinions are of the minority, should express their disapprobation out of the Council-room, they will be regarded as disturbers of the peace of the nation. An enquiry will be instituted, and should they be found guilty, they will be expelled the Council, and other public functions. All the laws of the Empire will hereafter emanate from this Council.*

* The young Sultan addressed a firmaun to the Governors of the Ottoman Empire, explanatory of the principles of the Hatti-Scheriff of Gulhaneh, in detail, and which they are called upon to put in force in their respective Provinces. This proclamation was to the following purport:—After informing the Governors that the new social Constitution had been sworn to in the sacred name of God, by the Sultan and all the public Functionaries of Constantinople, the firmaun states:—"Thus from the highest to the lowest—from my Vizier down to the simplest shepherd, every man can dispose of his property as he pleases." It then orders, that all trials, both civil and criminal, may be open, and full justice be administered. With respect to capital punishments, it states, that "No person can be put to death, however he may have merited it, except on the following conditions:—There shall be forwarded an exact report of his crime to the Capital, where the cause of the criminal shall be submitted to a judicial enquiry, and decided upon according to the law of the country. Upon this decision, *I* will pronounce the pain of death, so that no person may be authorised in future, *under any pretext*, to inflict death, publicly or clandestinely, upon any individual whatever. Every public Functionary or other person, who shall be convicted of having transgressed this regulation, shall himself be punished with death, without regard to his rank, character, or credit, *all men being equal before the law*. The property of the criminal shall *not* in future be confiscated; his innocent heirs shall in no wise be made to partake of his punishment; and all their legal rights shall be preserved."

The next line in the firmaun is a volume,—"*Every arbitrary act is henceforth abolished.*" After stating that the regulations respecting taxes were preparing, and that there will be no exceptions in favour of any class, *all persons having to pay according to their means*, the firmaun concludes with an order to the Governors of the districts to have it read aloud in all public places, and otherwise circulated, so that none may be ignorant of its contents. This decree was issued in December 1839, and publicly read in all parts of the Empire. The regulations which it contained, were confirmed at a Council held on the 9th day of January 1840, under the Presidency of the Scheikh ul Islam. The "Haratch," or capitation-tax, to which the Rayahs were liable, was abolished on the same

I believe Redschid Pascha to be one of the most talented and active Ministers which the Porte ever possessed. Notwithstanding ancient prejudices, and the intrigues he has had to encounter, he has done more for the welfare of his country than has been accomplished for ages. Among many other laudable measures, he caused a decree to be issued, forbidding what is termed "Angeria," i. e., *unremunerated, forced labour*. No poor man is henceforward to be withdrawn from his avocations to work for the public authorities, without receiving just remuneration; neither are arbitrary exactions on the property of individuals hereafter to be permitted. The "Miri" has been removed from all trifling matters, (necessaries of life,) such as shoes, vegetables, and fruit,—and the "Shtisab" (excise) on all articles of foreign manufacture, has been doubled instead. Thus, British piece-goods, which only paid $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, consumption duty, now pay 5 per cent. The "Haratch" or capitation-tax having been abolished, an income-tax, regulated according to the possessions and *gains* of men has also been introduced, and no one is to be called upon to pay a parah beyond his quota.* Thanks to Redschid Pascha, Europeans and Christians in general are now allowed to hold and purchase land and houses in their own names, instead of as heretofore, being obliged to use the subterfuge of employing a native of Turkey as the ostensible holder. Thanks to Redschid Pascha, the cultivation and exportation of grain in Turkey were made *free*. There are to be no shackles, by assigning a certain supply for the Capital and large towns. The

occasion; and it was resolved, that in future, *no tax* should be levied without the consent and approval of the Municipal Councils.

* This system was first to be tried in the Provinces of Gallipoli in Roumelia and of Rho'davend-Kiar, in Anatolia.

office of "Zahiri Naziri" (corn treasury) was to be totally suppressed, and it is only now I believe, required, that every baker should keep a sufficiency of sound wheat or flour for three months' sale, giving also a guarantee that none but pure and wholesome bread, of full weight, should be sold. There was to be a small duty of about nine pence per quarter, on all the grain taken to market, whether used for home consumption, or exported out of the country. The old system is supposed to have existed, says my informant, ever since 1453, when Stamboul fell under the Ottoman sway;—but instead of that, it is quite of recent invention, having been first introduced under the reign of Selim, at a time when Russian influence had its full swing. The fact was not known, even by the Porte, until the last two or three years; and the late unfortunate Pertev Pascha owed his disgrace and subsequent execution, to his endeavours to effect this very measure. (See Appendix.)

It is said that the Sultana Valisè, is an ambitious woman, and exercises her prerogative to a very considerable extent in all affairs of State; that she is a firm adherent to the old system, capricious, and opposed to any sort of improvement.* It would seem, however, that she professes open contempt for the Mohammedan religion,—at all events, for its Ministers, which is rather contradictory, as the follow-ing anecdote will illustrate.

The Sultan being one day at prayers, at the tomb

* According to the Mohammedan law, the Royal Mother is almost considered holy; and every Mussulmaun has the right of appeal to her. Even the wives of the Sultan are compelled to treat her with veneration, and to kiss the hem of her garment whenever she appears. She alone has the right of appearing unveiled, but no person must look at her in the face. She has a deliberative voice in the Council of State, and all true Mussulmauns have been accustomed to pay a blind obedience to her.

of his father Mahmoud, heard a voice from the inside of the tomb, exclaim — "Abd'ul Medschid! — Quit the destructive path of *Innovation!* I your father, entered on this path, and now curse my vain and impious enterprise!" The Sultan related this to his mother, who ordered an enquiry to be made, and a Dervish who had concealed himself in the tomb, was strangled, without any form of trial.

This occurred in the spring of 1840, very soon after the firmaun relative to the new system of Government had been issued. It is not wonderful that its regulations should be set at nought by the Priests, as they are calculated to undermine their authority and influence. The circumstance just alluded to was, no doubt, the attempt of some fanatic, to work upon the imagination of his youthful Sovereign; but His Highness regarded it as a political demonstration on the part of the crafty Ulemah, and communicated the event to the Sultana, who immediately saw through the whole affair, and resolved to quell the rebellious spirit, and put a stop at once to the presumptuous encroachments of a set of men, whom she knew to be quite capable of fomenting discord.

The Hatti-Scheriff of Gulhanèh, of which so much has been said, might do a great deal both for Turkey and Egypt, if only judiciously acted upon; but that is the question. Abuses are pretty sure to creep in; still, in the end, it must be productive of good, at least in Turkey in Europe. I cannot say I am very sanguine about its operation in Egypt. The Pascha's authority there is absolute, and we shall see that his Highness will take his own course, in spite of this or any other proclamation from the Porte! He is already adopting measures in direct opposition to this edict, which, it

must be confessed, is full of good sense, and promises justice and protection to all classes. He is dividing the country between the members of his own family, his officers, and grandees, who will, if I mistake not, fatten on the best of the land, and make the Arabs cultivate the soil for them, so that they may also be enabled to satisfy the Pascha's demands.* A new system of the most grinding tyranny is at this time commencing; and the wretched Fellah will not be any better off than he was during the Syrian campaigns. The Pascha's object now, is to make the country produce as much as possible, that he may, in the first place, increase the amount of taxes, and in the next place, either directly or indirectly, get the entire produce into his own hands. His chief Douainier is to be Boghos Youssouff; and his various Beys and officers (whom he has rewarded for past services, by apportioning to them "Chiftliks" or farms,) may be regarded as so many overseers or task-masters; and they will all *flourish* individually as instruments of his will and pleasure,—like others who have gone before them!† The Hatti-Scheriff will be thrown over the left shoulder. He talks, it is true, about "liberty of culture and commerce," but this is only one of his plausible manœuvres to throw dust in the eyes of the people. His acts do not correspond with his professions. He takes the whole of the cotton crop this year (1841) to himself; and so he will next year; for although he holds out a promise that those may sow and reap who

* Some time ago he made over 90,000 feddans of land in Lower Egypt, to his children, which is in fact, the best, if not the only soil capable of growing cotton!

† Boghos has already set them an example: for they say that his farm at El Birket on the Mahmoudieh canal, cultivated under the care of an Armenian (his countryman), is one of the most productive in Egypt.

please, he throws so many obstacles in the way, that nobody is likely to toil on their own account. He knows that in Egypt everything depends on *irrigation;* and that it will always be in his power to keep the people *in his debt*, by fixing enormous imposts on water-wheels, oxen, d'germs for transporting the produce, camels, agricultural instruments, warehouses, &c., and thus put it effectually out of the power of others to compete with him; added to which, he charges twelve per cent. on all exported articles; whereas he not only is enabled, by reason of his immense stores, the means employed by him of obtaining *free* labour, and the difficulties which others meet with, to undersell every body else, but he sometimes deducts the twelve per cent. export duty, or perhaps half of it, as an inducement to Europeans to purchase of *him*. Besides, it is understood in Egypt, that any defalcation in the taxes of one village, must be made good by another in the same neighbourhood; and children are liable for the debts of their parents: so that, taking these and many other matters into consideration, there is not much inducement to persons to cultivate the land for themselves. The natives have one advantage now, which they had not before. Like the inhabitants of crowded districts in London, if they have not the wherewith to meet the demands of the tax-gatherer, or a landlord, they may watch their opportunity, and — "shoot the moon!" They can slip out at the back-door, and migrate to Syria! Mohammed Ali, however, knows this; and it will not be long before he places his cordons about, to intercept stragglers of this kind. Thus the wretched Fellahs have but an indifferent prospect: bondsmen they have always been, and such

they must remain. The good intentions of the Porte will not, I fear, avail them much.

According to accounts more recently transmitted to us, the Pascha had been sending round "notificazzione" to the Franks, announcing to all who cultivate land, that he was about to make fresh arrangements, and to adopt a new system of administration, to which they too must either *conform*, or surrender possession, and close their accounts with the Government. This is understood to be a polite dismissal; for if they are no longer to be indemnified or protected as hitherto, there will, I fancy, be little temptation to any Europeans to speculate in farming on the banks of the Nile; especially as no one but the Pascha is allowed to erect magazines there, and His Highness is evidently determined to carry on the same system of intolerance and monopoly as heretofore,—if possible, on a more extended scale; for occasionally his attention would be diverted a little from mercantile transactions, by the affairs of Syria: but now that he is wholly intent upon agriculture, I suppose his avarice will know no bounds.

Public letters state that he had been receiving various unpleasant pieces of intelligence, both from friends and enemies: indeed that he hears rather more than those about him wish him to hear; for they find it no easy matter to answer his queries, and frame excuses. Thus he has been very anxious to learn how his Generals behaved in Syria, and especially Suleyman Pascha. This was with well meaning intentions, having always entertained a very high opinion of him. But in some of his other enquiries, he had an eye to *business*, and would not be put off by excuses. Facts are stubborn things; and hearing from all parties, that the besiegers of Acre found in the citadel no less a sum in hard cash,

than 8,000*l.*, being the *remains* of a treasure which when entire, amounted to 3,000,000 of piastres (about 30,000*l.*), including fifteen camel-loads carried off by Osman Bey in his retreat, he forthwith wrote to that dignitary and also to Ibrahim Pascha for an explanation. "How came you to send to me," said he, "for 47,000 purses (235,000*l.*) to pay your troops, so pressingly, just before the bombardment, declaring that you had not a piastre, whilst at that very time, there were *at least* 3,000,000 in the Treasury at Acre?" Rather an awkward question certainly! Again he asks: "I find the names of 350,000 soldiers in my books receiving pay;—where are they all?" Gone to Paradise, no doubt! It will be well if he do not dispatch a few of his employés to fetch them back to render an account of their earthly pilgrimage, since he can get none from those who registered their deaths. His Highness only wants time to look around him, and then, woe be to those whom he finds to have been tripping!—the day of retribution is at hand; for his Treasury being empty, they will pay dearly for thus exposing the nakedness of the land. He will be satisfied with nothing short of his *due*, they may depend upon it.

At the commencement of 1841, the Viceroy was in debt to the Sultan 3,000,000 of Spanish dollars, which being required to pay in a short time, he is said to have adopted quite a novel method of obtaining the ready money. Finding that he wanted 700,000 dollars, he forthwith called upon seven of the principal mercantile houses at Alexandria to advance him 100,000 each, for the period of one year, *without interest;* and strange as this may seem, he was likely to obtain it! Mohammed Ali, although somewhat humbled by his

late reverses of fortune, and the very embarrassed state of his affairs, was not disposed to abandon himself and his heirs *entirely* to the mercy of his enemies; and of this he gave a very substantial proof; and we cannot blame him. We must in justice acknowledge, that it was neither fair nor consistent, for the Ministers of the Porte, after they had made their own terms,—when they were required to fulfil their part of the agreement, the Pascha having punctually performed his,—because they saw that he had no longer the same power to defend himself,—to turn round upon him as they did, and endeavour to make fresh and oppressive stipulations, such as they knew would undermine his authority, and place his family in jeopardy. This, however, seems to have been the case; and there is very little doubt that they would have been persevered in, but for the remonstrances of the European Powers, who could neither approve nor sanction such proceedings; for the Pascha had sent back the fleet, recalled his son from Syria, and given up the Holy Cities, &c., as agreed, declaring that *he depended on the good faith of the Allies* for the fulfilment of the Sultan's promises. We shall see to what this led. A conference was held on the subject on the 4th of February, at Constantinople, at the office of the Minister for Foreign Affairs: and the following items were determined on.

1. A full pardon to Mohammed Ali for his late prevarications, &c.

2. That in future, all treaties with Foreign Powers shall include Egypt as well as the other Provinces of the Empire.

3. That the public prayers in the Egyptian mosques shall name the Sultan *only* as the chief among the

"True Believers" and the "Descendants of the Prophet."

4. That the right of coining money rest *exclusively* with the Sultan.

5. That the number of troops to be kept by the Pascha of Egypt, shall not exceed 20,000:—that of these, 18,000 shall remain in Egypt, and the other 2,000 shall be sent to Constantinople: that any increase to the above which circumstances may call for, shall be regulated by the Porte. Moreover, that the Pascha of Egypt shall have power to appoint officers up to the rank of Adjutant-Major only—all Colonels and other superior officers to be nominated by the Porte: the Pascha is also prohibited building any new ships of war or fortifications without the sanction of the Porte.

6. That the practice of hunting slaves, and of making eunuchs, be discontinued.

Thus, then, on the 14th of February, three distinct firmauns were forwarded to Alexandria. The first contained the order to invest Mohammed Ali with the Paschalic of Egypt, "en héredité,"—as likewise the rules and regulations to which all future Paschas of Egypt are to be subjected. The second invited Mohammed Ali to send the arrears of tribute due for Arabia, Syria, and Candia, to Constantinople. The third firmaun placed the provinces of Sennaar, Nubia, and Ethiopia, *provisionally* under the orders of the "Governor" of Egypt, who was thenceforth to be also entitled "Pascha of Sennaar."

The Ottoman Ministers, in dispatching the firmauns, anticipated a refusal of the profferred recognition by the Sultan, on such terms; and they were not mistaken. Plenipotentiaries from the Five Great Courts of

Europe assembled in Downing Street, for the purpose of determining the question of "the Straits," and of the best means whereby the integrity of the Ottoman Empire might be maintained; when suddenly, Lord Palmerston declared that "the latter subject must be postponed, until they had been officially acquainted by the Porte, that the differences between the Sultan and his Vassal had been finally *settled !*"

It was certainly a matter of surprise to all parties, that the Porte should so far deviate from the fulfilment of its part of the treaty, as to insist on such measures as would render the Pascha of Egypt a mere non-entity, keep the country in a constant state of anarchy, and from time to time, endanger the peace of Europe; but so it was, and it behoved the Allies for their own sakes, to see that the convention of Sir Robert Stopford was acted up to honourably and fairly by all, and at the same time, to keep a vigilant eye upon the intrigues and political manœuvres of France and Russia.

On the 20th of Feby., the Turkish steamer "Peyki Shevket," commanded by Ford Bey, entered the harbour of Alexandria, with Ned'gib Said Effendi on board, charged with the delivery of the three firmauns.* Of course, as the Envoy Extraordinary of the Sultan, he was received with great honours; the soldiers were drawn up on his landing, salutes fired, &c.—and he was speedily ushered into the presence of the Viceroy, who was standing in the Audience Chamber, ready to welcome the bearer of the honoured firmauns. Pipes and coffee were brought, and the Sultan's presents tendered; after which, the various Officers of State

* This Commissioner is Kapougia Bashi, Chamberlain and Minister at the Sublime Porte, and was formerly Secretary to the celebrated Halet Pascha.

withdrew, and the "red curtain" fell, including only Mohammed Ali, Ned'gib Said, and Sami Bey. The latter, acting as Secretary, read the firmauns; which done, he made his salaam; but subsequently entered, and again withdrew, twice or three times during the interview.

The fundamental conditions of the firmauns the Pascha was already prepared to accept, and had given his word to fulfil. He of course regarded the sending of the firmauns only as the "form," or final and official ratification of the treaty already agreed to by the parties concerned,—the open declaration and acknowledgment on the part of the Sultan his master;—but he was not prepared for any *fresh stipulations*. His Highness bowed to the will of his Superior in regard to the practical regulations of the Hatti-Scheriff; he consented to give up his monopolies, and to fulfil the treaty of commerce with England: and he did not dispute the amount of his debt, viz. 170,000*l*. But when the Envoy read some of the other sweeping clauses concerning matters in which he expected no sort of interference, and announced others as no less indispensable,—he expressed not only his surprise, but his *unqualified dissent*. The Pascha seemed willing to adhere to all the stipulations of the *convention;* but he complained most bitterly to Commodore Napier afterwards, of the encroachments of the Porte, and the desire which it evinced to ruin him, and to sow the seeds of dissension in his family, and of civil war in the country over which he was to be the *nominal ruler*, but in fact, a mere *puppet* in the estimation of the world! "I have yielded many points" said he, "in regard to the proposed details; but not satisfied with this, the Sultan expects me—

"1. To recognize military, naval, commercial, and financial Commissioners, who are to reside in Egypt, to assist in the administration of those departments, according to the principles *approved by the Sublime Porte*, and to be set out in detail *under their surveillance*.

"2. They cut down my army and navy according to their own caprice, and do not even allow me to appoint my own officers; and

"3dly, which is the most tyrannical of all, I am not even permitted to nominate my successor; but the Sultan is to have the privilege of selecting any one of my family which 'he may deem most fitting to assume the reins of Government.'—These are measures," he added, "which are *contrary to all precedent;* they are calculated to render my power a mere political phantom, and certain to create jealousies, blood-shed, and feuds among my descendants:" and he openly declared that he would not submit to any such unreasonable interference with his paternal authority. He did not object so much to the appointment of naval and commercial Commissioners, as he considered these in future, chiefly "British Departments" in the Levant; but he felt that if he was to be controlled in *financial* and *military* matters, and be always at the mercy of a set of spies and parasites, he should neither have power to punish offenders, protect property, nor check the injustice or avarice of those favourites which his enemies at the Bosphorus might choose to place in office; that bribery and extortion would be in full force,—all kinds of excesses would be committed with impunity,—and in fact, that a premium would be held out for his own destruction and the extermination of his race!

A formal and decided negative having been returned by the Viceroy to the fulfilment of these objectionable conditions, Ned'gib Said and his companion Ford Bey set out together on board the same steamer, on their return to Stamboul, where they would assuredly be received with "open eyes" by "the Divan;" and beards, not a few, would be "smoothed down," and "*pulled*," when "Allah! W'allah!" the fixed determination of the Pascha was announced!

From that moment, Mohammed Ali made up his mind that he must be prepared to defend himself, unless the matter should be adjusted by the English, to whom alone he could look with confidence in his emergency; and he felt assured that those who had acted generously towards him from the beginning, would now protect him from the overbearing intolerance of his political enemies; an idea in which he was encouraged by his old friend the Commodore, who was still there, trying to conciliate. Nevertheless, he kept on the alert, that he might be prepared for the worst. The powder works at Cairo produced eighty quintals per diem. This was regularly forwarded to Alexandria, and deposited in the magazines; the fortifications along the whole line of the Egyptian coast were examined, and the works proceeded with renewed vigour. Ibrahim Pascha was with him; and rather than submit to the arbitrary system proposed by "the Divan," and be in danger from the machinations of secret foes, invested as they were to be, with authority; he resolved to make a last and desperate struggle for independence, and be prepared, in case of need, with available cash and valuables, to fly with a few trusty followers, to the country of Sennaar: or even seek the protection of Great Britain, in India!

The desire thus evinced by those in power at the Sublime Porte, to trample on a fallen man, coupled with the attempt of the Turkish army to annihilate Ibrahim Pascha and his troops at Gaza, during their retreat from Syria, was any thing but creditable to those concerned, and says very little for the progress of civilization among the Osmanlis. General Jochmus, who commanded this division, was excused by some, on the plea that he was ignorant of the actual state of affairs, or that he would not have attempted to interrupt Ibrahim ; and others assert that he was unable to restrain the fury of the soldiers, which is very likely ; at all events, his conduct during the campaign generally, was approved and rewarded by the Sultan. Ibrahim Pascha left Damascus with a force amounting to 40,000 men ; but what with sickness, privation, and the opposition which they encountered on their march from the mountaineers, and the tribes of the Haouran and Nablous, barely 20,000 lived to return. Multitudes of women and children who accompanied the army, also perished ; but of these, little account was taken, and between 200 and 300 boys of about twelve years of age, detained by the General as hostages for the safe retreat of his followers, shared the same fate. They started with fourteen days' provisions only. At Mezariab, five days' march from the Capital, Ibrahim divided his army into four parts. Selim Pascha went forward with the first division, taking with him Ibrahim's favourite son, and a crowd of women and children ; they proceeded by the southern road which leads to the deserts of Arabia and the Red Sea ; and at the expiration of five days, would have perished for want of food and water, if they had not fallen in with a Caravan of pilgrims. Suleyman Pascha immediately

followed with five regiments, each 3,200 strong, and the rest of the women and children. In this division, were 2,000 sick, all of which died. As the party just in advance of them had consumed every thing which fell in their way, the sufferings of these poor creatures may perhaps be imagined, but they cannot be described. Suleyman, however, contrived to bring home 225 guns. Menikli Pascha commanded the third division, consisting chiefly of cavalry: they endeavoured to force their way through the rocky wilds of Anti-Lebanon, but they soon lost their road, and getting entangled in the fastnesses and ravines, were half of them destroyed by the natives.

The fourth and last division was commanded by Ibrahim himself. It consisted of the 13th regiment, and fared worse than either of the others; for they were harassed by the Turks and Bedoueens, during a circuitous march of thirty days to Gaza, round by the Dead Sea and the plains of Jordan, without any refuge or resource. After they had devoured all the dogs, and wolves, jackals, and donkeys, they had nothing to depend upon but herbs and berries. They reached the district of Gaza at last, in a most exhausted and deplorable condition; and it was then as much as the English officers of the station could do, to prevent the Turks satiating their revenge by a general massacre of the sick and defenceless. The sufferings of these devoted beings, owing to the reckless species of warfare carried on by their enemies, who were continually at their heels, were beyond all conception; cold, sickness, famine, and fatigue effected what the infuriated mountaineers, and the Turks and Bedoueens failed to accomplish. The retreat of the Egyptian army from Syria, we have reason to believe, was far more

terrible than the wanderings of the Israelites in the wilderness, and it has aptly been compared to the return of the French from Moscow.

I have stated in a former chapter, that Mohammed Ali was sincerely devoted to his wife and children. Although I have felt it my duty, in writing this work, to speak of his faults, in as much as they affect the general welfare of mankind, and the Egyptians more particularly ; it is with the most unfeigned satisfaction that I record his virtues. Some persons assert, that Ibrahim Pascha is only the son of his wife by a former marriage ; and that, in consequence, His Highness evinced towards him more austerity on account of his impetuosity of temper, than he would otherwise have done ; but most people believe, that he is his own offspring, and are of opinion that the likeness to the Pascha is too well marked to be mistaken. (See Appendix.) Be this as it may, there can be no doubt, that Mohammed Ali is sincerely attached to him, and that whatever faults he may have, his bravery and fidelity have secured his entire confidence. In the midst of all his cares, he never forgot him : he spoke of him when absent, with the greatest affection and solicitude. All communication with Syria being cut off, he could gain no tidings of him for many weeks, and he was then unable to conceal his anxiety. He knew that he was beset on all sides, that his supplies both of money and provisions were exhausted, and that he had had several attacks of dysentery, which disabled him to such an extent, that at last, he could not mount his horse. It was more than once reported that he was dead ; and the accounts brought by those who latterly found their way to Cairo, were such as to confirm his most gloomy apprehensions. We may judge

then of his delight when he heard of his son's arrival at Gaza. He immediately sent off a strong reinforcement to protect him from the insurgent Bedoueens,—and abundance of necessaries, accompanied with an order to repair forthwith to Alexandria, on board the "Nile" steamer. It was for some time a matter of doubt whether Ibrahim Pascha would be able to make good his retreat at all. His Highness had no means of obtaining any correct intelligence concerning the feeling entertained towards him by the Allies, and what sort of reception he might meet with, supposing he could reach the coast. It was expected that he would throw himself upon the generosity of the English; but had he been so disposed, it was impossible; the Turks were advancing from Asia Minor,—the Metouali of the Anti-Lebanon intercepted all the passes which lay between Damascus and Aleppo—the people of Diarbek'r were on his right—the Bedoueens were advancing from the Euphrates, and the tribes of Nablous and the Haouran were in his rear; added to which, the Druses and the Maronite Christians occupied the whole of the "Bekaa," and the passes which lead by the Lebanon range, to the plains of Tripoli and Beyrout. At last, an insurrection broke out in Damascus itself, and he had therefore no alternative but to divide his forces, and proceed by different routes, towards Gaza. He did so, and we have seen with what result. The Turks were in pursuit of him, and had not the English interfered, and sent officers to put a stop to their proceedings, he and his redoubted veterans would certainly have been destroyed.*

* The "Bekaa" is a long, narrow valley, extending between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountains, opening towards the desert by the country of "Homs" and "Hamah" in the North, and communicating with the plains of Sidon in the South, being separated from the "Haouran" by the "D'gebel-Es-

When Ibrahim Pascha arrived at Alexandria, the affairs of Egypt had reached a most important crisis. The Viceroy had submitted, and pardon had been

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Scheikh" and Mount Hermon. About the centre of the "Bekaa" is "Zahlè," which commands the entrance to the mountain pass which leads to Damascus, and further north, are the ruins of "Baalbec:" in the vicinity of these Ibrahim was for a long time encamped. The "Bekaa" was formerly highly cultivated, and abounded in important towns: the ruins of which are still to be seen, but they have been imperfectly explored. The "Bekaa" forms part of the Emir Beschir's territory; but it is continually exposed to the incursions of the wandering tribes, and is therefore neglected, as the Druses have not always the power to put them down. But the soil is rich, and being well supplied with water, brings forth spontaneously. Aleppo is eleven days' journey from Damascus, by Caravan. There are two principal routes usually traversed across the mountains, between the sea coast and Damascus. The first leads from Beyrout, the chief port of Syria, among rocks and precipices, and beautiful over-hanging shrubs, to "Deir-el-Khámar" the residence of the Emir Beschir — a fortress romantically situated in the midst of an amphitheatre of towering heights. From thence, proceeding by "Beit-ed-Dein," and "Barouk," the "Bekaa," "Ain-Fedg'r," and "Aytieh," it traverses the Anti-Lebanus to "Megl'soun," in the valley of "Sham," or more properly perhaps, the "Ouadi Barrada." The second leads across the plains, from Tripoli to Canobin. Ascending to B'shirrai, one of the most romantic situations in the world, it issues among the cedar plantations, and winding over the mountain by a gorge or pass, brings us to "Ainnette," "Deir-el-Akhmar," and "Baalbec." Crossing the Anti-Lebanus, by "El Khánnè," and "Essoueirè," we then descend to "Zebdenè," and following the course of the "Bah'r Barrada," enter upon the delightful gardens and orchards of "Sham,"—"Sham-es-Schereeff" as the Arabs term it, "a perfect Eden." Damascus is not without pretensions to such an appellation. It is unquestionably a lovely spot; and it is generally viewed under a bright sun and a cloudless sky. This ancient city stands on the west side of the plain, two miles from where the river "Barrada" emerges from the mountains, and in the midst of orchards and winding streamlets, which include an area of thirty miles. The town itself is four miles and a half round, and two miles from east to west; it is surrounded by walls, and contains about 150,000 inhabitants. Of these about 20,000 are Christians, and there are perhaps from 7000 to 8000 Jews; but all such statistics are very difficult to determine. Damascus is famous for the beauty of its women, and the manufacture of silk and sabres. It has a Kallah or Citadel, and abounds in coffee-houses and kiosks; it contains also several mosques, the chief of which was formerly a cathedral dedicated to St. John the Baptist; and there are eight Jewish Synagogues, two hospitals for Lepers, and three convents of Franciscan Friars. The Patriarch of Antioch resides at Damascus; he has forty-two Arch-bishops and Bishops under him, and his office is worth about forty purses a-year.

It is here that the Had'jis or Mohammedan pilgrims assemble to join the great Caravan: the distance to Mekka may be performed in about forty days. "The Arabs, by a play upon the words, express the proverbial character of the

granted; but the name only of power was restored to him. Formalities were fulfilled to the letter, but there was no sincerity, and evidently no desire to forget, and *really* to forgive; the most rancorous spirit was exercised, and although the Sultan's firmauns were honourably received, Mohammed Ali felt constrained to remonstrate, and protest against the conditions with which the Imperial "Act of Grace" was accompanied; for they were such as no man *could* fulfil; the more especially as the following sweeping clause was appended thereto:—"As every one of the preceding conditions is closely attached to the hereditary privilege, *should but one of them at any time not be executed, the hereditary privilege shall at that instant be abrogated, and cease to exist!*" Albeit, His Highness paid every respect to the Sultan's Envoy, and of course accepted the presents of which he was the bearer. To have done otherwise, would have been offensive in the extreme, contrary to all etiquette; and (regarding the proffered civilities as an offering of peace and good-will) to have rejected them, would have been tantamount to the renewal of hostilities.

Many of the older residents, who are familiar with the Pascha's shrewdness, were surprised that His Highness should hesitate about either presents or conditions; for his policy has always been, to *appear* to aquiesce in *whatever* was proposed; but subsequently to take his own course; and I have already illustrated his happy knack of ridding himself of whatever obstacles were opposed to his wishes, whether in the shape of

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cities of Damascus, Aleppo, and Cairo, thus: "Shami shoumi — Halepi tshelebi — Masseri harami." "The Damascenes are false,—the Aleppines foppish,—the Masserines vindictive." See Gen. xiv. 15.—xv. 2.—2 Sam. viii. 3—6.—1 Chron. xviii. 3—6. 1 Kings xi. 23. 2 Kings xvi. 9.—v. 12.—Acts ix. 11.

animate or inanimate objects. The Pascha, it is said, always "bides his time," and has never suffered himself to be long incommoded with either Commissioners, Moofusils, or Defterdars. But delays and evasions, just then, would probably have been inconvenient, since he had nothing to hope from the French; and the English, although they gave him good advice, had taken up the cudgels against him. Moreover, the schemes laid by his enemies to set his sons and grandsons cutting one another's throats for the succession, and looking to the Sultan for power and favour instead of to himself, roused him to a pitch of earnestness which set diplomacy at nought; and he sprung forth from his lair like an infuriated Panther in defence of his young. It is no more than might have been anticipated: and if the Council of the Porte had persisted in these resolutions, the Pascha would possibly have given them more trouble than they had an idea of. The Allies had agreed, that although they would *recommend* a reconciliation, (Mohammed Ali having given proof of his sincerity, by sending back the Turkish fleet, evacuating Syria, &c.,) they would nevertheless, "not interfere in regard to any future arrangements between the Sultan and his Vassal." The only question then was, how far they might be pledged to protect the latter from any deviation from the strict articles of the convention. They were bound in honour,—if not to see the convention fully carried out,—at all events, not to sanction any breach of faith on the part of the Turks. The latter knew this, and they were doubtless aware that, being left to fight their own battles, the Pascha would most likely soon be able to—*make his own terms!*

In reference to this subject, Lord Palmerston de-

clared in Parliament, that the Hatti-Scheriff was "an instrument issued by the Sultan on his own authority; and that until some question might arise out of it which could call for the notice of the Four Powers, (France having entirely withdrawn herself,) he apprehended that Her Majesty's Ministers could not interfere in it, as it was a question between the Sultan and his Vassal; —that the intention of the Four Powers, when they advised the Sultan as to the course they thought it best for him to take, was, that he should grant to Mohammed Ali the Government of Egypt, which was to be hereditary to his descendants *in a direct line*, as far as that could be done under circumstances. But that they had not meant that that should be put differently; although it was understood that each successor should receive *investiture* from the Sultan." If the latter had no wish to evade, or set aside, the intentions of the Four Powers in the advice which they had given him, the restrictions which afterwards emanated from his Divan, sufficiently attest that he or they must have acted in the matter, with considerable mental reservation: but it was evidently the intention of the Allied Courts to offer Mohammed Ali a *bonâ fide* hereditary Paschalic—a Government equal to any other in the Ottoman Empire, effective, unshackled, and subject to no troublesome or unusual molestation whatever.

The letter in which Mohammed Ali remonstrated with the Grand Vizier concerning the clauses contained in the Sultan's firmaun, was written in submissive, and diplomatically respectful terms. It arrived at Constantinople by the "Peyki Shevket" steamer, (Ford Bey), on the 6th of March, together with dispatches from Said Muhib Effendi, the Envoy

of the Porte. The modifications which the Viceroy wished to be introduced into the Hatti-Scheriff of investiture, were, "*first*, that the Governor of Egypt should enjoy the right of choosing his own successor: —*secondly*, that this successor should not be obliged to proceed to Constantinople to receive his investiture from the Sublime Porte:—*thirdly*, that the superior officers should be appointed by him and his successors, and not by the Sultan: —*fourthly*, that he should be excused paying the tribute fixed by the Sultan, during a limited period, *in order that he might apply the entire of the public revenues to ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants of Egypt*;—and he consequently objected to the committee of surveillance, mentioned in the ninth paragraph of the Imperial Hatti-Scheriff." The Pascha also complained of the amount of tribute: and in commenting on the foregoing, he reminds the Porte that it is but just that he should be made Pascha of Sennaar, Cordofan, and Nubia, not for life only, but *en heredité*, since these territories were added to the Turkish Empire only by his arms; and especially as the Nile is the sole connecting medium. He estimates the revenues of Egypt at about 120,000,000 of francs per annum, and argues that, as he has hitherto been required to pay only 3,000,000 tribute, it is very hard, seeing that he has added so much to the dominions of the Sultan, that he should in future be called upon to pay a tribute of 30,000,000 of francs, or, which is much the same thing, 80,000,000 of piastres—nearly one-fourth of his receipts! He represented, moreover, that it was impossible he could keep the country in subjection with only 18,000 troops, more particularly if he was not to be allowed to appoint officers that he could depend upon; and that in Egypt, attempts

would be constantly made to deteriorate the coin, unless he had authority to establish a mint of his own; especially as the gold then in circulation was at least 15 per cent. better than that which found its way from Turkey. He dwelt strenuously also on the injustice of his not being permitted to name his own successor; arguing, that it would be likely to create feuds and jealousies in his family, keep the country in constant confusion, endanger his own life, and put an end to all happiness in his domestic circle. The Pascha having alluded to a few matters of minor importance, solicited a revision of *the whole document*. His reasoning throughout was very correct: but he seemed to forget that, although a suppliant, conquered Vassal, he was, in a manner, making his *own terms*, as an equal. Nevertheless, we shall see that he gained his point; for his private enemies were at last compelled, however reluctantly, to give way.

The Pascha's communication being read at an extraordinary meeting of Council, it was thought necessary to summon, not only the Ministers of State and all the great Functionaries of the Empire, but also the Representatives of the Powers who had signed the treaty of the previous 15th of July. This occasioned a short delay, during which the Pascha was of course in suspense, and used every exertion to put himself in a position of defence. He evidently did not understand the English character: and, accustomed to duplicity and flattery, he began to mistrust even the friendly overtures of Sir Charles Napier; and finding that the convention made between him and the Commodore, did not protect him from the encroachments of the Porte, he received him with coolness when he took his leave for Marmorice. This was very properly

resented. Sir Charles enquired of Boghos Youssouff what it meant? The latter, never at a loss, immediately referred to the irritation produced by "these Turkish annoyances," and assured him that "so far from wishing to treat him with any slight or coldness, the Pascha was anxious to testify the high consideration he entertained for him, and as a proof, had commissioned him to request his acceptance of a diamond snuff-box!" The Commodore briefly replied, that "it was not usual with English officers to accept of presents in that way,"—and so saying, withdrew, leaving the jewel in the *astonished* Minister's hands, to be returned, *sans ceremonie*, to the ill-tempered Pascha, who it is said, exhibited a degree of chagrin, seldom noticed before; —he has not been in the habit of having such gifts *rejected;* and I dare say, he was not a little puzzled to understand how a simple officer of marine could act with such independence.* It reminds me of an anecdote related by Galloway Bey. On a certain occasion, the Viceroy having invited a British officer to continue in his service, was not a little surprised to hear that his liberal overtures, which he thought would have been accepted with avidity, were *no temptation;* and turning to the Bey, asked "if he had been understood?"

* Capt. Henderson, of the "Gorgon" steam frigate, raised himself and his country not a little in Mohammed Ali's estimation, by refusing a splendid sword which was sent him in token of the Pascha's approval of the discipline in which his ship was held. "England does not permit her officers," said he, "to receive presents from foreigners." His Highness visited Captain Henderson twice, and was highly delighted with all he saw. The first time, he came on board *at ten minutes' notice;* it was washing day, and the men had not been able to dress to receive him as they would have done: nevertheless he found all ready for work, and they astonished him by the rapidity of their evolutions. He could not believe, until he stood by and saw it, that it was possible to fire 32-pounders three times in one minute; and he brought out a crowd of Turkish and French officers to "see what the English could do!" When he entered the captain's cabin, he exclaimed, "Ha! these English captains have always books on their shelves; mine have only *pipes!*"

"Your Royal Highness is perhaps not aware," said he, "that the British army and navy reckon in their lists the sons of nobility and gentlemen, who constitute the highest and most distinguished Authorities in the land. They do not enter the service for the sake of the *pay;* that is a matter of no consideration with them, and contributes very little to their support. They are influenced by far higher motives. To fight in defence of our country, is regarded as one of the greatest privileges that a man can enjoy. An Englishman looks to the honour, and the station he holds in society; and he is proud of his wounds, and the glory which awaits those who may hereafter be ranked with the heroes of Great Britain." The Pascha smiled, and in the most unqualified manner, told him it was *false*—such a thing was *impossible!* In fact, he attributed the speech to English vanity, vapouring, and conceit. It was a sort of doctrine which he had not been accustomed to, and which was altogether beyond his comprehension.

Notwithstanding the mild tone assumed by the Viceroy when he remonstrated with the Porte, he became extremely impatient to have the matter settled. Emboldened by the kindness of the English Envoys, he declared that he would concede nothing but the payment of five or six hundred thousand dollars annually: and that he would admit of no interference in the details of his Government, in testimony whereof, he issued orders for 70,000 new conscripts; he raised a million of dollars among the people; and sold 10,000 cantars of cotton, 130,000 of comestibles, and all the linseed and sesame seed in store, amounting to 3,700 cantars, for the express purpose of paying up his arrears with the army; and he formed an alliance with

the Bedoueen Arabs, exempting them from tribute; he also prepared them to fortify Gaza, and recalled forty vessels, laden with 250,000 ardebs of corn, which are furnished annually by Egypt for the supply of the Holy Cities, and which were already at Suez, ready to proceed to their destination. It is well known that these communications with Mekka and Medina, are matters of trade as well as of religion: and that the Pascha himself, in common with other merchants, reaps enormous profits by them; but on this occasion, it was more important to him to *withhold* the supplies: for he was likely to require the stores for his own use, and it afforded him an opportunity of letting the Sultan see how much the prosperity of his Empire depended on *him!* A vast number of residents, as well as pilgrims, would probably revolt in consequence, and thereby contribute to the amusement of the Divan, already distracted with the disturbances in Turkey, Candia, and the districts of Lebanon and Diarbek'r. The Albanians in garrison at Beyrout, had just quarrelled with the Metouali of the mountains, who, as in time past, expressed their contempt for the Sultan; and the Turkish soldiers, availing themselves of this as a pretext for indulging their rapacity, attacked the Druses and the Maronites, insulted them whenever they had an opportunity; and one day, 1500 entered a place of Christian worship whilst the people were at their devotions, murdered the men, and ravished the women.* The people of Damascus were also in a state

* A troop of Arnauts who had come from Anatolia to Aleppo, and were quartered in "Dshedeida, the part of the town in which the Christians reside, committed every possible excess: they demanded spirits in addition to their usual rations: they indulged in the most obscene exhibitions, compelled the people to give them wine, and required of them that they should bring them out their own wives and daughters. Subsequently, when the same troop arrived before the gates of Tripoli, they had the insolence to inform the Governor that

of insubordination; and fresh atttempts were made to persecute the Jews as well as the Christians, and to set them against one another. The Consuls were appealed to by all the Arch-bishops and Bishops in their behalf, and temporary assistance was obtained; but it is very doubtful whether the Sultan can prevent the recurrence of these terrible excesses.* A report was circulated that the Great Powers of Christendom would associate for the better regulation of this distracted country; and sooner or later, some such plan will probably be adopted.

In accordance with the understanding which had previously taken place, a conference was held at the English Palace at Therapia, for the purpose of examining the case as it really stood between the Viceroy and the Porte. The Ambassadors then came to the resolution of supporting the claims of the Pascha, and signified to the Divan, that "if the Sultan did not grant them, His Highness must not expect any further interference on the part of the Four Powers." All

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"they expected the best houses in the town to be placed at their disposal, care being previously taken that the men should be all turned out, and only the Harams left in them." On this a terrible scene ensued; the inhabitants armed themselves in defence of their homes and families, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the most influential Turks in the town could restrain the violence of these wild and depraved men, who plundered and destroyed wherever they went. The whole country was in arms, and the highest degree of irritation existed against the Turks. The barbarians were recalled to Constantinople, and the Sultan declared that they should be punished: but this would not be easy.

* Two Albanians, who assassinated a Christian in the streets of Damascus, being seized, were afterwards set at liberty, and nothing was done to them, because the deed was committed (it was said) at the instigation of the Jews. The "Tuffendshi Bashi" (Commissioner of Police) coolly replied to the deceased's relatives, that "Sednani, the murdered man, was not worth anybody's troubling themselves about when living, much less when dead!" But the Russian Consul at Beyrout threatened to see them justified. In consequence of the proceedings above mentioned, the Christians and Druses naturally turned the 40,000 muskets and the ammunition distributed among them by the English, against the Sultan, declaring that they would no longer submit to the Turkish yoke.

circumstances considered, it was clear that the Porte had no alternative but to give way, and submit to their dictation. The Ottoman Ministers advised the Sultan to withdraw the obnoxious clauses contained in the Hatti-Scheriff; and ultimately it was agreed that the succession should be given to Ibrahim and his heirs male, in a direct line, and that the tribute should be fixed at a given sum, without taking the control of the finances out of the hands of the Pascha's officers, or subjecting the reigning Viceroy to the interference of the Sultan's agents. In fact, the only point of any moment which remained to be determined, was the actual amount of tribute to be paid.

On the 13th of March, the question was officially discussed in London:—the Sultan having fully acquiesced in the proposals which had been made. This meeting, however, did not finally settle the business. Dispatches were interchanged, and diplomacy was busily engaged at the several Courts. At a conference of the Ottoman Ministers with the Ambassadors, held subsequently at the country seat of Rifaat Pascha, Minister for Foreign Affairs at the Bosphorus, the clauses and conditions already alluded to as a modification of the "Hatti-Scheriff" were put into form, ready for presentation to the Sultan. These having obtained His Highness's sanction, an Envoy was appointed, and the Russian steam-boat "Silatch," sailed with the "ultimatum," on the first of June. Still, the actual amount of tribute was not fixed:—there seemed to be a great deal of vacillation and indecision:—the Exchequer was almost in a state of bankruptcy, and the Ottoman fleet was actually unable to put to sea for want of money and provisions. From one end of Syria to the other, the Sultan's authority was more

than ever *nominal*,—the people of the Haouran were up in arms:—the Kurd and Arab tribes which pitch their tents between the Lebanon mountains and the Euphrates, were in full possession of the desert, and the country adjoining; and being uncontrolled, had pillaged even at the gates of Aleppo and Damascus. In Asia Minor and Anatolia, the inhabitants were inclined to favour Mohammed Ali, whilst those who dwelt in the cities of the coast, were abandoned to the most reckless venality, profligacy, and tyranny. A similar state of disorder prevailed among the Christians of Diarbek'r and Mesopotamia; and the Pascha of Orfa having declared his independence, abandoned many of the more peaceable to the fury of the Mohammedan fanatics, under the idea of strengthening his cause;—the communication with Bagdad was entirely cut off, owing to insurgents;—the war in Candia was still raging;—the Turkish Provinces were full of malcontents,—and Bulgaria and the districts of the Balkan were in a state of excitement, owing to the ambitious and overbearing schemes of their crafty Governors, who availed themselves of the general confusion to advance their own private ends, well knowing that it was not in the power of the Sultan to curb their rapacity. Such was the distracted condition of the Empire at this moment:—the Ministers had enough to think of; and wearied with futile discussions, continual annoyances, and the conflicting interests of parties politically leagued against them, they seemed desirous of obtaining peace upon almost any terms. The annual tribute originally specified for Egypt, was 80,000 purses: but it was generally expected that it would be reduced to 30,000—or even to 20,000.

In the mean time, the wily Pascha was informed by his emissaries, that the Sultan's life would, in the opinion of his physicians, be *ex necessitate*, a very short one; and that the 2000 purses (10,000*l.*) furnished to Tahir Pascha, who was blockading Candia, to quell the insurrection, were raised with the utmost difficulty. News then arrived that 6000 Arnauts and Mogrebbin deserters from Arabia, not liking the tyrannical measures of Osman Pascha, the Sultan's new Governor, offered to enter his service; and he was further encouraged by a flattering address from the London bankers and merchants, presented to him by Messrs. Joyce, Thurburn, and Co., which made up for the dissatisfaction which he had excited in Alexandria, by his meddling propensities and caprices, relative to mercantile matters. The people complained that they never knew what to understand by his proposals; for that he seemed not to know his own mind two days together,—that he was continually issuing new decrees, and that he did not keep his word; — and as to "liberty of commerce," he had just granted a monopoly of the purchase of all the hides and skins in Egypt, for a year, to a Copt named Ibrahim Mongreli, for the consideration of 3810 purses, or 19,050*l.* On another occasion, the Government sold 65,000 pieces of linen-cloth to the Jewish merchants. Afterwards, Mussulmaun merchants offered five piastres more; so the former contract was annulled, and the Council of State at Alexandria ordered it to be sold by public auction to the highest bidder! Neither flax-seed, nor any other Egyptian commodity, was allowed to be exported; and an order was circulated, prohibiting, on pain of death, any Fellah or boatman from selling, or even delivering, produce to any body but Mohammed

Ali, who was determined to monopolize all the resources of the country, in order to supply funds sufficient to pay his debt to the Porte, and to discharge the arrears of pay due to his troops and civil officers; which latter amounted to 500,000,000 of piastres. This was carried to such an extent, that the markets were very badly supplied with provisions: there was a scarcity of the most common necessaries. The agriculturists were compelled to sell every thing they possessed, to the Government agents, who supplied the merchants afterwards, according to their caprice. Even the Frank boats were stopped on the Nile and searched, and their cargoes were taken out and handed over to the Pascha's store-keepers at Boulak. Such practices naturally led to embezzlement,—a few instances of which being detected, called forth the most rigorous system of espionage, and terrible retribution. As on former occasions, a pretext for seizing and confiscating once obtained, it was turned to account by all parties; innocent persons were accused and beaten, that they might betray their friends: but neither threats nor bastinadoes could induce the Arabs to reveal where they had concealed that to which alone they might look for the support of their wives and children. Even the poor women were imprisoned and *flogged* to make them confess what their husbands had done with the grain; and a Coptic renegade, named Abderachman Bey, who was described as a "clever scoundrel," rendered himself conspicuous by his cruelties to defaulters who came within his grasp. He was some time ago, a Governor of one of the upper Provinces, where he committed many acts of savage brutality, and even caused men to be sawn asunder, in order to intimidate others, and compel them to pander to his desires. This

fellow has since been assassinated—report says, by the sanction and approval of the Government.

Conscious of his own power and the feeble condition of the Porte, Mohammed Ali contended so resolutely for a diminished rate of tribute, that on the 15th of June, when the Turkish Envoy invested him with the order of "Nishan Iftikar," and presented the *amended* Hatti-Scheriff—he put into his hand a letter from the Grand Vizier, announcing that although the Sultan "still claimed the right and privilege of demanding one-fourth of the revenues of Egypt, as stated in the firmaun of the 22nd of January, His Highness was willing to accede to the Pascha's wishes, by *compounding for* an annual payment of 2,000,000 of *dollars only*,—besides other 2,000,000 of arrears:"—it also authorized him to adopt his own measures for the internal administration of the country. Of course Mohammed Ali laughed in his sleeve at the air of importance assumed on this occasion, well knowing that he had nothing to thank his kind friends for at the Bosphorus; and that as for as his Imperial Master —Mohammed's juvenile "Vicar!"—he was not in a situation to help himself, and only made a virtue of necessity! He gave orders for the arrears of tribute to be forwarded, and for the "Nile" steam frigate to be got ready to convey the Envoy Muhib Said Effendi and suite to Constantinople. On the occasion of the Pascha's investiture, the greatest coolness was evinced —a very trifling salute was fired — *the two chief Turkish traitors were invited to dinner*—and there were no illuminations or rejoicings of any kind. Even M. Gibarra, who had made extensive preparations at considerable expense, altered his determination in the eleventh hour, in common with the favourites of His

Highness. There was no cessation of business—troops were exercised, and every thing went on—just as if no important event had happened.* As soon as the intentions of the Porte concerning the future position of the Viceroy of Egypt were made known, the Representatives of the Allied Powers assembled in London, and on the 10th of May, a reply, signifying their approval and co-operation, was signed and dispatched to the Ottoman Government. From this time, the relations between the Sultan and the Pascha might be considered as adjusted. By the treaty of London, signed by *all* the great European powers, the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was superseded, and the passage of the Dardanelles was closed against vessels of war of all nations. There seemed now to be a perfectly good understanding between the two contending parties: at least, they were much in the condition of two school-boys, who after a fight, are compelled by the by-standers, to "shake hands, and make it up," or rather "suffer hostilities to cease:" for, being tired, and mutually glad of an excuse to get away, they withdraw from the scene of action dissatisfied and sulky, though to all appearance, *friends!* Diplomacy seemed to be weaving fresh nets, the one to entangle the other: the Sultan tried to be civil, and make the best of a bad bargain, by endeavouring to prevent a fresh outbreak; the Viceroy, requiring breathing time to digest his schemes, and recruit his wasted strength, was content with secretly fomenting discord

* The valuables presented on this occasion, consisted of the Order of "Nishan Iftikar" set in brilliants, a Sabre, a "Harvani," or robe of honour, and a "Fez," with a "Chaleuk," or aigrette of diamonds, in the front. The ornamental cap the Pascha declined, as not well becoming his aged head; the other articles were received as "*marks of investiture*"—from which it appears they were not regarded as tokens of *reconciliation!*

in Syria, Asia-Minor, and Turkey, by means of his agents; yet signified his *desire* and determination to act up to the *very letter* of the royal firmaun; he expressed his *regret* that there should be any disagreement, and modestly pointed out that it was quite impossible the Sultan could govern Syria alone, or enforce his authority in the remote Provinces; adding that if *they two* could agree, and be *united*, they might defy all the Powers of Europe; but that *singly* they were crippled, and could accomplish very little; that their interests being similar, their policy should be *the same*:—keeping his eye all the while on the Bosphorus, and calculating on the possibility of His Highness's death; when it is generally believed he would aspire to the throne, and that those may keep him from it who can! He was evidently paving the way for something like it; and endeavouring to throw dust in the Sultan's eyes, by the exercise of the most cunningly devised stratagems. Muhib Effendi, previous to his departure from Alexandria, quietly agreed, on the part of the Porte, to reduce the amount of tribute to 25,000,000 of piastres; i. e., one million and a half of dollars instead of two millions, as agreed: for which act of *generosity*, the vanquished Mohammed Ali was, to be sure, *infinitely obliged!* The Envoy embarked under a salute of nineteen guns, and a thousand purses were distributed as presents among his followers! When Colonel Napier demanded officially that the Syrians, which were enrolled among the Egyptian troops, should be sent home, Boghos Bey, "His Highness' shadow," politely replied, that "the Viceroy was *just then*, too much occupied to attend to the matter, but that he would do so when he had arranged his affairs with the Sultan!" Mohammed Ali subsequently

referred him, with his usual *tact*, to the Sultan's Envoy, who of course stated that "he had no orders on the subject;" on which the Pascha courteously remarked, "I depend entirely on the Porte, and shall obey all its *commands;*" thus evading the question, and leaving the Colonel no alternative but to wait the instructions of his Government: whereas, by the time the said instructions arrived, the said troops would probably be, some, if not all, in the Hedjas fighting against the insurgent tribes!

Mohammed Ali now had time to digest his plans: he carried out the feudal system more rigorously than ever; he laid siege to towns and villages, and compelled the people to till the ground which they held on their own account, for *him;* thus rendering them the vassals or slaves of those whom he chose to place over them; and he had recourse to all kinds of subterfuges to permit or interdict the exportation of corn. So eager was he to accumulate wealth, that he converted a large proportion of what he termed his own *private estate*, into cotton plantations; and he pressed the labourers so hard, that in extacy he declared, he should be able by the end of 1841, to gather from these alone, more than *double* what, in former years, had been obtained from the entire country. He was also in hopes of being able to fill up Lake Mareotis with the mud deposited by the annual inundations of the Nile, which, in future, he expects to yield him a rich harvest; low situations, where there is abundance of sun and water, being very favourable to the growth of cotton and rice. He forced the Redif to pay the capitation tax, contrary to his proclamation, which placed them on a footing with the troops of the line. The next thing he did, was to dispatch Said Bey (a son by a

more recent marriage) to Constantinople, to do homage to the Sultan, in his name. The "Râschid" (Rosetta) steamer was fitted up in the most splendid manner for this purpose. It was abundantly furnished with books, instruments, and maps; and besides other luxuries, a variety of elegant pipes with amber mouth-pieces inlaid with brilliants, designed for the use of distinguished visitors. Some of the finest young men of the fleet were selected to form His Excellency's Staff, and they were to be the bearers of magnificent presents, the most costly of which was a "Marsha" housing, or covering for the Sultan's horse, richly embroidered, and studded with diamonds and precious stones. It was originally intended for the young Prince during the life-time of his father, the Sultan Mahmoud; but war breaking out, it was not presented. Said Bey had moreover the honour of conveying the Pascha's first instalment of tribute, which alone would have been a fair introduction at the Bosphorus—being 20,000,000 of piastres; the money paid to Muhib Effendi having been intended chiefly for presents, usually distributed on such occasions.* Said is the second of the Viceroy's numerous sons who has visited the Turkish Capital. When Mekka and Medina were recovered from the Whahabees, Ismail Pascha proceeded thither to lay the keys of the Holy Cities at the Sultan's feet, the Turkish Emperor being always regarded as the Representative of the Prophet. On this occasion, Mohammed Ali contrived that Ismail should marry a daughter of the principal Ulemah—

* In addition to six millions of piastres tribute, 500,000 were presented to the Sultan, 500,000 to the Sultana Valisè, His Highness's mother, 500,000 to the officers of the Castles at the Dardanelles, and 500,000 to the officers of the Porte.

thus to secure the friendship of this very influential body. After the death of Ismail, his wife went to reside at Constantinople, where she enjoyed the favour of the Sultana Esmè, one of the sisters of the Sultan Selim, and an influential patroness of Mohammed Ali. "Coming events cast their shadows before them." Mohammed Ali endeavoured to prepare the young Sultan for the overtures he was about to make, by dazzling the light of his understanding. He contrived that Muhib Effendi should land with his offering of reconciliation exactly one week before Said would arrive with the costly presents and the tribute entrusted to his care. Both vessels received a royal salute as they entered the harbour; and a richly ornamented tent was prepared at Silvi Bornoo, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, for the reception of Said and his Staff, during the period of their quarantine. It was generally believed that the object of this mission was to obtain a further reduction of the proposed tribute; but it will be seen, sooner or later, that the Pascha was playing a deeper game than that, I think. At all events, in a letter to the Grand Vizier, he declared, that he would "scrupulously adhere to all the conditions that were imposed upon him," and expressed himself in the strongest terms of *gratitude* and *devotedness!* Mutual compliments were interchanged; and as soon as Said Bey obtained "pratique," and the breezes of the Bosphorus had blown away the plague, he was admitted to a private interview with the young Sultan, who acted towards him with great affability and kindness, and conferred upon him all the highest honours of the Court: after which, the Grand Vizier, the Moufti, the Ministers, and numerous other distinguished personages, called to pay their devoirs.

Mohammed Ali was highly delighted with the reception which his Envoy Extraordinary met with, and set about preparing additional presents, to be forwarded on the return of the "Nile" steamer. These were to consist of a female Rhinocerus brought by Hussein Pascha from Abyssinia in 1836, and seven magnificent horses of the Negd'gis breed, together with their "housings" made of Rhinocerus hides. The policy which influenced the Viceroy, appeared to some unaccountable; various reports were circulated, and it was thought that the seeming friendship of the Sultan and his Vassal was too sudden, and too warm to last. It could not be sincere; and those who understood Mohammed Ali's character declared, that "he knew what he was about," and "time would shew!" Others thought that though they might be playing a close game, they were deceiving themselves. But "smooth waters flow deep." The health of Ibrahim and his father improved in proportion as that of the Sultan declined; it was asserted that the latter would probably not survive six months: he was the subject of epilepsy: the frequency of the fits increased; he seemed very much enervated, and the practices of the East were not likely to improve his condition. He passed much of his time in the Haram, and it was announced that five of his ladies expected their accouchement every day. There was likely to be no want of an heir therefore; nevertheless, it was generally believed at Alexandria, that Mohammed Ali had an eye to the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, the Grand Vizier and the Ministers paid the most assiduous and marked attentions to the Pascha's Envoys: and it was evident that they looked to them for future aid, if even they too were not calculating on the death of their master.

Mohammed Ali knew that they could not move without him, and had instructed his son and the officers of his staff to have their eyes open,—to be very complaisant; but to "sit in a corner, and suck the marrow out of other men's bones!" In conformity with all these artificial overtures of friendship, the Sultan ordered his jeweller to prepare several costly presents, and splendid decorations for every member of Mohammed Ali's family: it was rumoured at Constantinople, that Said Bey would espouse one of His Highness' sisters! and a suspicion began to be entertained that the Allied Powers intended to divide Turkey between them, and that it was necessary that the two Governments should be on the best of terms, an idea which it suited Mohammed Ali's purpose to encourage! The Landwehr was summoned, and the garrison strengthened to the amount of 40,000 men, and a grand review was held in the plains of Scutari. (See Appendix.) It appears from a letter to Riza Pascha, that Mohammed Ali recommended the organization of a *strong force*, well knowing that he had great influence with the troops, and the people of Anatolia, and that such a step must tend to cripple the resources of the Porte, at the same time that it added to his own strength.* The Viceroy

* In despotic countries, where the population is continually changing, no estimate can be depended on. All statistical records must of necessity be full of inaccuracies. In Turkey and Egypt, matters are improving a *little* in this respect; and according to the census taken at Constantinople in the summer of 1841, and reported in the Augsburgh Gazette of August 4th, "the Ottoman Empire contains 23,000,000 of inhabitants, of whom 16,000,000 profess the Mohammedan religion, and 7,000,000 are Christians and Jews. The Turkish population at Constantinople has tripled since the suppression of the Janizaries in 1826, and the Government asserts that the population is increasing throughout the Empire." This account, I presume, includes only Turkey in Europe. "The population of Asiatic Turkey comprises 10,000,000 of Mussulmauns, and only 200,000 Christians;—that of Syria, about two millions."§

§ None but the Osmanlis are permitted to hold landed property;—the Christians and Jews belong chiefly to the working classes.

availed himself of this as an excuse for strengthening himself in Egypt, especially as at this time, accounts were received of the unsettled state of the Holy Cities, the Scheriff of Mekka being about to declare his independence, aided by the Imaum of Sana, who was advancing to meet him at the head of 40,000 cavalry. Mohammed Ali having been commanded by the Porte to provide the money for the approaching campaign, which was to be deducted from the tribute payable to the Grand Seigneur, collected 80,000 dollars through the medium of the house of Pastre at Alexandria; and the remainder of the last years' cotton, amounting to nearly 40,000 quintals, was sold to Messrs. Anastasi and Fizinia, at thirteen dollars the quintal. A number of fresh recruits were raised; and nearly 20,000 Albanians were enlisted with the sanction of the Porte, under the plea that they were needed for the Hed'jas: the capitation-tax was levied with unabated severity; the seamen were constantly drilled, and exercised in the use of fire-arms and cannon; the fortifications were strengthened, and wells were sunk in the neighbourhood of El-Arisch.

Whenever any extraordinary movement is to be made, Mohammed Ali's "lucky star" is sure to be on the rise. Just at this moment, the Pascha entered into an arrangement with the English for the transit of goods to the Red Sea; and the annual fair of Tanta, which lasts eight days, was not only well stocked with merchandise, but it was more than usually supplied with Abyssinian slaves, 10,000 of which are sold upon the average, every year, besides the negroes which are brought in great numbers from the kingdoms of Cordofan and Dafûr, and disposed of to the highest bidder in the bazaars, like cattle. The treaty of the 16th of August, 1838, was eluded in every

possible way. The Egyptian Government once more taking the administration of the customs into their own hands, levied twelve per cent. on all exported articles: and goods which had already paid the fixed duty at Alexandria, were now condemned to pay a further tax of seven per cent. at Old Cairo, if intended for the Upper Country or the banks of the Niger. In like manner, the Porte, instead of charging twelve per cent. on the wine and brandies of Cyprus, as formerly, now levied fifty per cent.; but then it had taken off the duty altogether from most of the necessaries of life. The whole of the Delta, except thirty-eight villages which belonged to a few privileged Scheikhs, was declared to be the private property of Mohammed Ali and his family. 4000 sailors under the command of four captains, were distributed about to assist in tilling the land; and many of the inhabitants, after residing twenty years in particular villages, were compelled by the Pascha's overseers to turn out and work for a piastre a day. The entire Province was placed under the authority of Ibrahim Pascha, of whose judgment in agricultural matters, the Viceroy has a very high opinion: he allowed him to retain the district of El Sharkye as his own: he made him director of all the manufactories in the country, and caused him to be proclaimed Commander-in-Chief of the United Forces, both by sea and by land: the Chiftlik of Behera had been assigned to his other son, Said Bey, and that of El Ghárbie to Abbas Pascha, his grandson. He presented Fezzi Ahmed, (the perfidious Capoudan Pascha, who deserted the Sultan,) with 2000 feddans of excellent land, and allotted him a salary of 75,000 dollars per annum, whereas the traitor had only previously received 5000 dollars. To Sheriff

Agah, his Kiaihia, he gave 1000 feddans on the same canal, with a salary of 5,750 dollars per annum :—this man had formerly been in the service of Abbas Pascha, in Egypt, and being exiled, went to Constantinople, where he plotted with the Ottoman Admiral, and at last, was sent back to Mohammed Ali to tender him privately the Sultan's fleet,—a scheme which succeeded but too well. The son of the above (also denominated Sheriff Agah) was likewise retained in the service of the Viceroy, with a proportionate allowance. All of these men will probably meet their due reward some day when the Pascha is tired of them.

Said Pascha sailed from Constantinople in the "Nile" steamer, for Egypt, on the 2nd of October, taking with him Terfek Bey the bearer of the Sultan's *thanks*, and of course liberal presents. We have not heard any thing said about a further reduction of the fixed tribute : but it would seem that the report brought by Said and his Staff confirmed the Pascha's views concerning the condition of Turkey. We may depend upon it these gentlemen had their eyes open, and made the most of their opportunities ; the naked and defenceless state of the land would not be lost upon them, and they would doubtless turn it to account on their return. The Viceroy persisted in the same course, ceding nothing, but adding to his strength daily. Presuming on the utter incapacity of the Sultan to thwart his inclinations, and the almost insolvent state of the Exchequer, he made a most bare-faced display of the contempt in which he held the edicts of the Divan. It had been stipulated that the Pascha of Egypt should not strike any coin of his own, but that the Government specie, viz., the gold and silver pieces in circulation, should bear the effigy

and superscription of the Sultan, as in all other parts of the Ottoman dominions: but at the very time when the mint at Constantinople had been refitted with machinery from England, for the purpose of improving the debased currency of the Empire, Mohammed Ali had the assurance to issue the following most extraordinary Proclamation, at Cairo and Alexandria.

"The 16th of Rhámazan, 1257, (1841). A plan is in operation at Constantinople to give the current coin a better form at the mint. With the permission of God, in thirty days hence, *the coin of Constantinople will not be current in Egypt.* Such is the order of His Highness."

Every body was struck dumb with amazement at this unintelligible proceeding: and there was a full stop to all trade; people were afraid to buy or sell, not knowing what might follow. The only plausible explanation which may be offered on the subject is this. The Viceroy was perhaps disappointed that the object of his late expensive embassy to the Bosphorus had miscarried,—in as much as he may have calculated on the possibility of a match between his son Said Pascha and the Sultan's sister,—or, at all events, on a further remission of tribute,—if it were not even reduced to a mere *nominal* sum. Finding himself deceived, and conscious of his own importance, it seemed as if he was determined to re-imburse himself for the out-lay which he had incurred; and by this peremptory course, to *cancel* the tribute altogether. That such may have been the Pascha's ideas, appears from this. In the East, no friendship or connection is so much revered as that which is confirmed by a family compact—and we have seen that on a former occasion, Mohammed Ali, wishing to strengthen his cause, adopted just such

a policy. Secondly, there is on the average, from twelve to twenty per cent. difference in the rate of exchange between Turkey and Egypt, in favour of the latter; and bearing in mind that the Viceroy avails himself of the Sultan's mandate, as an excuse for collecting the *full amount* from the inhabitants, (and possibly a *little* more), he pockets at least five-and-twenty per cent. profit on the tribute specie;—but this is not all:—he pays part of the tribute *in kind:* for instance, he sends to Constantinople, Attar of roses and conserves from the Fayoûm, ostrich feathers from Abyssinia, native sugar, rice, bananas, and coffee from Arabia,—and sundry other articles to the Holy Cities under the denomination of provisions, &c.,—all of which he buys up *at his own price*, and collects *after his own fashion*, but values to the Porte at the regular *market-price*, which leaves of course a very considerable balance in his favor; to say nothing of the numerous opportunities afforded him of charging the Divan with sums expended *on account*, and advanced to the troops from time to time, when any particular expeditions are on foot: such as that lately entered upon, to put down the insurgent tribes in the Hed'jas, and which, it was distinctly understood, the Pascha was to raise, and "deduct from the tribute-money!" From this it appears probable, that the Sultan might, from various causes, have in the end, very little to receive. However this may be, Mohammed Ali seems just now to have it all his own way; his services are courted, and there is a strong disposition on the part of the Ottoman Ministers, to act in concert with him. They have taken the alarm in consequence of the growing influence of Europeans in the Levant,—not in reference to trade and politics, but on the score of

religion. They view, with serious apprehension, the rapid strides which the Christians are making, and they cannot shut their eyes to the fact that Mohammedanism is fast declining. According to ancient prophecy, Mussulmauns believe that their Empire will finish in the year of the Hegira 1270, (this is 1258,) and they are dissatisfied that there is a prospect of their becoming "Giaours" before the appointed time. They know that they are not in a condition to make any stand against the Christians united, and they have hitherto trusted to the chance of jealousies and disputes arising between the different Powers of Europe; but now that they observe in them a willingness to promote the cause of Christianity, regardless of sect and political relations, they seem disposed to prepare themselves for the last great and desperate struggle, which they have been taught to believe will one day come; and, fatalists as they are, to succumb, when the predicted moment arrives, *to destiny!* The more enlightened Turks consider that the fatal period is at hand; they cannot resist the current of innovation which is now setting in against them; and they view the anticipated Crisis with awe. On the 11th of November, the ceremony of the "Kadirghed'jessi" which precedes the feast of the "Bairam," four days, was celebrated with more than usual solemnity. The Sultan went in State to the mos'que of Toph-kh'anèh. He was attended by the whole of his Court, the Ulemah, and the Great Functionaries of the nation:—rounds of artillery greeted them on landing; and when the prayers were concluded, there was a magnificeut display of fireworks, and the mosq'ues and public buildings were illuminated. We are informed that the pious disciples of Islam believe, that "on this night, the Prophet reveals to the

Angels charged with their execution, the decrees of Providence for the ensuing year." No wonder, then, that the thinking and respectable portion of the people should regard the meeting with veneration; they have good reason to remember the state of excitement in which the whole country has been kept, especially during the last three years; and it is not surprising that they should look with anxiety and concern to the future: for they see around them evident signs of approaching turmoil and strife; they have forebodings of terrible things to come, and are impressed with the idea that important changes are about to take place. A Turk never loses his composure: taciturn and quiet, he seems always to be wrapped up in his own thoughts; but he is not indifferent to passing events: and let happen what may, he meets his fate with the most exemplary fortitude; blessing God for all things, and bowing his head in patient submission to the will of the Most High.

A conference was held at the Bosphorus on the 29th of October, to determine upon measures to be taken against Greece: for although the insurrection had been quelled in Candia, disturbances existed in almost every other part of the Greek territory, and a fresh out-break was expected; added to which, the regions of Tripoli and Tunis were in a very unsettled condition.* Indeed the Turks had been very busy arming themselves, ever since the month of August. First, the Land-wehr was assembled and reviewed in

* Tunis alone contained from 90,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, at this time hostile to the Sultan; and the town was well defended. The Bey had 24,000 disciplined soldiers under arms, including 3000 cavalry, together with an excellent park of artillery; and the Bey's nephew could bring 30,000 irregular troops to his assistance,—a formidable enemy for the Porte under any circumstances; yet an expedition against Tripoli as well as Tunis was contemplated!

the plains of Gallipoli; then a camp was formed near Larissa, to which several detachments of Albanian and Macedonian Redif were sent; and numerous bodies of regular troops were dispatched to Thessaly. Two other camps were also established, one in the neighbourhood of Sophia, the other in the plains of Adrianople: and two ships of the line, besides smaller vessels, were placed under orders for the Archipelago. "Tahtahs" and steamers were continually passing between the Provinces and the Capital, and it was feared that a renewal of hostilities would be attended with the same horrors which distinguished the last revolution. The men, at this time under arms, did not exceed 120,000 regulars, and 28,000 militia; and the principal object assigned by the Ottoman Government, for concentrating the forces at Constantinople, was their "armament and equipment, previous to being distributed to their respective posts." This was, however, equivocal: and looked suspicious. The Grand Vizier no doubt wished to ascertain the exact condition of the military; but for what purpose? The Ambassadors of France, Russia, and Great Britain thought the statement unsatisfactory; and, anxious to avert the threatened evil, sent a note of remonstrance, but without producing any other effect, than to hasten the proposed measures; although it was clearly pointed out to the Divan that the menacing attitude assumed by the Government might, if persevered in, call forth similar demonstrations elsewhere, and disturb the peace of the Levant—if not of the whole world.

Various opinions are at present entertained concerning the Ottoman Empire; some imagining that its constitution is fast *breaking up:* others, because a little improvement has of late taken place, that it is in

a state of *regeneration*. The case is, at best, doubtful: the patient's health has long been declining; and unless her Ministers recommend *repose*, there will be a poor chance of approaching convalescence:—as, however, there are so many sources of excitement from within and from without, and so many incompatibilities among the remedies prescribed, it is questionable whether any change for the better may be anticipated. On the 15th of November, the young Sultan attended the ceremonies usual on the first day of the Bairam. A correspondent states that he appeared extremely feeble; that Riza Pascha made more show than either of the Ministers present, assuming an air of haughty defiance calculated to strike terror into the people; and that the Lord High Admiral Tahir, looked as determined and implacable as ever; whereas the good and amiable Grand Vizier, the most exalted of the whole party, was the most condescending and generous.

The Turkish Empire has been in a state of complete anarchy and confusion for several years. In 1828, it was at war with Greece: in 1829, it was at war with Russia; in 1831, Mohammed Ali sought a pretext for invading Syria; and the success of his arms, aided by treachery, has crippled the resources of the Sultan, and set his dominions in a flame from one end to the other.

Reforms have been introduced little by little: but they have tended only to enlarge the power of the Christians, and to undermine the religion of Mohammed. In proportion as these proceed, Asiatics will approximate to Europeans; but *regeneration* can only be purchased by the abrogation of their ancient customs and laws, and by a change of their religion. The axe has already been laid at the root of the tree; parties are continually springing up, and in every por-

tion of the Sultan's territory, Moslem is contending against Moslem. Christian authority alone can preserve peace and good order: and it is only to the Christians that the haughty Moslem can look for protection in time of need. He feels this, though he will not confess it; and so soon as his pride gets the better of his judgment, and he refuses the proffered blessing, so soon will his overthrow be effected. "A house divided against itself must fall;" and at present, the Vessel of the State seems to be in a sort of whirlpool, fast hurrying on tŏ destruction; from which, harassed and distracted as its officers have necessarily been, the most enlightened Genius could hardly have protected her. After the fall of Pertev Pascha (in 1838), one of the last of the ancient race of the Osmanlis, and who, though sincerely devoted to his country and religion, was rather mistrustful of innovation and the encroachments of Christendom, (for to the unpalatable dictation of Russia, her conquests, and designs, he attributed the perplexities in which the Empire was involved), a succession of changes took place in the Ministry, which, added to a variety of untoward events, and the death of the Sultan Mahmoud, was not likely to extricate the nation from its difficulties. The patriotic Redschid Pascha, from the information which he had obtained by his intercourse with Europeans, was well calculated to follow out the system of reform which the Emperor had begun; and had he been permitted to retain his post, would doubtless have done much towards the regeneration of the Ottoman States; but he was strenuously opposed by secret enemies; and dismissed before the measures, which he had laboured to introduce, had been fairly established. He was sensibly impressed with the necessity of afford-

ing protection to property, and security to the person, without which, he knew that there could be neither justice nor industry; but as such a line of policy implied the suppression of all arbitrary laws; and as the liberty of the subject, according to Turkish notions, was tantamount to *insubordination*, and was altogether at variance with ancient usages, he became the victim of a violent faction, which was believed to be encouraged by Russia, and shortly afterwards, this talented individual ceased to be a member of the Cabinet.* Tahir Pascha, a most determined enemy of the English, was then recalled from Aidin, and once more appointed Capoudan Pascha; and if my information be correct, the best friends of the Sultan are of opinion that the Sublime Porte is in greater danger at the present moment, than it was during the Syrian campaigns. There has been nothing but quarrelling in the Divan, and discontent and rebellion in the Provinces;—and the coffers are empty.

Sayeed Pascha, who was appointed Minister of Commerce for the second time, is described as "an honest, affable person for a Turk of the *old school*, but very ignorant and superstitious."† Tahir Pascha is still

* "Redschid Pascha," says the *Journal des Débats*, "is divested of the prejudices of his countrymen. He is the man of our era as much by talent as by education. He is forty years of age, of middle size, and expressive countenance. Redschid Pascha's political career has been rapid and brilliant. At a very early age, he was celebrated at Constantinople for his Turkish poetry, which was much admired by Sultan Mahmoud, and was the origin of his good fortune. Having been afterwards elevated to the rank of Minister for Foreign Affairs, he distinguished himself in that post, and was successively appointed Ambassador to Paris and to London. Redschid Pascha is the author of the system of reform introduced into the Ottoman Empire, and the first Mussulmaun Statesman who understood the necessity for his country to abandon the Asiatic system, and to place itself in harmony with the western States of Europe."

† It is said that he generally passes half the day in prayer, and that he divides the other half between the study of Astrology and the Khoran—that he consults the

High Admiral, and in these days of plot and counter-plot, is expecting to be made Grand Vizier, or at least, President of the Council, a circumstance which would be dreaded by many, on account of his inexorable disposition. He has travelled in Europe, and speaks Italian; but if all be true that we hear of him, his character has not become refined by his intercourse with strangers. He is charged with having put his own son to death, because he drank wine in opposition to the injunctions of the Khoran. He is a rigid disciplinarian, and his severity is proverbial.*

There is reason to believe that the Candiote insurrection, which broke out in the spring of 1841, although suppressed by the decisive measures of Tahir Pascha, will prove to be the fore-runner of a general rising in Greece. A spirit of independence seems to be diffusing itself, not only in Thessaly and Epirus, but throughout the whole of the Greek States, and it is of a different character from that which instigated revolt twenty years ago. The people have still many prejudices to overcome: but we observe less of that savage thirsting for revenge which marks the conduct of

stars on the most trivial occasions, is very learned in omens, mysteries, lucky numbers, and fortunate days; in testimony whereof, that he once tried to retard the progress of the fleet on its arrival at Stamboul, on the plea that *ships should never enter a port on a Sunday*; and that when he was installed in office, he sacrificed a number of rams, and inundated the court-yard of his Palace with blood! *The commercial interests of a country could not fail to advance under such powerful auspices!*

* Wishing to correct him, the Sultan Mahmoud commanded his attendance at the Palace, and during dinner, caused a large dish of "Baklava" (a kind of Turkish pastry) to be set before him. The Admiral ate until he was satisfied; but His Highness urged him to continue the repast, until he was obliged to pray that he might be excused. "What!" said the Sultan frowning, "you ask to be excused when you have eaten a few spoonsful of 'Baklava,' and yet you have no pity for the poor wretches to whom you apply the bastinado on every trifling occasion without mercy! Begone! and be assured that the eye of my Imperial justice shall be henceforth fixed upon your conduct!"

infuriated zealots; they are influenced rather by a mental struggle between the principles of civilization, arbitrary government, and brute force. As the Christians of the East become informed, their eyes gradually open to the position which they ought to hold among nations, and they will no longer submit to the iron arm of despotism, darkness, and superstition. I wish I could say more in favor of the Greeks: they are full of talent; but—(the truth must be told)—for the most part, deceitful, arrogant, and vain; they have many things to learn, and a great deal to unlearn: but so much is now being done for them, and their religious, political, and commercial interests are so deeply involved in the approaching contest, that I think it quite possible the ancient Greek Empire may be restored, and at no very distant period. More enlightened Europeans will settle among them; and by degrees, under a better Government, they will lay aside the propensities which have hitherto deformed their understandings. It is not to be supposed, that whilst such extensive changes are taking place in the Levant, a people so highly gifted as the Greeks will remain stationary: the soil which they at present occupy is neglected; but it is capable of high cultivation: all that is wanted is protection to property, and justice. The Greeks are better off than they were a few years ago: schools have been established at Smyrna, and in several of the islands: and much good has been done by the missionaries. Syra has become the entrepôt, for merchandise in the Archipelago. Quarantine laws are enforced; and from this point, there is regular communication by steam, with Constantinople, Ægina, Athens, the Ionian Islands, Malta, Alexandria, Smyrna, and Marseilles: so that every facility is afforded to

travellers, which circumstance alone must tend to expand the ideas of the natives: besides, several English and French gentlemen have purchased land in the Morea, some reside there, and modern Athens is constantly adding to its importance. Something has also been done for the Turks: but in consequence of popular prejudice, and the inveterate bigotry of their religion, insuperable obstacles to knowledge arise, and the march of intelligence has been slow. In the Provinces, darkness still prevails, and there is a great deal of insubordination, plundering, and violence; but in the Capital, unruly spirits are kept in subjection by the presence of the Authorities. Twenty years ago, a Frank could not walk through the streets at Stamboul, without being insulted; now he is civilly treated:—the troops were ragged and undisciplined,—now they are well clad, efficiently armed, and familiar with European tactics,—the artillery have profited by the exertions of English officers who were sent from Woolwich to teach them; the ships are better ordered, and navigation is more understood:—improvements have taken place in the dock-yards,—quarantine regulations have been instituted—hospitals have been built—roads formed,—and the Sultan rides out in his carriage-and-four, like an English gentleman; he receives foreigners with courtesy, and the apartments in the palace instead of being obscured by lattices, and heavy wooden blinds, are relieved by open windows; and every thing has been done which modern art could do, to increase the elegance and luxury of their interior. But notwithstanding the improvements which are taking place, the Turks still labour under many and great disadvantages; they are some of them in a state of Pagan ignorance, and the most reckless instances of cruelty are occa-

sionally heard of.* In their hearts they despise the Franks, who alone are able to aid and enlighten them. It galls them to the quick to be taught of "Giaours," whom they consider as far their inferiors as a potato is inferior to a pine-apple; and on every occasion, where they can safely shew their power, they exercise it with tyranny and injustice. Let us hope that experience, education, and example will gradually teach them better. The present Sultan is a young man of intelligence, and some promise. He has, on several occasions, evinced a desire to promote the well-being of his subjects; and he seems to be quite open to good advice: although an effort is now making to prejudice him against all Christians. If he can but insure the services of a few honest men, he may escape the intrigues of foreign diplomacy, and the crafty counsellings of selfish bigotry.†

* His Highness, the Pascha of Tripoli having recently captured some fifty Arabs whom he called rebels, he had them stripped naked, smeared with honey, and then put in irons, and fixed upon a wall under a burning sun. In a moment, they were covered with thousands of stinging insects, and in this deplorable plight, they were suffered to die of pain and hunger! Their scorched and mangled bodies finally dropped to pieces; the roadway was strewn with their scattered limbs, and the air around infected with the noisome exhalations.

† One day, soon after his accession, upwards of four hundred women congregated round the young Sultan during his promenade through Constantinople, and represented to him their misery—there being, at that time, a great scarcity of provisions. The Prince was moved by their doleful complaints; and on his return to the palace, sent for the secretary of the Minister of Commerce, upbraided him in bitter terms for his neglect, and dismissed him from office. Large orders for corn were subsequently forwarded to Alexandria. On the 15th of October 1840, His Highness sat for his portrait to the Prussian painter Kretschmer, (who had previously taken Mohammed Ali) and the artist thus describes him: "The Sultan wore a blue coat with a red collar, not unlike the uniform of the Prussian cavalry officers. On his breast was displayed the 'Nishan,' that distinguished Ottoman order, composed of sparkling brilliants. The embroidery on his outer garment glittered with gold and precious stones. He fixed his eyes on mine. I had abundant opportunity of studying the interesting physiognomy of this youthful sovereign. It is less handsome than intelligent. The small-pox has left deep ravages on his countenance. His

The Ruler of Egypt, though an usurper and a despot, has had the wit to see that his existence depended, in a great measure, upon the good opinion of Europe, and he has been at no small pains to acquire it. The Porte is not less dependent upon public opinion, but will not take the same trouble to obtain it; the Members of the Divan are too haughty and arrogant. The Ministers have generally been mere butterflies of the hour, fluttering in the sun-shine of Imperial favor, and then disappearing: they profess not to care a straw for what Europe thinks of them or their nation. Among them, there are some rare exceptions; sincere, talented, and honest men are to be found: but what is their reward? They become the victims of the basest intrigue! The moment they fix their eyes on the enlightened institutions of Europe, their rivals are roused from the couch of luxury, and begin to plot their downfall. Having no taste for intellectual gratifications, they seek no improvement: they regard all sort of innovation as dangerous and hateful; and he who would sacrifice his own interests for the general good, and who is known to possess the qualifications essential to a wise and upright Minister, is looked upon as a common enemy, by the licentious parasites and flatterers who commonly surround the throne. Should such a person be appointed to the direction of affairs, a coterie is immediately formed:

complexion is pale. He looks more like a man of twenty-two, than a youth of eighteen years of age. His beard is tolerably strong at the chin, but the mustachios are scanty. Amiability and goodness of disposition are perceptible in his features: they even breathe from the tones of his voice, which are at once soft and sonorous, and his conversation is interesting. He said "Doubtless your family knows that I have directed you to take my portrait; that will be flattering to you; but I pray you, do not flatter me." The Sultan gave the young artist six sittings in all; and the portrait was pronounced to be a perfect likeness.

his actions are watched, his motives and intentions are slandered; and his exertions are liable to be counteracted every hour by the evil of some secret device: or to use a Turkish figure—"If he but plant a rose, its odour is lost in the evil smell of a thousand dunghills, scattered around it by the hands of Envy and Malice!"

In treating the Oriental question, it behoves England politically to consider her own interests, which, fortunately for the Sultan, are thought to be connected with the restoration of his Empire; and in order to procure it, and establish it on a firm and solid basis, the wily and self-aggrandizing schemes of unprincipled favourites, who are seldom accountable for what they do, must be put a stop to, and the over-bearing insolence of the official voluptuary must be checked: the rights of the people may then be preserved, property defended, and justice dispensed: then, but not till then, we may expect that the ruinous and debasing "*statu quo*" which has so long distinguished the Ottoman Empire, will be removed. The first blow was struck by the destruction of the Mamlûks,—the second, by that of the Janizaries,—and the third, by the publication of the Hatti-Scheriff: but it will require great wisdom, judgment, and firmness to establish the ordonnances which it contains. It is obvious that these never can be enforced during the reign of the present Viceroy. Mohammed Ali enjoys all the privileges of an independent sovereign, except the name; and the Sultan is obliged to connive at his proceedings, because he is unable to restrain them; so much is this the case, that on the 8th of December, accounts reached us that His Highness, making a virtue of necessity, had authorized his Vassal "to continue the

monopoly of Egypt during the space of *seven years*, in order that he might have time to re-organize the administration of the country, and place it in harmony with the Hatti-Scheriff!" and in the end, unless aided by Europeans, it is more than probable that the Sultan will find it to his interest to place the jurisdiction of Syria also in the Pascha's hands. I have already spoken of the anarchy, and spiritual darkness, which prevail in that unhappy land.

On the 12th of April, a few days after the arrival of Ned'gib Pascha, the new Governor of the Province of Damascus, and Enveri Effendi, the Defterdar, the Cazy-Askar, Selim Pascha, convoked a meeting of all the civil, military, and religious Authorities, and of the Consuls of the different nations, on a plain beyond the gates of the city, for the purpose of making to them a communication of general interest. The new Hatti-Scheriff was then read, re-assuring the Syrians of the good intentions of the Porte towards them. On the following day, the Divan assembled at the palace; the Moufti and Cadi were there, and the Bishops of the various Christian communities, who were to return each five delegates, in order to constitute, with the Mussulmauns, a Council which was to establish a system of Administration conformable to the habits and necessities of the people: and the Firmaun distinctly set forth, that "in future, all contributions should be limited to 10 per cent. on the rental and produce throughout the Empire." By thus associating the Moslems and Christians in the Government of the country, it was evidently the desire of the Sultan to cancel all animosities, and to do everything to promote the happiness of the entire population. What has been the result? A letter from Damascus, dated

May 2nd, informs us that only two days after the Council was formed, its Directors began to despise the Christians. Hesib Effendi, one of the Members, extracted from the Khoran and Sunnis (traditions) a long paragraph to the effect, "that the Christians ought not to wear a *white* turban, nor to ride horses, nor to have Mohammedan slaves as servants in their houses:" and this was notified by the very Council which had been established to promote peace, reformation, and order. An European traveller having had his turban torn off by a Moslem, complained to Ahmed Ali Youssouff, who had been appointed temporary Governor of Damascus, two days after Ibrahim Pascha evacuated the city. His Excellency immediately issued a proclamation that "the Christians might have the privileges above mentioned: for that *all nations are equal before God*,"—and he reproved the Council.* The Mohammedans then stirred up the Jews to mock the Christians by profaning the crosses,

* When I myself entered Damascus, I was compelled to take off my turban, dismount, and lead my horse through the streets, exposed to all kinds of insult. The same rancorous feeling is still evinced towards Christians by Mohammedans in other places; but they dare not always show it in public; in remote corners, however, or a short distance from a town, they indulge in abusive language, throw stones, and have been known to present a pistol by way of sport, just to frighten the "Giaour," in which case, if treated in their own way, their courage generally evaporates. It is only in times of high political excitement, that they really proceed to extremities. A traveller of the name of Ross, was quietly riding through one of the bazaars at Constantinople, during the period of the Greek Revolution. One of these self-important gentlemen thought proper to order him to dismount, and called him a "Christian dog." Seeing that he was disposed to be very troublesome, Mr. Ross fearlessly applied to him the epithet always most annoying to a Turk, viz., "Pezawink!" (Pimp). This so offended his dignity, that he drew forth his yatighan and struck at him. Fortunately for Mr. Ross, it fell on his leg, which happened to be a *cork-leg!* "Aha!" said he, holding out the member in defiance, "Voor la! voor la! Pezawink!" (Strike it! strike it! you pimp!) His wrath was kindled, and he did strike it:—"That's right, dog! (Kelb!) Do it again, will you?" He did it again. "Once more, if you please!—Why do you hesitate? Oh! you Kaffre!" (Infidel). The astonished Moslem hastily put up his knife, and slunk off.

and abusing the priests. As the French and German Consuls would not interfere, the English Consul applied to the Governor, who very properly put a stop to the proceedings; but he was soon afterwards accused of mal-administration, and of shewing favor to the Christians; the consequence was that the Pascha dismissed him from office, and sent him to Hamah, where he soon became a favourite. A very different man was appointed in his place. When he arrived, the Authorities of certain districts in the neighbourhood, who were Christians, came to him to receive their investiture, through the medium of the French Consul; but they were sent away again, the Muzzellim declaring that "he would neither invest Christian rulers nor employ Christian writers." The Consul represented to him that "their families having been Governors of those districts from the commencement of the Ottoman sovereignty in Syria, if he still refused, he ought to give his refusal *on paper*." The Pascha then promised to invest them; but as soon as the Consul's back was turned, he appointed Moslems instead. In a short time, the contentions between the Jews and the Christians were renewed, and application was made to the higher Powers on the subject. On the second of June, the new Greek Patriarch of Constantinople received the royal firmaun inviting all the Prelates of the Greek community "to return immediately to their respective dioceses, in order that they might direct them in person to minister to the welfare of their co-religionists, and use their spiritual power to maintain therein tranquillity and good order." This was read in the presence of all the Bishops residing in the Capital; and M. Jacoub whom the Israelites had just elected Grand Rabbi, received his inves-

titure and insignia of office under the sanction of the Emperor.

The state of affairs in the mountains of Lebanon was daily becoming more serious. The Turkish Authorities had not only enforced the duties of the new tariff, but a number of distinct *petits droits*, and (now illegal) imposts.* The Divan was at this time, seriously occupied in framing a Constitution for Syria; and several of the Members complained that French

* Besides the internal duty of 2½ per cent. on all goods entering a city for export, 10 per cent. was charged, on all the operations of industry for *revenues presumés*, without regard to the good or bad harvests yet to arrive, the high or low rents paid, &c. The *cultivators* of silk were exposed to the greatest extortions in this respect. An oke of silk, when saved, was valued at 130 piastres, and the imposts thereupon amounted to 116. The produce of silk, in Lebanon alone, it was calculated, would afford the Turks in the year 1841, a revenue of 90,000 purses (450,000*l.*), exactly *thrice* the amount which the Egyptian Government levied on all the mountains, (and of those 30,000 purses, 25,000 were raised by the Emir Beschir.) The silk which is worked up into manufactures, is of three sorts:—the "Aly," or high silk, such as that of Kesrouan; the "Wussut," or middling silk, such as that of Deir-el-Khamar; and the "Tuchteez," such as that *grown* in the neighbourhood of Hashbeiah and Rasheia. The average value of the silk in the town of Damascus, is 360 piastres per rotolo of two okes, and as the former charge was five piastres and a half on this sum, the duty was as nearly as possible 1½ per cent.; add to this, 1 per cent. duty in the city of Damascus, then three per cent. on export, and the whole export and import duties were 5½ per cent. Under the new system, the duties are 12 per cent. on the raw silk from the mountain on going into Damascus, and 12 per cent. on manufactures exported; making a total of 24 per cent. "This," remarks the author of these statistics, "is the opposite extreme of the European system, which is *to facilitate the admission of raw materials, and to facilitate the export of manufactures.*" Such innovation creates confusion and discontent, and leads to acts of violence; the irritation is encouraged by foreign intrigue, and there are not wanting persons to instil into the minds of the merchants, that this is all the work of the English. As regards the tribute itself, the mountains paid, before the Egyptian invasion, direct contribution to the Porte, 2,600 purses (13,000*l.*),—during the Government of the Emir Beschir, 12,000 purses, (60,000*l.*),—but it was calculated that under the new system, the annual tribute amounted indirectly to 30,000 purses, (150,000*l.*) The evil has since been rectified, and the duty reduced to a fixed sum of 3,500 purses, (17,500*l.*) With this the mountaineers were perfectly satisfied; but the enemies of peace have, from political motives, been again exciting revolt; and the people declared they would not pay any tribute at all, especially the Maronites, who also demanded the restitution of 30,000 piastres which they had advanced.

agents and missionaries were exciting the people, by distributing money in order to strengthen their own influence in opposition to that of Great Britain; and M. Pontois, the French Ambassador, addressed a note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, declaring that "France expected to take an active part in the arrangement of affairs in Syria, as she had for centuries, specially protected the Christians of that Province." The following were the leading conditions of the plan proposed; but nothing has been yet brought into operation:—1. "A separation of the military, civil, and financial Authorities.—2. A diminution of taxes.—3. A confirmation of the privileges already enjoyed by all the Christian sects in the exercise of their religion.—4. The erection of Jerusalem into a free city under the Ottoman authority.—5. The establishment of a Patriarch, subject to the approval of the Porte, and who should derive his authority from the Sultan alone."

Syria has been denominated the "Switzerland of the East," and Lebanon is the key of Syria. Like Switzerland, it contains numerous families or tribes: they are bold and courageous; and the "Rayahs" constitute an independent and formidable Republic, subject only in point of fact, to their haughty and ambitious Chieftains.* Such men, when once roused to rebellion, are not easily tranquillized, and some time must elapse before the country can recover itself from the effects of the revolution. Much would necessarily depend on the chief Authorities; but it does not appear that the most judicious selection has been made. Ned'gib

* The Rayahs are the subjects of the Porte who pay the capitation tax, and are not Moslems,—to wit, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Gipsies. In Turkey, the person who farms the revenues of a district is called "Waywode."

Pascha rejected the more respectable of the old Arab party, who might have conciliated the Mohammedans, and, also the Christians, who are not only the best educated people in the country, but intelligent, acute, and, from having resided there a long time, well versed in the affairs of commerce and the usages of the inhabitants; and he attached himself to new faces from Anatolia and Constantinople,—stern, hasty, and prejudiced individuals, who were quite ignorant of the language, and the character of the people they had to deal with.

Only a few days before the arrival of Youssouff Pascha at Tripoli, a Christian, a virtuous and respectable man, was bastinadoed for presuming to dispute with a Mohammedan on the subject of religion; and Tauvos, Muzzellim of Akora, also a Christian, had been thrown into prison, and detained there, notwithstanding an order had been procured from Selim Pascha, Cazy-Askar, for his release. Violent opposition was also made to the new scale of customs-duties, introduced in conformity with the treaty made with England. The Governors of towns are prohibited accepting money from the people; but they do not refuse presents; and the newly installed Agah of Tripoli received no less than sixteen horses in the course of a week, although his suite on landing, consisted of only seven persons. There could be no chance of justice where such flagrant bribery was connived at. Assad Pascha of Aleppo was better disposed towards Christians than Ned'gib Pascha: but it was not in his power to protect them during the insurrection; and the districts of Homs, Hamah, and the Taurus were so beset by the predatory Koords, that it was impossible for any one to pass without a powerful escort. The

Paschas of Damascus have almost invariably been rapacious and violent men, remarkable for their tyrannical measures, and opposed to every principle of justice and moderation. Those appointed since the expulsion of Ibrahim, bear the same character: and the country is not likely to improve under them.* Every attempt is making to throw obstacles in the way of the Sultan; and emissaries are at work in all directions, endeavouring to excite the passions of the mountaineers, and set them fighting with the Maronite Christians. Selim Pascha, Governor of Beyrout, takes no steps to prevent this: the two great families of the Druses have been at variance for some years: one of these being within the jurisdiction of the Maronites, every possible exertion is used to widen the breach by means of religious intrigues; and the country is at this moment over-run with French Jesuits, who have induced the Patriarch of the Maronites to influence the *secular* Chief of the Maronites to compel the Druses under him to become converts to their creed.† It has

* Although Damascus has lost a great deal of its importance, and the buildings may be said, with few exceptions, to have been long reduced to ruins, it is still regarded as the chief town of Syria, and it forms the centre of an extensive territory. The Paschalic or Province of Damascus includes the Muzzellims of Jerusalem and Nablous; it extends southward, by the Jordan to the Desert of Arabia; and northwards, to the Upper Orontes. Until the arrival of Youssouff Pascha, it reckoned also the district of Tripoli: but the Scheikhs and Emirs of Anti-Lebanon and the Haouran, as well as other independent and wandering people, all look upon the City of Damascus as a place of resort in time of need, and they are continually visiting its bazaars. What might it not become in good hands!

† The religion of the Druses is not clearly understood. Like the ancient Egyptians, the *uninitiated* trust everything to the *initiated*, who alone are in possession of the mysteries. Females, after the age of twelve, usually wear a silver or golden horn on the side, or fore-part of the head. It varies from six to fourteen inches in length, and a white linen veil is suspended from the top of it to the ankles. See Psalms lxxv. 5. 10.—xcii. 10.—Lament. ii. 3.—Luke i. 69.—Dan. vii. 7.—Rev. xiii. 1. 11.—1 Kings xxii. 11, &c.

The Druses are believed by some to worship the golden calf; by others, the sun: but having been persecuted at various times, by all parties, they never

moreover been publicly asserted that the Patriarch rides side by side with the Emir, and excites him to *exterminate* those who will not comply. The Druses have consequently petitioned the Porte, that they may be no longer subject to any but their own Chiefs.

During the first week of Rhamazan, (October,) the Emir Beschir Kassim, Governor-General of Lebanon, called an assembly of the nation at Deir-el-Khamar, in order to apportion the tribute due to the Government. It amounted to 2000 purses. After all that had transpired, such a convocation was certain to end in bloodshed. The Maronites are every whit as prejudiced as the Druses; and they had openly protested against the tribute system: still it was the duty of the Emir to call them together; disputes arose, and the Druses having as they supposed, sufficient provocation, attacked the Maronites in four different places; viz. at Elshuf, opposite Ghézin and the Bekaa; at Elbaz, Babdèh, and near Deir-el-Khamar. The Christian Patriarch obtained succours from ninety-six convents under his jurisdiction, of money, provisions, and ammunition. He raised 10,000 purses, and said that he could rely on as many more if necessary. The slaughter was considerable on both sides. The Maronites being superior in numbers, gained the ascendancy at last; nevertheless, the Druses, who are now fairly roused, will destroy them all if something is not done soon. The Moslems in power at Damascus, wishing to annoy the Christians, without appearing to do so, have been zealously promoting these quarrels for some time.

allude to their religion if they can help it; and when pressed on the subject, they pretend to be Roman Catholic, Druse, Greek, Mussulmaun, or anything else to suit the occasion.

Early in December, the Divan at Constantinople received a communication from the Pascha of Damascus, announcing that "the Mussulmaun population was in a state of considerable effervescence, having demanded *the expulsion of all the Christians, and the European Consul*, "*who*," they said, "*encouraged innovations prejudicial to Islamism.*" The Turkish Ministers, not knowing how to rid themselves of this difficulty, charged the Pascha with *incapacity*, and resolved to supersede him in his post. The whole country was in such a dreadful state of excitement, that the Divan determined to send thither a Commissary, who was to endeavour to restore peace by mild and conciliatory means, if possible, but if not, to instruct the Paschas to employ *force*. Thus it is easy to perceive that the "great work" is progressing: the Turks are not the men to tranquillize barbarians, *by fair means*, and we have already observed the working of *coercive* measures in their hands. The Allied Powers could hardly have interfered further than they did, without offending the Ottoman Government, and exciting the jealousy of Russia. Having therefore compelled the Pascha of Egypt to evacuate Syria, &c., they withdrew their forces from the Levant: but such a course was not calculated to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman Empire: it left the work half done, and the present embarrassment of the Porte was no doubt foreseen, though it did not become the Franks officiously to obtrude their services. It must have been evident to all, that simply disabling Mohammed Ali, without subduing the unruly spirits that remained, was like rescuing a helpless infant from the grasp of a Polar bear, but leaving it to the embraces of her merciless cubs! The Sultan will now be compelled once more to solicit

European aid, and his authority, like that of the Pope, will sink into insignificance. He cannot restrain the tide of events; and it needs not the gift of prophecy to pronounce that, sooner or later, the Druses will unite with the Protestant Christians, and the power of the Osmanlis will cease.

I must say I was rather prepossessed in favor of the Druses: I believe them to be naturally peaceable, though very fierce when excited. They number in all, about 110,000: but of these, 60,000 are not subject to the Emir Beschir. The Druses of Lebanon are industrious, domesticated, and brave: they boast that they are descended from the Crusaders, and that they have English blood in their veins: they would therefore be willing to co-operate with the Franks, and would constitute a very formidable body to act in conjunction with the Jews and other settlers, *organized as militia* upon the plan adopted in the Channel Islands, and on the Austrian frontier in Wallachia, &c., for maintaining the peace of the country, and the happiness of their own families. I am satisfied that such a plan is practicable, and that emigrants would flock thither, as soon as it was known that such a system was sanctioned by the Porte, under the auspices of the Five Powers. What a pity it is, that in these enlightened times, jealousy and diplomacy should interfere with the general good, and the progress of Christianity and civilization! Why cannot the great nations of the earth sink all such unworthy feelings, and, acting a noble and dignified part, go hand in hand to promote the welfare of mankind? Certain am I, that in the end, it will be found to be the *best policy*; and I am equally sure that until some such plan is adopted as that which I have proposed, the excellent

intentions of the "Hatti-Scheriff" can never be carried out: nor will there be any real good effected. The success of the British arms has gained us the confidence of the inhabitants; and the English name is respected by all classes; we can only speak of facts *as they are:* the Bedoueen Arabs fear us; the native fanatics shun us; the Roman Catholics hate us, and (aided clandestinely by those who are politically jealous of our growing influence), would if they could, throw every obstacle in our way—*they* are, in fact, the greatest enemies to the progress of civilization; because they would keep the people in darkness, and encourage superstition; but happily for the cause in which we are engaged, Popery has long since been deprived of her sting. The Russians and French have both been trying hard to establish their authority; but they have failed; the former have most weight, because they are the acknowledged protectors of the Greek church; and France, as the professed defender of the Papists, stirs up the priests, and reminds them that they have always been supported by *her*, denouncing us as heretics and oppressors. The Austrians have displayed considerable zeal in the support which they have lately rendered to the English; and the Prussians, although they have not, as yet, much influence in Syria, are exerting themselves for the protection and moral improvement of the inhabitants. A very great deal is being done at the present time, *quietly*, as I mentioned in the Second Chapter of this volume. In addition to the signal efforts of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the King of Prussia; the Church Missionary Society, and the Society for the Extension of Christian Education in Syria, are sending out proper persons to establish schools and

dispensaries, that the people may not only be enlightened, and instructed in the word of God, but that their physical necessities may also be supplied. The "Syrian Medical Aid Association" of London has also been established with this view; and I am happy to say, it has met with the co-operation and sanction of philanthropic and distinguished individuals, in all parts of the British dominions. The greatest credit is due to the American Missionaries: and it is a pleasure to me, to record my testimony of their virtuous and exemplary conduct. They have done much good in Palestine, and their influence with the Druses, from whom so much may in future be expected, is very considerable. Dr. Van Dyck, an American physician, resides constantly at Deir-el-Khamar, the palace of the Chief of the Mountains; and Dr. Forrest, also of the United States, will shortly proceed to Jerusalem to supply the place of the late Dr. Dodge. This is the way to restore order,—the *only* way; but Philanthropy can do very little unless supported by those in power. I believe that a very important Crisis is at hand; and that ere long, a decisive blow will be struck. The Christians of the East are adding to their numbers daily; and on the other hand, the cause of the Osmanlis is weakened by the tyrannical measures which they adopt towards those of their own party. The dreadful dissensions and bloody feuds which, at this very time, are raging in Syria, and the persecutions of Mohammed Ali in Egypt, are paving the way for the final overthrow of Moslem tenets, and if I mistake not, the predictions of the Prophets on the subject are about to be fulfilled. The Christian Host will assemble in Syria, and the Euphrates will witness the discomfiture of Islam. It is a delightful

thing to watch the progress of passing events; it is wonderful with what rapidity these changes are taking place; but I am most anxious to see an organized system of emigration; it will then be out of the power of petty tyrants to undermine the happiness of the people as they now do: the new settlers will be numerous enough to defend themselves; they will inspire the Druses and the native Christians with proper ideas of justice and virtue, and teach them to be faithful to one another, and to make common cause against their oppressors. Their eyes once opened to the advantages of civilized life, they will discover that Europeans are their true friends, and they will eagerly adopt our laws; —the simple truths of Christianity must follow. The Ulemah seem to be aware of this; they have not hesitated to warn the Sultan on the subject, and tried to intimidate him. On the 12th of November, when His Highness was on his way to the mosque, they stopped him with the Scheikh-ul-Islam at their head, and represented that "the time was now come for him to abandon a dress which assimilated him to the Giaours." One of them was exiled for his officiousness. Previous to this, in the month of July, it had been publicly announced that "in future, Jerusalem and its dependencies would be placed under the immediate protection of the Sultan, *in order to secure the Christians visiting that city, greater accommodation and facilities.*" Ferik Tayar Pascha, the Muzzellim, received intimation of His Highness' wishes on the subject, and a Firmaun was subsequently addressed to him, commanding "that he should give full and entire protection to the Jews of Syria and Palestine, and treat them in every respect as he had been ordered to treat the Christians." It was likewise determined by

the Divan that the Emir Beschir and the Patriarch of the Maronites should each have an agent or representative at the Bosphorus.

The Eastern Christians at present in communion with the Latin Church, are estimated by the French, at 500,000. But this must be very difficult to ascertain; any calculation must be vague. Extensive emigration will take place, not only to Syria, but to other parts of the East; the decree has gone forth, and no power on earth can stop it: it forms a part of the great designs of the Almighty, and every thing combines in the most remarkable manner, to accomplish them. It has been declared that the whole world must be civilized, and that the Gospel of Christ shall be preached to every people under Heaven. A very little reflection will bring this fact home to the understanding. In the first place, we remark, that the prophecies which related to the earlier ages, have been fulfilled, *to the very letter*—the idols of Egypt have been destroyed, her temples have been thrown down, the country has been laid waste, her wise men have been confounded, her princes have been humbled, to the dust, and the people have cried aloud, "like a woman," *for very fear:* they have been "given over to a cruel lord," and how many "fierce kings" have *ruled over them!* Now look to Syria and Judea—Damascus has long been "a ruinous heap"—"the cities of Aroer are forsaken"—Askalon is "washed by the sea:" the vultures hover over her, and the beasts of prey "roam unmolested" among the broken columns of her palaces! Where is Tyre, once the pride and glory of the East,—"the crowning city, whose merchants were *princes*, and whose traffickers were the *honorable of the earth?*" Look at Moab, Tadmor, Petra, Babylon, and the

Cities of the Plain. Where are they? What are they? Gone! crumbled into dust! All is desolation, and the place they occupied is scarcely known! How literally, how awfully has *every thing* concerning them been brought to pass! And we are assured that all shall be restored,—that the "wilderness shall look green again," and people shall spring up; the remnant of Syria and of Judah shall be recalled; and "in that day," saith the Prophet, "a man shall look to his Maker, and his eyes shall have respect to the Holy One of Israel." Again; speaking of the extension of Christ's Kingdom, he says "Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations; for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left, and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be *inhabited.*" "Fear not; thou shalt not be ashamed; for thy Maker is thine husband; the Lord of Hosts is His name; and thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel:—the *God of the whole earth* shall He be called!"* Let us now look to the events of more modern times. It is a striking and undeniable fact, that whenever the Christian Church was distressed, relief has been sent from a quarter whence it was least of all expected:—when persecution and blasphemy seemed triumphant, and the early teachers of religion were cast down, and in despair, something all at once occurred to elevate their hopes, and they remembered, that they "should have tribulation," but that they should be *supported*:—when the sword of the wicked was yet reeking with the blood of the martyrs, and it seemed as if God had forgotten those whom He had chosen, circumstances transpired which no human judg-

* See Isaiah, liv.—also lx. to the end.

ment could have foreseen, and which effectually liberated the Protestant Church from the evil which assailed it, and it rose immediately in all its purity and beauty, unsullied by the machinations of infidelity, and the arrogance of corrupt men. I cannot enlarge upon this subject here, but I may call the attention of my readers to *a few* of the more remarkable coincidences. The unexpected death of Herod enabled the Holy Family to return to Judea. The sudden conversion of St. Paul arrested the hand of persecution, and "numbers were added to the church daily." The Roman invasion under Titus and Vespasian, and the destruction of Jerusalem, so plainly foretold by Daniel, introduced the Gospel to Europe; and happily for us, in the year 60, Christianity was taught in England. The purity of the Apostolic Church was afterwards defiled; abuses crept in; and the self-exalting doctrines of men were substituted for the simple truths inculcated by our Saviour. Superstition, ignorance, and vice, soon followed; and with them, intolerance, fire, and sword, and all the horrors of the Inquisition. The word of God was publicly burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and those in authority arrogated to themselves the power which belongs only to the Deity. But at the time when persecution was at its height, and bigotry threatened annihilation to the unassuming votaries of true religion, two circumstances occurred, although at considerable intervals, which tended to circulate the Gospel, in spite of fanaticism. These were the discovery of the magnet, in 1229, and the introduction of stereotype printing in 1444.*

* Improvements afterwards took place. The method of *casting* types was first known in 1452, and was introduced into England in 1471. The first Greek book was printed in 1476, and the first Hebrew book in 1478.

The Inquisition was established in Spain in 1204,—in Portugal in 1526; and

As men were now no longer afraid to venture out of sight of land, they contrived to visit their more distant neighbours, and a spirit of adventure was encouraged, which tended not a little to expand the mind. Towards the end of the 16th century, Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh made their voyages; improvements took place in ship-building, and the use of charts and compasses began to be better understood. An ardent thirst for enquiry was the consequence; and from that period, men have been gradually becoming more enlightened. The commerce of England rapidly increased, new regions were explored, new countries were discovered. The mind of man is never at rest: it is insatiate with getting; stores of knowledge were accumulated only to create new desires; and England became a great and powerful nation. Similar changes were taking place in France, Spain and Holland; but not to the same extent. The discovery of America and the West India Islands led to most important re-

it was not finally suppressed until 1820. *The Reformation* was first set on foot by John Wicklifle in 1370. Henry the VIIIth cast off the Pope's supremacy, and introduced Protestanism in 1534. He dissolved the Religious Houses of England in 1537. That excellent monarch Edward the VIth, who founded the Royal Hospitals, viz. Bethlehem, Bridewell, St. Bartholomew's, and Christ's Hospital, followed up what his father had begun. Mary the Bigot succeeded in 1553, and for a time, exercised the most demoniacal spirit towards all Protestants. The Inquisition was once more in full force; Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer, and many others were burnt in Smithfield; she imprisoned her sister; and Lady Jane Grey, for whom she entertained the most deadly hatred, was beheaded at the Tower. Queen Elizabeth came to the throne Nov. 17th, 1558, and was excommunicated by the Pope for her zeal in the Protestant cause, especially for having succoured the members of the Reformed Church in France; and although many religious disputes afterwards occurred during the reigns of the Charles's and Cromwell, the blessings of the Reformation may be said to have been fairly established by Elizabeth, and James the First, who was proclaimed king in 1603. Similar vicissitudes occurred on the Continent: witness the massacre of the Hugenots; but although it pleased God to "*vex* certain of the church," it was but for a time; and when the enemies of religion were most rampant, their discomfiture was near at hand.—Read Fox's Book of Martyrs; the History of the Inquisition by Limborch; the Rev. E. Blomfield's History of the Martyrs, &c.

sults: and latterly, immense wealth flowed into our ports from Africa, China, and Hindostan. Well may it be said that "the sun never sets on Britain's shores," for she has colonies all over the world. Under her auspices, the trackless forest has been cleared, and habitations have sprung up where none but beasts of prey could live before; whilst, as if to mark the awful judgments of the Almighty, pagan cities have been discovered which for centuries lay concealed beneath the débris of volcanoes, or the exuberance of vegetation:* the hum of busy traffick has succeeded to the silence of the wilderness, myriads of civilized beings are distributed among the heathen, and the stable foundation of Empires has been laid. It was not however, until the end of the seventeenth century, that much progress was made in Science: people were prone to be guided by others, without thinking or enquiring for themselves. Ingenious theories were received as facts; and the shadow was often mistaken for the substance. At last, a different system obtained; and Dr. Black, one of the greatest philosophers the world ever produced, discovered the principle of "latent heat"—which led to the invention of the steam-engine, and the application of its gigantic powers to machinery, not only enabling one man to do the work of a hundred, but as a locomotive agent, bringing us in rapid communication with distant countries. Wonderful discoveries and improvements have taken place also in other departments of Science. The Healing Art is better understood; we possess many useful remedies which we had not before; and it is in the power of the physician to arrest the hand of death.

* See Stevens' Discoveries in Central America—De Laborde's Arabia Petræa —Sir W. Gell's Topography of Pompeii—Keith's Evidences of Prophecy—&c.

Men are more intellectual than formerly, more temperate, and rational; consequently less prone to disease. The introduction of Vaccination, by Dr. Jenner, has contributed greatly to the happiness of mankind; and the endemic diseases of countries are deprived of half their terrors: so that, aided by modern improvements in regard to clothing, ventilation, and cleanliness, the average period of human life, according to the statistics of the Assurance Companies, and the Bills of Mortality, is extended. Thus it appears, that owing to a twenty-seven years' peace, the improvements in Medical Science, our habits, and other causes, people *live longer*, and the population in all the countries of Europe, (but particularly England) is materially *increased;* whilst at the same time, the application of machinery and steam to commerce, manufactures, and the arts, has so suspended manual labour, that every trade and profession is *overstocked*, and the people in every condition of life, complain that they "do not know what to do with their sons, for there is a *want of employment* —that in fact, things have arrived at such a Crisis, that *something* must be done!" Now, can we not see the hand of Providence in all this? Clearly! As I said at starting, "the strong holds of superstition and prejudice must be broken down,"—"the Gospel must be preached to every people under Heaven,"—"the designs of the Almighty must be accomplished." Here then we have a beautiful chain of events occurring in regular succession, that will lead to this. If people cannot live in their own country, they must seek an asylum *elsewhere*. Men naturally cling to the land of their fathers; they will not quit it if they can help it: but necessity has no law: and being thus *driven* to unknown, or less civilized regions, it is

obvious that they will better the condition of those with whom they may hereafter associate: they will establish European laws, habits, and institutions, wherever they go, restrain the violent, punish the offender, reward the industrious, protect the meek, encourage virtue, and disseminate the blessings of Christianity and pure religion. *These*, we may rest assured, are the *ends* of all that is now in progress. However the ambitious and despotic may glory in the success of their undertakings, they are but the agents of a Superior Power; and the man of Science and the merchant, whilst planning schemes for the attainment of honor, wealth, or reputation, are promoting higher objects which they know not of. "The ways of the Almighty, are not as our ways, nor are His thoughts as our thoughts:" they are indeed often far beyond our comprehension: but *there are* certain things permitted us to see and understand; and those things which are founded on the word which He Himself has spoken, are intelligible to all whose heart is in a state to see and to believe.*

* See "A Course of Lectures on the Destiny of the Jews," by Ten Clergymen of the Church of England.—Also "A Residence among the Nestorian Christians of Koordistan," by Dr. Asahel Grant.—Colonel Sir Richard Bonnycastle "On the Canadas,"—Captain Grey "On the more remote and wilder Regions of Western Australia,"—"D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation."—Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History,"—and Neal's "History of he Puritans."

CHAPTER V.

CHARACTER OF IBRAHIM PASCHA — HIS CONDUCT IN ARABIA, GREECE, AND SYRIA; HIS VICTORIES, AND ADMINISTRATION — IBRAHIM'S HEAD-QUARTERS AT TARSOOS, THE BIRTH-PLACE OF ST. PAUL — THE RUINS AND PORT OF SOLI — THE GULF OF ISKENDEROON — THE COUNTRY OF SUADEAH, ANTIOCH, AND ALEPPO: ITS COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES — OSMAN PASCHA, THE EGYPTIAN ADMIRAL: HIS MISSION TO CANDIA — SURVEY OF THE PORT OF SUDA—ANECDOTES, ETC.

Let us now enquire a little more particularly into the character of Ibrahim Pascha, the legitimate descendant of the Viceroy, and future Sovereign of Egypt. I cannot but regard it as a fortunate circumstance that the succession should devolve upon him. He is more civilized, and has been better educated than his father: his powers of discrimination are the same; he is equal to him in talent, firmness, and perseverance; and if he has less tact and cunning, he possesses more generosity and principle, but none of the sordid avarice and selfish implacability which mark the conduct of Mohammed Ali.

Ibrahim is not yet properly understood in Europe: and I may say with truth, that he has hitherto appeared to a disadvantage; he is known only by report,

and as the agent of another: he is judged of chiefly by the way in which he has conducted himself as a soldier, and his errors are exaggerated. He has been represented as a mere military despot, because, when he went to Greece, he evinced a disposition to austerity and cruelty; but it should be recollected that he had then just returned from the conquest of the Whahabees, a set of infuriated zealots, and that the cause of the war with them being religion, the Egyptian soldiers were excited to a state almost amounting to frenzy; and many atrocities were committed in consequence.* When Ibrahim returned as the Champion of his sect, he made his public entré into Cairo, and was received by the inhabitants with great pomp. His father wished to raise him in the estimation of the people, aud welcomed him with Oriental magnificence. He placed upon his shoulders the robes of State, and created him Pascha of Mekka and Medina, which in the eyes of Islam, distinguished him above all other Paschas, Mohammed Ali not excepted. Every noble in the land repaired to Cairo on that day, to do him homage. He was surrounded by courtiers of every denomination; and honors crowded so thickly on him, that no wonder if, flushed as he was with victory, so young and inexperienced a warrior should become

* "Quand Ibrahim Pascha se fut emparé de Missolonghi, il donna à quelques prisonniers la triste commission de saler les oreilles de leurs compatriotes qui devaient être envoyées au Sultan; quatre tonneaux en furent remplis; mais Ibrahim, pensant que le nombre n'etait pas assez considérable pour donner à Mahmoud une haute idée de sa victoire, fit encore couper les oreilles des Turcs qui avaient été tués sous les murs de la place, et les livra pour être jointes aux premières. Les prisonniers pour éluder la supercherie, tracirent sur plusieurs billets cette inscription: 'On verra à la longueur de ces oreilles qu'elles ne sont pas Grecques.' Les papiers renfermés dans les barils furent lus par les douainiers Turcs à Constantinople, qui le répétèrent, et c'est ainsi que ce bruit est venu jusqu'à moi."—"Deux Années à Constantinople et en Morée" par M. C. Deschamps.

proud and haughty, and pant for further scenes of blood.*

His next campaign was in Greece; and afterwards the battle of Navarino took place. The result of these affairs is well known; and it had a marked effect upon Ibrahim, who, until then, had always professed the greatest contempt for Europeans. The period had now arrived, however, that he should be undeceived. He discovered that Franks and Whahabees were very different persons, and that their system of military tactics was also different: in fact, that he knew little or nothing about soldiering, and had much to learn. He was humbled: he courted the acquaintance of those who had already taught him a salutary lesson: he studied their history and laws, observed their customs, and co-operated with his father in introducing the European discipline among the troops, &c. Some of Buonaparte's officers, (and many calling themselves such) subsequently entered the Egyptian service, the most distinguished of which was Colonel Selves, known by the name of Suleyman Pascha. Great revolutions took place in the marine: the eyes of Ibrahim were completely opened, and he had the good sense to profit by the experience he had gained since 1821, when he entered Cairo followed by a band of ignorant ruffians, as wild and hot-headed as himself. The brave and judicious manner in which he conducted the late Syrian campaign, goes far to confirm what I have stated; and many interesting facts have

* Report says that his favourite amusement was to sit at a window, and fire with a German rifle at the leathern skins of the "sakkaas" or water-carriers, as they passed along with water from the Nile. Being an excellent shot, he seldom did any greater harm, than to deprive the individuals of the fruits of their mid-day toil, and put them in bodily fear. It was indeed a most dangerous experiment, for the distended skins are carried under the arms, or on the back.

come under my own knowledge which illustrate his private character.

Ibrahim is opposed to his father's policy in many respects: he considers that a system of monopoly and extortion is calculated to ruin the resources of any country; that it is like cutting down a goodly tree which promises a rich harvest in due season, for the sake of obtaining an inconsiderable quantity of unripe fruit for present uses; but he is aware that the Pascha is too obstinate to listen to *him*. In order therefore not to quarrel with him, he has kept himself aloof as much as he consistently could, patiently submitting to his authority, and obeying his commands. But I am much deceived if, after the old man's death, Ibrahim do not appear to more advantage: the powers of his mind will then be developed; they will have full scope; hitherto, they have been cramped: he has been *restrained*, notwithstanding he is looked up to in Egypt by the people, and feared quite as much as Mohammed Ali, in certain matters, having been invested with full powers; and his word concerning these is absolute; his father does not interfere in them at all: the people know this, and their minds have long been prepared to acknowledge him their Chief as soon as the Viceroy expires. They have not forgotten that he once triumphed over his enemies in the South and East, and rescued their Holy City from the hands of a barbarous faction: his imposing entrance into Cairo on his return, made a deep and lasting impression upon them; they know that both then, and on various occasions since, his services have been publicly acknowledged by the Pascha, and they associate his name with every thing, recounting his "mighty deeds" with the same satisfaction as the Persians those of "Rastam the Lion-

killer." In the East, whatever is meritorious or important, is always magnified, and reported "ayoub," (wonderful) or "ad'joiva," (astonishing) i. e. something short of *miraculous*, ejaculations which are ever in the mouths of the Turks and Arabs, just as the word "magnifique" is with the French. Ibrahim is perfectly acquainted with the Arab character; and, like a Bedoueen chief, knows when to be severe, and how to secure the affections of his people. He is always dignified and just; his word is law; he is firm and resolute, valiant, and though a strict disciplinarian, kind and indulgent; and he never expects the meanest man in his army to do that which he would not do—himself! No man is more rigorously obeyed; for *he is able to punish;* nevertheless, he is in full possession of the hearts of his soldiers, who have given him the by-name of "Aboo-Halil;" and, as distinctions of rank among the Arabs are not incompatible with *candour*, they frequently tell him *home-truths*. During the late wars, he might be seen at all hours, ever watchful and circumspect; he would move about with astonishing rapidity and secresy, with only four or five attendants; and often slept on the bare snow, as an example to others. He would sympathize and converse with his troops, listen to their stories, encourage them, and enter without reserve into their feelings and associations. He would sit down, making himself as one of them, during their bivouacks, yet he never forgot his rank, nor sacrificed his honor by sanguinary acts of passion. Ibrahim knows that he is constitutionally hasty and irascible; and sometimes, when his wrath was kindled, he has been seen to walk up and down, take snuff, and call for a pipe, as it were, to cool his temper, before issuing his orders. He mustered in Syria about

25,000 veterans; on these he could implicitly rely; and on one occasion, they fought up to their knees in snow, although they had scarcely tasted food for two days, and he was twenty-two months' pay in arrears with them.* He found the bastinado unnecessary, and abolished it; for they gave him repeated proofs that as long as he was at their head, they were ready to endure *all things* for his sake. As an earnest of his attachment to *them*, he raised many who distinguished themselves by their bravery or good conduct, from the lowest ranks; and on his return to Egypt, he converted one of his palaces at Cairo into an infirmary for the sick and wounded. When he withdrew his forces from Asia Minor, after the battle of Koniah, he enquired in the different villages, "what debts he had incurred," and these he caused to be paid, a proceeding which gained him many friends. As he rode at the head of a column, a poor woman presented a petition, which, being about to give up the jurisdiction of the country, he declined. She became importunate; and His Highness still refusing to listen to her, some of his soldiers cried out to him from the ranks, "Aboo Halil! don't be severe; take the petition!" He then complied, and gave her some money.

Ibrahim has proved himself to be no despicable warrior. I have received much information concerning him, from those who witnessed his behaviour; and on the accuracy of their statements I know I can depend. In the field, he is collected: when danger is at hand, or when the neighbouring tribes rebel, he is always cool; and not only inspires his troops with

* Travellers who witnessed their manœuvres declared that they would have done credit to Europeans, and that they were in a high state of discipline and subordination. Among them were two regiments of cuirassiers.

courage, by displaying the most undaunted intrepidity, but by his fore-thought and sagacity, he has often detected the snares which were laid for him; turned the tide in his favor, and enlisted the Scheikhs in his cause. Malcontents there must always be in every army; and the wisest and best generals have had to contend with secret enemies, even in their own camp. We must not then form an opinion of Ibrahim by the accounts of angry French renegades; and we should read with caution the statements of some of the continental journals. Ibrahim Pascha, no doubt, has his faults; but he is neither a barbarian, nor an ignorant, aspiring ruffian, as some imagine. Mohammed Ali could not have accomplished half of what he has done, but for the exertions of his son, and this he knows full well; nor is he ignorant how great a favorite he has become with the army; a circumstance which, at one period, was not quite pleasing to him, having been accustomed during a long life of intrigue and calculation, to mistrust every body about him. I think it not unlikely that if Ibrahim had felt inclined to depose his father, he might have done so, that is, if the Sultan did not interfere; but the Pascha's apprehensions on this subject (if he had any) were groundless.

As to the revolts which occurred in Syria, they were neither more frequent nor more extensive than was to be expected: it is the interest of the people of that country always to attach themselves to the strongest party, the Druses more especially, who, by reason of their locality on Mount Lebanon, find it very difficult, when their neighbours are at war, to avoid taking part with one or the other. Accordingly, during the late struggle, they espoused the cause of Mohammed Ali,

as long as his fortunes were on the rise, but no longer. And so it was with the Bedoueens, and the inhabitants of the Haouran and Nablous. The high-sounding statements which were made at a more early period of the campaign, relative to the check which we were led to believe was given to Ibrahim in his progress, by the Turks and the native tribes, originated with the Turks themselves, who knew that they were losing ground:—when such vapourings are published by Eastern nations, it is a sure sign of defeat; and I feel persuaded that, had the Sultan Mahmoud himself appeared among the Metouali just then, he would have had great difficulty in quelling insurrection. The accounts given of Ibrahim Pascha's personal sufferings were better founded: he had a heavy load of care and anxiety to support, which, added to his fatigues, induced him to live freely; and being continually exposed to malaria in the undrained plains and shelving grounds at the bases of the mountains, he had repeated attacks of dysentery, which must have tried his constitution. He was once so exhausted, that he was obliged to be carried on a litter; and there is no doubt of his having been seriously ill on his arrival at Gaza, where he reposed, attended by the surgeon of H. B. M. Ship "Benbow" (72), until he was sufficiently restored to embark for Egypt. To his credit be it spoken, he then refused to retire from the hostile shores of Palestine, until he had witnessed the departure of his brave comrades in arms. He sailed with *the last* division of his army, on board the "Had'gi Baba" steamer, and landed at Damietta on the 21st of February.

I do not wish to give Ibrahim Pascha credit for more than he deserves. He is naturally impetuous; and there is reason to believe that if he had not met

with a wholesome lesson at the commencement of his career, by being brought in communication with Europeans, he might have become bigoted, rapacious, and turbulent. His enemies have set forth many exaggerated statements, charging him with deliberate cruelty during the late contest. Those who know him well, declare that, whatever might have been his disposition once, he is too enlightened now, to be guilty of any thing of the kind; and that, whenever he detected wantonness on the part of a soldier, he punished him with marked severity, as an example to others. War is a terrible thing; and it is not always possible for a General to protect the inhabitants from insult and plunder; but the people of Syria encountered none of the barbarous excesses from Ibrahim's troops, which have since been committed by the Albanians. Mohammed Ali's conscript-system spread lamentation and misery throughout the land; and there was a great deal of extortion and abuse; but having once subdued the people, as I have already said, he kept them in much better order than the Sultan Mahmoud ever did. It was when attempts were made to expel him from the country, that his oppressive measures were chiefly felt.

Ibrahim Pascha is free from prejudice, and a great admirer of all European institutions; in conformity wherewith, he established a quarantine in the principal towns on the coast, and prohibited the inhabitants from carrying arms. He has frequently been heard to regret that it is not in his power to visit England and France. He receives all new ideas with astonishing facility, asks a great many questions, and will have everything explained to him. He acknowledges that the Franks are more civilized, and that they possess great advantages:

nevertheless he respects the prejudices of the Moslems, and has invariably expressed sorrow when obliged to have recourse to force, in order to bring them into subjection to the Government. When he was in Syria, he lost no opportunity of checking the rapacity of the Authorities, and he reduced the usurious rate of interest which was generally demanded by the "saraafs," agents, and money-changers. He devoted a portion of the day to receiving visits and petitions. Sometimes, when walking out, the inhabitants would prefer their complaints personally. On one occasion, says an eye-witness, an old mountaineer being unusually obtrusive, Ibrahim replied, "My good friend, I have read nearly two-hundred petitions to day, and want some relaxation, but you may depend on my attending to your prayer." Again, the inhabitants of Nazareth complaining of the exactions of the Governor, this functionary was ordered to present his accounts. An overcharge of 6000 piastres being proved, although he had only been in office twelve months, Ibrahim condemned him to twelve months' hard labour in the fortifications of Acre. He is a lover of justice, and prefers retirement; but situated as he was, he felt that he could not withdraw from public service. He has laid out some beautiful gardens near Cairo; and if he is wise, he will pass the remainder of his days tranquilly in Egypt, and turn his attention to the wants of the people, and the agricultural condition of the country. It is said that Ibrahim Pascha is a voluptuary. This I do not believe. Like many others, when oppressed with care, or enduring great fatigue, he may have accustomed himself to wine; but we are assured that notwithstanding all he has gone through, he is an early riser, systematic in business, indefatigably active, and

possessed of a frame powerful enough to second the energies of his mind, which could not be the case, if he were profligate, or inclined to dropsy, as some assert.* On particular occasions, when any person is with him, he will drink freely; but he seldom indulges to *excess*. Captain Prissick (a gentleman who was many years an officer in the British Navy, and whose name I have already had occasion to mention, as commanding subsequently, an Egyptian line-of-battle ship of 104 guns), informed me that he once had a favourable opportunity of observing Ibrahim's temper in this respect. His Royal Highness having hoisted his flag on board his ship, as Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian squadron then setting out for Syria, Captain Prissick was invited to dine with him. They drank, "success to the expedition," and other toasts, and had finished a bottle of champaign (Ibrahim's favourite beverage). The General called for another, and was proceeding to pledge Captain Prissick in a bumper. To his infinite astonishment, the Captain declined:— "Your Highness will excuse me," said he, "I cannot enter upon a second bottle!" Ibrahim's eye flashed with indignation: he could not conceal his rage; so little was he in the habit of being denied: but Prissick (*knowing his man*) fixed his eye *steadily on his*, unmoved. "Your Highness will *excuse me*," he repeated, with firmness but with marked respect; "I am answerable to His Highness the Pascha, not only for the safe conduct of this fleet, but for the preservation of your Highness' own life. I have drank *enough!*" Ibrahim looked sternly at his companion, as though he could annihilate him; but finding that

* He is now at an age when many people become corpulent, and being of a full habit, he has recourse to periodical venesection.

his penetrating gaze was encountered with unshaken composure, he struck the table with vehemence, and swore a terrible oath, declaring "by Allah," that he would not have believed there was a man in the fleet who *dared* to refuse him: but,—the moment was past: his countenance, which had just been convulsed with the most deadly passion, assumed an air of inward satisfaction, and he told Captain Prissick "*he was right.*" From that day forth, he evinced the greatest possible respect for him, complimented him on several occasions, and even administered to his necessities when sick: for it happened shortly afterwards, off Cape Carmel, when it was blowing hard, that the brig "Timpsha" (The Crocodile), in weighing, through bad management, got foul of another ship. Ibrahim observed it; he came up to Prissick, laid hold of him, and in a paroxysm of vexation, "Go!" said he, "go! and if it is *possible*, get them right! — the dispatches *must go at all hazards!*" The Captain immediately manned a boat with a picked crew, and after some difficulty, succeeded in getting on board, and clearing the vessels. The sea was running high at the time, and the boat was nearly swamped; Prissick was completely drenched, and being already an invalid, the next morning he was attacked with dysentery. Ibrahim Pascha, hearing that he was laid up, went to see him, and then put a sentinel at his door, with orders to admit no one to him under any pretence. He visited him himself twice and three times every day, bringing him on one occasion, some grape jelly, on another, some rice gruel, and literally *starved* the complaint out: "whereas," said he, smiling, "the doctors would have physicked you to death!"*

* This is all very well; but if the Captain's complaint had assumed a more

At the bombardment of Acre in 1832, Captain Prissick commanded the "Kiaffr' Scheykh," (58). A bomb vessel had orders to anchor just under her bowsprit; but the Captain of the bomb, not exactly liking the position, anchored nearly half a mile out, thereby endangering the "Kiaffr' Scheykh," as many shells falling short of their mark, passed over, and round about her: at last one of them set her on fire. Ibrahim, who was with the troops on shore, said he watched the shell, and traced it the whole distance. He was in a great rage, and at the moment, swore he would have the Captain hanged for his disobedience and cowardice. But Prissick interceded in his behalf; and though he deserved to be punished, purposely kept away from the Court-martial; so the man's sentence was commuted; his life was spared, but he was condemned to work as a slave.

Ibrahim is very apt in the unmasking of treachery. When he made his descent on Palestine, he landed at Caipha with only 600 men; for the transports had been detained by contrary winds. A very large Arab force was encamped near him; but seeing the ships, they supposed that he was well supported, and did not attack him. The wily Scheikhs waited on him, pretending to offer their services; but they evidently came to *reconnoitre*. Ibrahim was aware of this: and a beautiful scene ensued. He fixed his keen eyes upon them: they could not stand his searching look—their countenance instantly changed, and their eyes gradually bent downwards to the earth. "The scoundrels!"

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active form, *Nature and abstinence* would have been left in the lurch, as in the case of one of my Oriental friends, who notwithstanding he had lost *four* of his children in this way, still insisted that "*starvation* and *rice-water* are the only cure for dysentery!"

whispered Ibrahim: "I have you now!" He saw their treachery at once. "An honest man," he used to say, "will always look you in the face."—Rivetting his eyes upon theirs—"I accept your services," said he, "but until I prove your fidelity, your sons remain with me as *hostages*." They looked up for a moment, as though they would have replied; but their eyes again encountered those of the General, and they were mute. A guilty conscience betrayed their intentions, and they felt that their roguery was detected. This and other similar acts, however, gained the whole of them over to his cause.*

Ibrahim is very ardent and energetic: he never pardons disobedience, but he is ready to encourage and reward merit: he hates cowardice, and is a great admirer of loyalty and liberty. His favourite toast is "Ya shasin serbeslie," ("Success to liberty!") and he has a great contempt for hypocrisy.

A few days after taking Caipha, previous to investing St. Jean d'Acre, Ibrahim was waited on by some Carmelite friars and their Superior, who were about to construct a convent on Mount Carmel, which rises just above Caipha. It appeared that a quantity of building materials, stone, marble, and sculptured ornaments, had been collected for this purpose. Abd'allah Pascha of Acria having perceived them, took it into his head to erect a palace there, and with his usual rapaciousness, seized the whole of the materials for his own uses; consequently the convent had never

* See Frontispiece. The sketch may be depended on as an admirable likeness of Ibrahim Pascha, and the moment selected is a very happy one. It is taken from an original drawing of that highly talented artist J. Bonomi, who was intimately acquainted with the Arab character, having resided in the country eleven years, engaged in the study of Egyptian architecture and antiquities; he distinguished himself by the most unremitting zeal in his profession, his urbanity to strangers, and kindness to the poor.

been completed. The request of the Superior was, that they might be allowed to go on with their building; to which Ibrahim with much good humour, immediately agreed; and told them to take back all the materials which had been fraudulently taken from them by Abd'allah, and even to pull the palace down if necessary. Of course the visitors went away highly delighted at Ibrahim's generosity. At this time, says my informant, we were in want of a dry house, to put the bread and other perishable provisions in. The only two buildings in the wretched place, capable of keeping out rain, were the Roman Catholic Chapel, and the Turkish Mosque. After inspecting both, Ibrahim turned to Captain Prissick and an old Maltese friar, and said, "If I take your chapel, you cannot pray to God without it, and I should be called a barbarian, &c., whereas, my men can pray as well in the open air, as in a church: so the mosque must become a warehouse." He then gave the necessary orders, and was one of the first to seize a pick-axe, to make a hole in the wall next the Bay, for the purpose of putting the provisions in from the boats, as they came alongside: and positively lent a hand in hauling in the first bag of bread. These two acts of policy did almost as much as his army in gaining Syria, as the priests have much influence, and they did not omit circulating these two favourable traits of Ibrahim among the Syrian Christians.

There was also another circumstance which had its effect. Before commencing the attack, he sent a communication to the Governor of Acre, declaring "that all the women and children would be permitted to quit the town;" but Abd'allah Pascha would not consent. Mr. Farren, the English Consul-General, was at that

time, encamped with His Highness, and endeavoured to act as mediator, with a view to prevent hostilities—but to no purpose: the orders which Ibrahim had received from his father were peremptory.

The night before the attack, Captain Hume, of whom I have spoken in the second chapter of this work, volunteered to go and throw some rockets into the town, by way of keeping the garrison *amused.* Captain Prissick advised him to take "his gig" along with him, and not to expose himself in the boat with the rockets. This he refused; yet he had a strong presentiment of his death; for as he stepped over the ship's side, he gave Captain Prissick his watch for his boy, and a scrap of paper for his wife:—it was a memorandum of money owing to him by Said Ali, Captain. Through the carelessness of the boat's-crew, the whole of the rockets exploded, and poor Hume was lost. The bombardment was pretty sharp while it lasted; a severe cannonade was kept up on both sides: Osman Pascha, Muttus Bey, and Captain Prissick commanding by sea; Ibrahim directing the attack by land. Captain Prissick having been ordered to lead the van, he and Hume proceeded, under a fire from the batteries, to take soundings over night.* When the signal was given to weigh, he anchored the "Kiaffr' Scheykh" as near in shore as possible, viz., in thirty feet water, at one cable's length from the nearest round castle, one cable and a half ditto from the main rampart, and about 200 yards from the beach. His men fought well; but evinced a strange desire to carry away the flag-staff, thinking, I suppose, that the

* They sounded all round the head of the bay, and side of the town, and found that within gun-shot, there were thirty-five and thirty-six feet water; and thirty feet water at half gun-shot from the castles. See Appendix.

fortress would then surrender. It was well it did surrender at last; for what with the enemy's fire, and the shell from one of their own bomb-vessels, the ship was riddled, and had all her masts and rigging shot away, in fact she was so disabled that she was obliged to be towed out.*

The next day, Captain Prissick offered a reward for Hume's body. The Arabs began to dive in all directions about the Bay; and at length succeeded in finding it. The poor fellow had his hands and teeth still clenched, and looked as if in a passion. He was not much hurt: he was burnt over the eye-brows, and one temple was bruised: but he had his cloak about him, which probably caused his death; for he was an able swimmer. The body was much swollen, and they could get nothing off him, but his sword and sash, which Captain Prissick brought for his son. He also took a lock of hair for his wife. It only now remained to perform the last sad office that one brave fellow can perform for another. This excellent-hearted man caused him to be interred with military honours, near the sea-shore, under Mount Carmel. A Catholic priest officiated. The corpse was borne to the grave covered with the Union-Jack, preceded by a file of marines with muffled drums, and followed by all the friends of the deceased who were in the fleet. Poor fellow! he was a man of many sorrows, enterprising, valiant, and deserving of a better fate. Mr. Atkins, the Captain of the rocket-brigade, was saved by swimming: but he was more burned than Hume: his man was also saved, both being picked up by the boats.

* "There were nearly 200 shot about the hull; several between wind and water, and some under water; three anchors broken, boats shattered, and launch burnt." Extract from the "Kiaffr' Scheikh's" Log-book.

From this period, until the final evacuation of Syria by the Egyptian army, whatever excesses were committed, were of course attributed to Ibrahim, just as in time past, the Sultan had to bear the blame of all the offences of his officers, the Paschas of Acria, Damascus, and Aleppo, who extorted money *in his name* for their own uses. Details of atrocious insults, and almost incredible injuries, have appeared in the papers, but variously exaggerated; and most of them were stories made up for the occasion, by interested parties. Ibrahim never sanctioned violence: he invariably protected the Franks, and he is known to have dismissed the Governor of Alexandretta for molesting the English Consul. His policy throughout has been to *conciliate*, and not annoy: but due allowance must be made for the irregularities of a large army distributed throughout the land. Even in Damascus which is one of the Holy Cities of Islam, Europeans could walk about, ride horses, and wear the white turban, without impediment; the people did not like it, but they dared not resist the authority of Ibrahim, who was determined, if possible, to undermine their prejudices, in order that they might become civilized. Some of the more fanatic ventured at last to represent that "if these things were permitted, there would be no distinction between the Giaours and true Believers."—Ibrahim replied; "Let the true Believers ride on *dromedaries;* as the Christians will not imitate them, there will then be a distinction!" The bigoted priests and certain of the Mohammedan functionaries perceiving that he associated with the Franks, accused him of partiality, and sagely pointed out the evil of innovation. "Why do I trust and favor Europeans?" said he:—"Because I find them intelligent, learned,

and experienced, far more than you; and they perform faithfully whatever they undertake, which you do not." Before the arrival of Ibrahim, the Turkish Authorities were as hostile to Christians as they are now, and frequently compelled them to take refuge among the mountains; but the Egyptian Invader put a stop to their oppression, and issued a proclamation that "people of all countries, of whatever religious creed, should be treated with equal justice." One of the Muzzellim having taken forcible possession of some land belonging to a Christian, cut down, and transplanted to his own estate, 2000 young olive-trees. Ibrahim Pascha heard of it, and compelled him at the expense of a very considerable sum of money, to replant the whole in a proper manner. An officer named Suleyman Agah, murdered a peasant in whose house he was quartered, and then robbed him; the body was buried so negligently, that one of the hands appeared above ground, and several wild dogs were attracted to the spot: an enquiry was instituted; a soldier turned evidence, and the murderer was immediately shot by order of the Pascha. The improvements introduced by His Highness were chiefly twofold;—1. The abolition of the feudal system which prevailed among the adherents of certain families, (the Prince of the Druses to wit, and other mountain Chiefs), together with the overthrow of Mohammedan tyranny and abuses,—which paved the way for,—2dly, A modification in the system of administration, so as to secure to all classes and religions, something like practical justice. He did away the "avanias" or *forced* loans, to which the Governors have had recourse for many years;—this gave great satisfaction to the wealthy shop-keepers and merchants, who were gene-

rally the victims of those in power: and he established in all the principal towns, a Tribunal called the "Divan Mushwara," at which the Moufti or other learned man was to preside, the Members being composed of the more influential inhabitants, whether Moslem, Jew, or Christian. His object was to put an end to bribery, and to check the rapacity of the higher Authorities. This Court of Enquiry took cognizance of civil cases, and was calculated to protect property and commerce, whilst at the same time, it regulated the demands of the tax-gatherer, protected the people, and enabled the Pascha to judge whether a just return of revenue was made by the Saraafs to the public Treasury. These measures were working extremely well, and the country was becoming tranquil; for the people were beginning to appreciate them; but at this very Crisis, the bad spirit which guided the Provincial Rulers, again burst forth, and the bombardment of Acre by the Allies became the signal for anarchy, intrigue, and revolution. A judicial system has since been attempted to be founded on the basis of that which Ibrahim introduced; but as it wanted Ibrahim's head to regulate it, and Ibrahim's disciplined troops to enforce obedience, it has proved a failure, and the Sultan's finances are too crippled to admit of any permanent good being accomplished. In the mean time, the whole country is left at the mercy of the most reckless tyrants; and, it is not improbable, that sooner or later, Syria will either be placed at the disposal of Mohammed Ali, or the protecting arm of Christendom will be extended over it.

I shall now close this subject with an account of Captain Prissick's visit to Ibrahim Pascha at "Tarsoos," the "Tarsus" of Scripture, the birth-place of

Saint Paul. "July the 9th.—At 9 P. M. I left the ship in my 'gig' from below Mersym, to proceed to "Yeni Kioy" the scala, or landing-place of Tarsoos. The wind being foul, we had to 'run' all the way, and did not arrive until past midnight. We landed through a very high surf, which there is generally on the beach. At one, we procured horses and a guide, and started for Tarsoos, a distance of twelve miles. After clearing the village, we overtook a string of camels attached to the army, that took us exactly two hours to pass: there must have been many hundreds. At 4 A. M. on the 10th we entered Tarsoos through one of the many gates of that ancient town. Knowing Ibrahim Pascha to be an early riser, I was in hopes of not having long to wait for my interview. Having arrived at head-quarters, I found His Highness sleeping in the open air, on some cushions, and an Arab centinel brushing the flies from him. No other attendants were near: there was neither pomp nor ceremony: grooms, cooks, and other servants were following their occupations in the court-yard, around which, were at least from fifty to eighty beautiful horses picquetted. His Staff began to assemble about eight o'clock; but to the astonishment of all, His Highness did not awake until past eight. He arose; washed and dressed himself without restraint. He then gave me and several others a nod to approach and take our seats near him. His reception of me was most gracious; he enquired particularly after my health, gave me coffee, &c., and was evidently glad to see me. He then inspected a company of artillery, and selected from the ranks, fifty or sixty fine, athlethic men to organize another corps; after which, we retired to a saloon, if it may be so called, where he gave audience

to all the Beys and military Staff, and also the civil Authorities. Being limited to time by the Admiral, I was reluctantly compelled to take leave before I had accomplished the object of my visit, viz. a *private* interview. His Highness asked, "What hurry?" I answered, "The Beys wish to get away." He then offered me a horse; but I had one already. At parting, he said "God bless you!" and I observed him point at me, with some remarks to his Generals. He was looking extremely well; and seemed very firm in his nerves; but at times, there was care on his brow, and gloom in his eye; his countenance changed; but he invariably had recourse to a pinch of snuff, which soon dispersed all, and he would resume his wonted smile of good humour. I afterwards learned, that only the day before, he had heard of the death of his favorite daughter, and that the intelligence distressed him much.*

"I had no time to look around this once far-famed city. It is now only a heap of ruins: but it must once have covered a large extent of ground, and been enclosed by a wall. The gate I entered at (one of two only which are left standing) has been a noble structure: its arch is lofty, and the remains of sculpture are to be seen here and there.† The inhabitants live in

* How deep must be the grief of him who, either from rank or otherwise, has no real friend to whom he can unburden his thoughts at such a time! *Stoics* may write and talk, but the *bravest* hearts can *feel!* We little know the sufferings of the Great.—"One touch of Nature makes the whole world kin!"

† St. Paul declared himself to be "a Jew of Tarsus, a *city* in Cilicia,—a citizen of *no mean city*!"—Acts xxi. 39. "Tarsus" was once the rival of Alexandria and Athens in literature, and the study of the polite arts; and it was celebrated for the great men it produced. The modern town contains about 30,000 people, chiefly Turks, a fanatical race; the trade is limited to Cyprus and the immediate neighbourhood; but latterly, an English, Austrian, and French Consul has been appointed; and when the country becomes more settled, the commercial prospects will brighten. Most of the monuments of antiquity have

huts, and bad houses constructed out of the ruins; but by far the greater part in sheds, which stand on a platform, supported by four poles; they are covered with old canvass or mats, and entered by a ladder.

"The town is well watered by a river that divides into several small streams, which irrigate the various gardens.* The country is beautiful, and the soil good; but all is wretchedness and ruin, for want of cultivation. The land produces grain of all kinds, cotton, and tobacco, and abundance of fruit, all of which I saw growing. This is the first Turkish town in which I ever beheld the sexes in free intercourse with each other, and the women with faces uncovered as in Europe. The scenery was magnificent; and if there were no 'cloud-capt towers, and gorgeous palaces,' the snow-capped mountains, rising in majestic grandeur (in the month of July) over the peaceful valleys and plains below, rich in gardens and shrubberies, formed a sight equally sublime and beautiful.

"But to return to Ibrahim Pascha. I found him little altered since I left him at Acre, about twenty months since. What change there was in his appearance was for the better; except that his beard was getting grey, although only 40 years of age. (This was in 1833). He dressed very plainly, and has done away with all the lace formerly worn by the Beys and officers in the army. He had on a small, plain, simple, round jacket without buttons. He had formed rather

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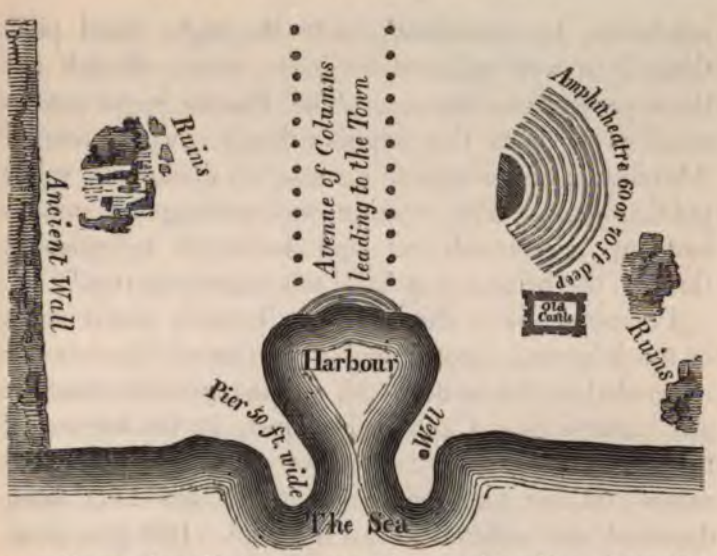
been destroyed; but near the river, there are the ruins of a theatre, obscured by exuberant vegetation. What a different aspect does Tarsoos now present to that which it must have offered when the Apostle Paul sought the instruction of Gamaliel!

* This river is, in all probability, identical with the ancient Cydnus, where Alexander the Great nearly lost his life, in consequence of bathing whilst in a profuse perspiration. Vide Justin. xi. c. 8.—Curt. iii. c. 4.

a contemptible opinion of the fleet, not without reason. He spoke with ridicule of Osman Pascha's attempts to get it in order, and with much sarcasm on his practitical abilities. He expressed strong disapprobation of De Cerièr the builder, and said, 'The French neither understand building nor managing ships,' and then turning to the General of artillery, the brave Selim Bey, who played so gallant a part at Koniah, he added, 'I would have fifty men like that in the fleet (pointing at me), and then the ships might be depended on!' Oh! how I wished for a private interview and an *honest interpreter* at that moment. But I was compelled by circumstances to start, although the Bey urged me to stay and dine with His Highness. I was on horseback again soon after ten, and had a fatiguing ride under a hot sun; and at night, I arrived on board my ship, there to be mortified and disgusted by being told we should not sail for two days, &c. &c.* The Beys had nothing but common black bread to eat, and very little of that; so I sent a basket of small crackers, and half a dozen bottles of brandy to Suleyman Bey from my own stock. The following day, July 11th, having a little spare time, I again set off in my 'gig' on a visit to the ruins of the ancient 'Soli,'

* I cannot enter upon the particulars here referred to. Suffice it to say, that Captain Prissick, by his manly conduct in the fulfilment of his duty to Mohammed Ali, excited the jealousy and envy of the idle and unprincipled men that he had to do with. He witnessed such pusillanimity, waste, and want of integrity to the Pascha, and was so frequently insulted because he would not connive at the proceedings of the Admiral and others, that he became disgusted with the service; and having remonstrated again and again to no purpose, he resolved to appeal to Ibrahim, whose noble generosity he knew he could depend on—if he could only obtain a private interview. The above is extracted from a letter addressed by Captain Prissick at the time, to his own family. I have many similar communications in my possession, some of which would be interesting to the public; but I cannot introduce them here. I have already stated that my excellent friend who wrote them, is now no more.



or 'Pompeiopolis.' It was almost six miles down the Cilician coast from where we lay at anchor. I landed near *the mouth of a river that runs round the ruins.* The first things which met my eye were heaps of large square stones and broken pillars lying among the trees, and brush-wood. But, rounding a hill, the ancient mole and a long avenue of columns came in sight, forty-two of which I counted standing. There were originally two hundred; but the remainder are laid strewed about and broken. There is also a dilapidated amphitheatre distinctly visible, with its seats more or less entire, where there was probably accommodation for not less than 15,000 people. It must have been a noble structure; and, I suppose, many a combat has taken place in it. The pillars alluded to, are about eighteen feet high: but then they are surrounded by the débris of the building; and the avenue formed by them has been apparently covered over, so as to form a street, or perhaps, an Exchange, or Meet-

ing-house, for merchants. On the right hand pier, there is a well of most exquisite water, though not three yards from the sea. The Pascha might get as much stone from this neighbourhood as would rebuild Alexandria, and complete his arsenal, docks, and other public works. The weather was melting hot, and I had my legs much cut and lacerated by pushing through the briars; but I did not regret my trip."

Pompeiopolis is distant from Tarsoos about eight or ten leagues: a considerable portion of the ruins is concealed by the underwood, and many of the thickets are impervious. Captain Beaufort, in his survey of this coast, speaks of "extensive and pestilential morasses" in the neighbourhood, which has long been deserted, and suffered to run to waste. It might, however, be cleared without much difficulty, and the thorns and stunted shrubs destroyed by fire. The ancient remains he describes as "magnificent," indicating a high state of civilization; and their locality as "most imposing:" they stand in the midst of a fertile plain, backed by the stupendous summits of Mount Taurus. This spot must not be confounded with the "Soli" of Cyprus, built by the Athenians, in honor of Solon. The town here alluded to, was founded by the Greeks and Rhodians, who enriched themselves by piratical excursions; and thus, according to Strabo, it became the chief city on the coast of Cilicia. But it subsequently fell into decay: and at a later period, Pompey, having subdued the inhabitants of the province, rebuilt the town, and established a new colony. Not far off, is Adana, delightfully situated on the river Syhoon, (of old "Sarus,") and approached by the ancient bridge of Justinian, which has several arches, affording another proof of the once prosperous state of this coun-

try. That highly intellectual writer, Mr. Carne, in his "Letters from the East," describes the spot as "the key of this portion of Asia Minor." "The vast plains around Adana," he remarks, "would almost support *millions* if well cultivated: there is an extensive territory which might easily be rendered accessible to industry, and a climate and soil peculiarly blest by Nature, but forsaken." The town of Adana is surrounded by plantations of mulberry, fig, apricot, and olive trees; and formerly, it was second only to "Tarsus," from which it is distant twenty-eight miles: its present inhabitants are Turks, and Toorkomans. The Syhoon river is accompanied in its course through the plains of Tarsoos, by the Cydnus, which is celebrated as having borne the "love-sick Cleopatra" to the presence of Mark Antony. Both are beautifully clear, and not inconsiderable streams: the water is generally cold, containing a great deal of melted snow from the mountains: and the banks are most prolific. About twenty miles to the north, is the romantic and almost inaccessible "Pass of Issus," famous in history, as the spot where Darius and Alexander contested the dominion of Asia. The defile is cut out of the solid rock; and is so narrow that it has been called the "Gate of Cilicia," being the door or entrance to the wild and mountainous regions of Syria. But one of the most important cities in the Levant, formerly, was Antioch, erected by the General Seleucus, in honor of his father Antiochus. It was renowned for its fairs, its palaces, and the exquisite quality of its manufactures; and it was here that the early disciples of our Lord first received the appellation of *Christians*. What is it now? Part of the ancient boundary may still be traced; but we are enabled to form a poor idea of its original ex-

tent and greatness. The houses of the modern town are insignificant, but built of stone, and with roofs of red tiles: the streets are close; and there is little attention to cleanliness. The inhabitants are chiefly Mohammedan, and very ignorant, and bigoted: the language mostly heard is Turkish: the bazaars are well supplied with the productions of the district, especially with barley, fruit, Latakia tobacco, coarse cloth, silk, cotton, earthenware, and leather. Antioch is beautifully situated on the declivity of a hill, in the fertile plains of the Orontes. Phœnician, Roman, and Greek coins, medals, and engraved tablets, have been found there in great abundance after the heavy rains; and there is a fine field in this neighbourhood for the antiquary. About five miles to the south-west, is "Beit-el-ma," the supposed site of the ancient Daphné —still remarkable for its luxuriant shady groves of myrtle, walnut, and bay trees, meandering streamlets, cascades, and richly-carpeted meadows — whilst the conical gigantic summits of Mount Casius, and the moss-grown heights of the Beilan encircle the great plain, its orchards, and vineyards, and afford to the languishing inhabitants a grateful retreat from the summer heats. The mountain sides are deeply furrowed with ravines, and majestically wooded slopes and glens, from which considerable quantities of timber are annually cut, and exported to Egypt, and other parts. Antioch is about six leagues distant from the mouth of the Orontes, which, according to that enterprising officer, Colonel Chesney, might be again made navigable, with very little trouble, the river being deep and rapid, though not wide, and the obstructions which here and there occur, consisting only of sand, which might easily be removed. The Colonel accomplished

the entire route three several times by the Euphrates to Bus'rah, and gave substantial proof that it is practicable, and that the obstacles which he encountered, were neither greater than he anticipated, nor too formidable to be overcome. In order to complete the communication by water, it would be necessary to unite the Orontes and the Euphrates at Bir, by means of a canal of sixty-seven miles in length, which in a country where labour is so cheap, would not be difficult. The whole distance by the "great river," from Bir to Bus'rah, is calculated at 1143 miles. Babylon and other important towns are passed on the way,—the majority of the tribes are well-disposed,—and those that are otherwise would soon become so if well treated. I still think that before many years pass away, these long-forsaken rivers, which once formed the ancient channel of commercial intercourse, and are connected with the earliest history of mankind, will be again explored; and the tent-livers who come to feed their flocks upon their banks, and who are now dwelling in apathy, ignorance, and darkness, will be roused into action, and the powers of their understanding will be applied to useful purposes.*

* It is not my purpose to follow out this highly interesting subject; but it is due to Colonel Chesney to state, that his exertions in the cause in which he was engaged, were worthy of admiration. I was myself an eye-witness of his energy when in Syria; and I regret extremely that the plans which he recommended were not adopted: there is an abundant supply of provisions, naphtha, coal, and wood, throughout the whole course; and it did not appear that this route to India would have interfered with that of the Nile: the expense attending each was likely to be the same, the probable delays, equal—whereas the communication by Egypt, must always be liable to the caprice of the reigning Pascha. Colonel Chesney's Memorial was printed for the members of the House of Commons; and he is now preparing a work, I believe, on the subject. In the mean time, I would refer my readers to an abstract of his proceedings given in the First Series of Bartlett's "Illustrations of Syria," page 77. Mr. Ainsworth, who accompanied the expedition, has also published a work "On the Geology of the North of Syria," &c.

The valley of the Orontes holds out every inducement to industry;—let the low grounds be cleared and drained, and the husbandman cannot fail to be rewarded a thousand-fold, the blessings of civilization will be diffused, and the most sensitive valetudinarian will have nothing to apprehend from the climate. The "Pass of Beilan," the second of the three great Passes or "Gates of Syria," is any thing but solitary, being the high road from Iskenderoon to Aleppo: the vine is trained along the rugged heights and terraces of the mountains; and the torrents of the precipices murmuring in their fall, are to be seen emerging at intervals, from the midst of eastern shrubs, and tapering pines. The town is situated in a romantic gorge of Mount Amanus,—the "Amana of the Scriptures:" it is six hours' journey from Antioch; and the houses, which have flat roofs, are scattered one above the other, on the overhanging terraces of the heights, from which a stream of water descends by a circuitous course, and affords a constant supply to the inhabitants. Iskenderoon, the chief port of Aleppo, is a most unhealthy place, being surrounded by marshes, which occasion malaria, and remittent fever, during the great heats of summer: but the elevated grounds which are not more than a mile off, are healthy. Ibrahim Pascha was aware of the importance of this situation, and caused the marshes to be drained, with decided advantage to the inhabitants: but since his departure from Syria, the drainage has been again neglected. How much good might be done throughout this fertile and highly-favored country, if, in imitation of His Highness's example, a *permanent* out-let for the stagnant water could be formed, and a free circulation of air established, by the cutting of dykes, and by setting fire

to the underwood and briars! Aleppo is about eighty miles from the sea: the journey thither is one of the most pleasing that can be made: the route from Antioch presents every variety of scenery, and abounds in interesting associations: the great plain in which the town is built, is rich in gardens, orchards, and vineyards; and it is well watered; but no happiness is without alloy: the atmosphere is sometimes highly oppressive; and earthquakes have more than once decimated the population.

The cemeteries of Antioch and Aleppo are occasionally thronged with females, mourning over the graves of their husbands and relatives, who have thus been cut off in the flower of their age; yet still the Orontes rolls on, in all its wonted calmness, and the mid-day sun sparkles in its waters, alluring others to the delightful yet melancholy spot where hundreds have been swallowed up, and where the dread convulsions of Nature have rent even the battlements on the mountains' heights. The descent towards Iskenderoon from the "Plains of Payass, or Issus," is very grand; it requires three hours, on account of the brambles and the rugged state of the road: the plain between the foot of the mountain and the sea, is two miles wide; and it is watered by a small stream. But the most enchanting situation in the whole country, and to which I would particularly direct the attention of settlers, is Suadea, the site of the ancient "Seleucia," at the mouth of the Orontes, which in many parts resembles the Wye, in South Wales: its banks being covered with verdure to the water's edge; and at a short distance, plantations of indigenous shrubs—the arbutus, myrtle, and pomegranate, orange groves, clymatis, and roses,—intoxicating the sense with delicious perfumes,

and forming occasionally, arbours of the most enticing and picturesque kind. The whole district is filled with medicinal herbs, vegetables, and fruits; there is a bountiful supply of excellent water, and the air is fresh and healthy all the year round. It is to this earthly Paradise that Mr. Barker, who was formerly British Consul General in Egypt, has retired with his amiable lady: and here it is their happy lot to distribute among the poor natives those blessings which a good heart and cultivated mind alone can render useful. What the Oasis is to the Desert, their hospitable dwelling is to the intellectual wilderness which every where surrounds it; although living in the region of avarice, dissension, and vice, theirs is the abode of virtue, philanthropy, and peace, whose door is ever open to the unfortunate, and is revered by *all* as the sanctuary of the oppressed.

Suadea is two days' journey from Aleppo. The town took the name of Seleucia from its founder, Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, one of the Captains of Alexander the Great. He was surnamed "Nicator," (the Victorious) having followed in the steps of his master, the Warrior of Macedon. The scenery about the town is wild, being flanked by the bold and overhanging promontories of Mount Casius, which rises abruptly from the sea, and has a towering, rocky pinnacle: its elevation is, at most, 7,000 feet; though Pliny computes it at four miles *perpendicular* — evidently a mistake: but it is allowed by travellers to be one of the most imposing mountains in Syria. The beach is rocky: there are the remains of two piers, built with immense stones, strengthened originally, as it would seem, by iron cramps.* Besides a ruined

* The stones of one of them measure twenty feet by six, and five feet in depth.

tower at the entrance of the river, there are traces of extensive fortifications in other parts: and numerous sepulchral chambers, cut in the side of a hill, are still to be seen, about a mile inland, having carved inscriptions, and extending about two miles along the face of the rocks. Suadea is a place of intense interest to the Christian as well as to the historian. I mentioned in the last chapter, that the English (who will in all probability become, under Divine Providence, the chief instruments in restoring peace, and establishing true religion in the Levant,) are mainly indebted for their conversion, to the preaching of St. Paul, who was a "chosen vessel" of the Almighty, for the dissemination of the Gospel throughout the world. From the writings of the Apostle, we learn that he had a strong presentiment of the desolation that awaited his native land; and he repeatedly warned his countrymen against the evil consequences of idolatrous practices. He knew that in going forth at the command of God, to preach the Gospel of Salvation to strangers in unknown regions, he should be buffeted, and suffer persecution: his heart was heavy; but he grieved not for himself: he was anxious only for the welfare of others; and set out, as he plainly declared, "*bound in the spirit*, not knowing the things that should befal him, save that the Holy Ghost witnessed in every city, saying, that bonds and afflictions abided him." "But none of these things," said he, "*move me*, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I may finish my course with joy, and the Ministry that I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the Grace of God." It was on this, now ruinous, weather-beaten shore, that the Apostle then took leave of the friends of his youth, and bade adieu to the home of his fathers;—it was here, too, that he embarked with his fellow-labourer

Barnabas, for Cyprus, when he was dismissed by "the Church of Antioch, after they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on him," in token of their benediction; and, although it might justly be said, that he "died daily" on their account, well knowing the tribulation and sorrow that awaited them, and the perverse spirit that would spring up and defile the understandings of those whom he left behind,—and according to the predictions of the Prophets,—of nations also then unborn—yet went he forth upon his pious mission, calmly and confidently trusting in the promises of Him by whom he had been called,—comforting himself with the assurance that he was appointed to sow the seeds of *regeneration*, and that by thus "casting his bread upon the waters, he should find it after many days."*

Seleucia is mentioned in the Maccabees; its distinguished founder appears to have been, not a mere warrior, who fought for the gratification of his own vanity, although (according to Arrian) the greatest and most powerful of the princes who inherited the Macedonian Empire, after the death of Alexander. We are told that he conquered, "not to enslave nations, but to make them *more happy*." He established no less than thirty-four cities, and was a great benefactor to the Greeks, restoring to the Athenians the library and statues which Xerxes carried away, when he invaded their country; and wherever he went, he endeavoured to promote learning, religion, and national industry among the people.†

* Acts xx. 18, to the end. See also Acts xiii. 1 to 5; xi. 19, to the end; xv. 21, to the end; xviii. 1 to 12; and the other writings of St. Paul.

† Consult Whiston's Josephus — Gibbon and Hooke's Rome — Mitford's Greece—Lempriére—The Travels of Anacharsis — Allom and Walsh's "Views of Constantinople, and the Seven Churches"—Bartlett and Carne's "Illustrations of Syria, the Holy Land, and Asia Minor"— Pardoe's "Beauties of the

We have already seen, that in the Bay of Iskenderoon, there is very fair anchorage for shipping (Vol. I, Chap. II.); and as there is abundance of timber, stone, fuel, and metal, in the neighbourhood; and as proof has already been given that it is possible, by clearing and draining, to render the valleys and shelving grounds *healthy*,—what an admirable place this would be for a harbour and docks! I am confident that the Bay of Iskenderoon, together with Tarsoos, Soli, and Suadea, might become, in the hands of Europeans, one of the finest Colonies in the world,—the high road to Aleppo, Damascus, the Euphrates, and Asia Minor. The trade of Syria improved under Ibrahim's administration, but the efforts of the merchants are now completely paralyzed. Several of the natives were anxious to form connexions in England and France; but there is a want of confidence, and nothing is done. Besides the usual products of the country, such as silk, cotton, tobacco, grain, oil, barilla, madder-roots, timber, wine and fruit, several depôts might be established for the exportation of Indian and Persian merchandise, and the staple commodities of the whole of the north of Asia—skins, furs, gums, cochineal, opium, rhubarb, galls, and a great variety of manufactured goods, which now find their way to Constantinople, to be distributed over Europe. But this is not all: the country abounds in excellent coal and iron; the former is found chiefly at Cornayl, only six miles from Beyrout, and at Arsoon, Debdeen, and Ross; the latter at Mergibah near Shouair;—and at Zahlè, 20 miles from the sea, there is a good supply of both. Ibrahim introduced several new vegetables, particularly the potato; and the castor oil plant (the

Bosphorus"— Sir Grenville Temple's "Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean" — "The Pictorial Bible," &c.

Palma Christi) grows luxuriantly; he also imported 14,000 vines from Bordeaux, which he planted near Aleppo;—but since the expulsion of this truly enterprising man, every thing has been neglected, and allowed to go to ruin. Even the plains of Esdraelon and Ramla, which are considered the garden of Palestine, are overgrown with thistles and brushwood. How wonderful a thing is the destiny of nations! What an interesting theme for contemplation! I am very sanguine that something will be done yet in this quarter. There is a fine field for commerce: the country is well supplied with every necessary, and the climate, water, and soil are good; all that is wanting is a protecting government: there would then be no want of settlers. At present there is not a single harbour along the whole coast of Palestine and Syria. It would be very advantageous to make one at Caipha, Tyre, Sidon, Suadea, and Beyrout, in the event of colonies being established. At Soli there is one already formed, but *no use is made of it*,—because there is no commerce! The only port of any consequence in the Levant, besides Alexandria, is Suda in the Island of Candia, situated to the south-eastward of the promontory, which is terminated by Cape Maleka. The following important survey of the port of Suda is extracted from the log-book of poor Captain Hume, who was appointed by the Viceroy to teach his officers navigation, seamanship, the use of the chronometer, &c., and who, I have already mentioned, had been all his life engaged with such matters. Those who knew him intimately, and are able to judge of his abilities, declare that he was zealous and indefatigable in his profession; and being a person of education, the report of such a man may be worth recording.

"The entrance of Suda, between the extreme points,

is about five miles wide; the gulf extends two leagues and a half in-land. The land on both sides is high; a small island lies close to the south shore. This place appears to afford a good shelter, and is a convenient port for the village. An island also lies close to the north shore, which is said to have been strongly fortified by the Venetians. It is small and low; and would be totally exposed to an enemy on the high land near it;* besides, a ship could pass it without coming nearer than a mile and a half, and without co-operation from the south shore, would offer little resistance. It has been long since (in my opinion, wisely) abandoned. The more effective island is in the middle, where the gulf begins to narrow, and ships cannot pass out of point-blank range of its guns. Fortified in such a manner, would render it doubtful whether any force could enter the port without its permission. The land is steep too all round, with three rocks or islets close to the eastern, and a small low island on the western side. The small craft visiting, or belonging to, the fortress, lie between it and the latter, where there is very little room, but they are well sheltered from the south-east winds which blow with great violence in winter. The captain of a frigate told me he was riding below the island in seventeen fathoms water, yards and top-masts struck, and all very snug, with four anchors down,—yet the ship drove. Therefore *it is not safe* to lie below the island, except in the summer. But when this is necessary, it will be safer to lie between the island and south shore, with the minaret of the mosque a ship's length eastward of the citadel. Thus the harbour is open, and in case of being obliged to slip, a ship may either run up, or to sea, according to circumstances.

* The channel is only a quarter of a mile broad.

There are soundings all over the gulf, from below the island to the Points. The "Raschid" (58 guns) rode in fifteen fathoms.* There is a village, as before mentioned, on the beach, in the middle of a fine valley, below the fortified island (on which is also a small town), and two others on the side of a mountain, at the upper extremity of the port. These are the only places nearer than Canea, and they are at present in ruins—each party during the late struggle, having destroyed what they could not carry away, lest it should be of service to their enemies.

"The Port of Suda might be rendered impregnable with very little expense. It is commodious and safe for any number of ships. Excellent fresh water abounds every where. There is plenty of stone for building; in fact, nearly all that is requisite to its becoming an important naval or commercial station."†

* "In going up, I found 12 fathoms, 21; and no bottom with 30 fathoms of line, directly between the islands to a high point on the chain. No soundings at 50 fathoms, until advanced three miles and a half or four miles up the harbour, where we rode in 21 fathoms (clay bottom.) In working down, I could get no soundings with 30 fathoms, close to each shore. Near the little island, west of the fortress, I had one cast 22 fathoms; no more ground with 25 fathoms, although very close to the batteries, until the minaret came within a ship's length west of the citadel; thence the water shoaled gradually to 7½ fathoms opposite the village, at about two cables' length from shore; then it deepened to 8½ fathoms, towards the little port formed by the island on the south shore. Within a cable's length, we tacked, and the water deepened gradually to 24 fathoms near the old island."

† This account may not interest all of my readers; but as there are so few available ports in the Levant, and as the navigation of the Mediterranean is extending every year, I shall be excused, I hope, for introducing it. Any authentic information on the subject of the Levant at the present time, is highly important. See "Discoveries in Ancient Lycia." by Chas. Fellows, Esq. The writings of Tournefort, McFarlane, Tavernier, and Maundrell, may be read with advantage; and the following:— Plumtree's "Translation of Pouqueville's Morea,"—Chandler's "Travels in Asia Minor and Greece"—"Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania," by the Rev. T. S. Hughes—Col. Leake's "Tour and Geography of Asia Minor"—Burckhardt's "Syria and the Holy Land"—Russell's "History of Aleppo"—Von Prokesch's Reise in Kleinasien—Kendrick and Vaudoncourt "On the Ionian Islands"—Turner's "Tour in the Levant"—and De Boisgelin's

As Osman Pascha played so prominent a part in the Egyptian service, and as I have often mentioned his name, the following account, the accuracy of which I can vouch for, may not be uninteresting.

In September, 1833, the fleet, under the command of Osman Pascha, having taken on board provisions and troops, sailed with several transports in company, for the island of Candia, which was reported to be in revolt.

It appears that the heavy duties laid on the exports of the island, added to a demand that the male children should be sent to Alexandria to be educated for the army and navy, had driven the poor over-burdened inhabitants to a state of desperation. This was taken hold of by the old Turkish residents, who alike hated the grinding policy of the Viceroy, and a meeting was called by a few of the most influential of them, to consider what was to be done. Some proposed open revolt: others, an appeal to the British Government, that they might be annexed to the Ionian Islands. They assembled about 5000 strong—but unarmed. It was thought, however, that they intended to seize the Castle and Port of Canea, and hold it until some better measures were decided on. In the midst of this, Osman Pascha arrived, and assumed the supreme command, by authority of the Vice-Roy. He immediately issued a proclamation, promising to "repeal all the obnoxious measures; and that if the inhabitants would retire peaceably to their homes, all should be forgotten," &c.

A month was suffered to elapse after this, and the poor Greeks had returned to their peaceful occupations,

"History of Malta."—Also, Col. Leake's "Outlines of the Greek Revolution,"—Millingen's "Memoirs of the Affairs of Greece"—the Rev. C. Judkin's "Oriental Mission"—and the Rev. W. Jowett's "Christian Researches in the Mediterranean,"—&c.

when Osman Pascha, and Mustapha Pascha, the Governor, with a retinue of guards, left Canea, and encamped near the spot where the meeting had taken place. They then, by the aid of spies, caused all the principal men concerned in the late revolt, to be seized, and immediately hung at Retymo. An old Turkish merchant and a Greek Patriarch (the second in Council) were gibetted side by side. Nine others were hanged at Canea one morning,—in all, to the amount of 40. It is said that Osman had 200 on his list, who would have shared the same fate, but that the spirited remonstrance of the French Consul saved them. Several rich Turks were sent away from the island at a few hours' notice, having all their property *confiscated*. One Greek merchant saved his life by taking refuge at the English Consulate; but lost all his property. When the French Consul arrived at the camp of Osman Pascha, where this butchery was going on, he found him and his companions indulging in every species of debauchery; and the only answer that could be wrung from the cold-blooded villain was, that "he acted by the orders of his master!" A heavy contribution was then levied—more than sufficient to pay two first-rates, three frigates, and several smaller vessels; and the surplus, which filled seven large bags, was retained by the gallant Admiral himself, who shortly afterwards left the fleet, and took himself off to Constantinople!

Osman Pascha was a man who never could look you in the face; and he always appeared as if he was doing something that he was ashamed of. He was very talented, but dissipated, and a great coward. When Captain Prissick left Alexandria with him on this expedition to Candia, he told Mr. Thurban (one of the principal merchants) and Captain Lyons, of the

"Madagascar" frigate, that he was "sure they were *going to be sold;* that he had well observed Osman, and that he was confident there was some treachery afloat, or else that he would take *himself off.*" These gentlemen replied, "Oh, no!"—but Mr. Thurban was the first to congratulate him subsequently "that it was no worse," and he acknowledged, that like a great many more, he had been "deceived in Osman's character."

Just before he started, he came on board Captain Prissick's ship, and informed him *in tremulous accents*, that he had "received dispatches from the Pascha, and that he should proceed to Alexandria immediately in the 'Chaaba Gehaat,'" (a small brig which had just arrived)—meaning to take advantage of the light airs which then prevailed, and leaving *him* in charge of the larger ships, with orders to follow in a day or two, as soon as they were prepared for sea, and there was a fair wind. His deportment was such, on this occasion, that Capt. Prissick felt convinced in his own mind, that there was some roguery on foot. He looked him steadily in the face, and replied *significantly*, that "His Excellency's orders should be *obeyed.*" He seemed to feel that his conduct was suspected, and, like a culprit, instantly turned pale; his eye dropped, and he abruptly withdrew. The Captain never saw him again. When he arrived off Alexandria, the Pascha being surprised at the sudden return of the ships, sent a boat to learn the cause. Captain Prissick, of course, referred him to *Osman Pascha*, "who," he said, "had sailed for Alexandria some days ago, leaving him instructions to follow!" The mystery was now explained. Osman is said to have assigned two reasons for thus deserting his too confiding master. The first was, that "he was weary

of public affairs, and wished to retire to the *bosom of his family* for a short time, to recruit his health and spirits!" "The bosom of his family!" He was the son of a "Sakaah," or water-carrier, in the Mytelline, and *bought* by the Pascha when a boy, sent by him to Europe, and educated at his expense, and had had even more favors conferred on him than one of the Pascha's own sons! The second excuse was, that "he was disgusted with serving so sanguinary a master; that his heart revolted at the duties imposed on him; and that he preferred the mild government of the Sultan!"

Why did he not think of all this before committing the murders in Candia, and laying the inhabitants under contribution. A report was circulated that the Sultan had a high opinion of his talents, and intended to raise him to honour. But on the 12th of August, soon after his arrival at Constantinople, he died—*it was said*—of the plague; but he is believed to have been either poisoned or strangled. Mahmoud was too shrewd a man to place confidence in a traitor—much less to advance him over the heads of others who had served him faithfully. Osman was only thirty-eight years of age; so he did not long enjoy his ill-gotten wealth.

The impartial administration of justice is not easy in a country where bribery, extortion, and secret plotting are in full force. Those to whom power is entrusted, employ it to their own advantage, when they can: and they connive at one another's roguery for mutual convenience, until their interests happening to clash, they quarrel at last, about the spoil, and betray one another. When that is the case, the higher Authority to whom the appeal is made, settles the dispute,

like the fox in the fable, by grasping the whole himself; and perhaps relieves both of the trouble of a further recrimination, by the aid of the bow-string, the cup, or the scimitar! In the East, treachery never slumbers. All men are watched, from the highest to the lowest: the same system of espionage prevails throughout: suspicion is seldom lulled, and not unfrequently, to be *suspected*, is to be condemned: no one is secure; a man's condition may alter in an hour: all are alike dependant on the caprice of their superiors, who even withhold the sword of Justice, in order to fill their own coffers, not knowing how soon they may themselves be similarly despoiled; and happy will it then be for them, to find that they have provided for the day of adversity, by concealing a portion of their treasure in the earth, a practice which is common all over the East: for as there is no protection for property, it is accounted wisdom thus to make to themselves "friends of the mammon of unrighteousness." It is related, that the Defterdar Bey, whom I have already had occasion to mention, was so much in fear of being seized, that he made certain of his trusty followers, who were always well armed and mounted, carry with them in their girdles, a large sum of money in gold, that he might be ready to fly to the interior at a moment's notice: but his shrewdness was outwitted nevertheless. *

Those who are known to be rich, hold their estates and their lives on a very slender tenure; and they are often quietly deprived of the one, in order to be relieved of the other: property changes hands frequently in a short time, and he is wise who has learned to bear

* The history of Bel-al-Agah, and of Said Ahmed-el Gharbi, also referred to in these volumes, are equally in point.

his trials with fortitude, or newly acquired honors with humility: for "riches profit not in the day of wrath;" —"the fear of a king," says Solomon, "is as *the roaring of a lion;* whoso provoketh him, sinneth against his own soul." Lamentation and grief avail nothing in despotic countries; and it is a dangerous thing for a man to tempt one whose power over him is unlimited, whose passions are soon heated, and fanned by individuals who are ready, at a nod, to do their master's bidding.

When therefore, we calmly consider the condition of an Asiatic sovereign, the way in which he has been brought up, the nature of his religion, and the influence of bad example, the unruly tempers of those whom he has to govern — artful and violent men who are impatient of all control, and seldom quiet long together—the jealousy and intrigues of his officers, who lose no opportunity of flattering his vanity, and urging him to indulge his favorite propensities, be they good or evil; that he is, in short, exposed to treachery and contentions at home, the incursions of his enemies abroad, and all the intricacies of foreign diplomacy; without, it may be, a single friend who is competent as well as sincere enough to advise him; we must acknowledge, I think, that he holds no very enviable situation, and that "to do justice and love mercy," even had such virtues once been instilled into his mind, would be no easy matter; and we can hardly wonder, all things considered, if the feelings of such a man gradually became blunted, so as to admit of his committing, what to the Christian would appear, and doubtless are, acts of severity and intolerance. We can only pity, and while we pity, hope that such deeds

in these rapidly improving times, may henceforth occur but seldom; taking to ourselves the consolation of the Osmanlis, that "A despot, though he may slay his hundreds unjustly, will sometimes by mistake, strike in the right place."

"Jews, Turks, and Christians different tenets hold,
Yet *all* one God acknowledge, that is,—*gold!*"

"The gay! rich! great! triumphant! and august!
What are they? Smiling creatures of *to-morrow!*
Whose treach'rous blessings, at the day of need,
Like other faithless friends, unmask, and sting!
* * * *
Life has no value as an end, but means;
An end deplorable, a means *divine;*
When 'tis our *all*, 'tis nothing; worse than nought;
A nest of pains; when held as nothing—much.
————————most worth, when disesteemed:
Then 'tis the seat of comfort, rich in peace;
In prospect, richer far; important! awful!
Not to be thought on, but with tides of joy;
The mighty basis of eternal bliss."

Night Thoughts.

CHAPTER VI.

MOHAMMED ALI'S HOUSEHOLD — EGYPTIAN POLICE — THE PALACE AND GARDENS OF SHOOBRAH — THE HAREMS OF THE GREAT — INTERVIEW WITH THE SULTANA — THE CONDITION OF ORIENTAL FEMALES: THEIR RESOURCES, HABITS, AND COSTUMES — THE SEX — PUBLIC BATHS — EGYPTIAN PRACTICES — ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE — CHRISTIAN SLAVES — THE INFLUENCE OF MUSIC — THE MENAGERIE OF SHOOBRAH — THE HORSE — ANECDOTES, ETC.

When the policy of a government depends upon the ruling passions of a Chief whose sway is absolute, few men hold their places long together. One favourite is supplanted as another rises, according to the caprice of the individual. It is true, that in Egypt there is a nominal Council, consisting of several persons who are held responsible for the business they transact: the civil officers may occasionally be able to exercise their own judgment; but the case is different with the Ministers of State, if such they may be styled; for they are mere agents; they have no will of their own; and although Mohammed Ali, in cases of emergency, may pretend to "call a divan," or summon them together under the pretence of *consulting* them, it is only to give a colouring to his proceedings. In the

majority of instances, his mind is made up beforehand: he and Boghos Youssouff Bey know what is to be done, and it is seldom that he unbosoms his thoughts, to any one else, except perhaps to his son. His Highness will not be controlled: and those about him do whatever he chooses to dictate. Many of these individuals reside in the palace, where there are apartments also for the translators and scribes. All have stipulated salaries, and think themselves entitled to make as much more as they can. It is said that the domestic establishment of the Viceroy amounts to as many as 1500 persons; but this is not strictly correct; for it includes the Kiaihya Bey, or Prime Minister, the Minister of War, the Commandant of the Citadel, the "Ouali" or Chief of the Military Police, the "Bash-Agah" or Chief of the Civil Police, the Superintendant of the Customs and Excise, and others before enumerated: then, more particularly connected with His Highness's household, we may mention the Treasurer, the Sword and Cup-Bearer, the Chief Eunuch and his dependents, the "D'gees-Suffeeds," i. e. the Duennas, Intendantes, or Chief Matrons of the Seraglio, the Chief Pipe Bearer and his Staff, the Master of the Horse and his myrmidons, an Inspector of Provisions, and a long train of cooks and lacqueys, buffoons and mountebanks.

Great credit is due to the Police. It is seldom that anything like a serious fracas occurs; the officers, both civil and military, are always on the alert: the best of order prevails in the streets: persons may walk as safely, and as unmolested, in even the most obscure quarters of populous cities, as in any part of Europe; and provided they conduct themselves well, and do nothing to excite the prejudices of the natives, they

have nothing whatever to apprehend: the Franks are well received, though I must say, they are the most disorderly people in Egypt; and it has seldom happened to me to meet with any disturbance of consequence (except during a period of strong political excitement, like that which has lately prevailed, when kidnapping was going forward, and the larger towns were filled with barbarians from remote parts of the Empire), without finding that some of the Pascha's dissolute Frank employés were connected with it in some shape or other. The following anecdote, related by Colonel Light, affords a good illustration of the protection given by Mohammed Ali to Europeans. Two merchants, who were proceeding on horse-back to Old Cairo, were insulted by some Albanian soldiers, who compelled them to dismount, and surrender the animals to them. It so happened that they afterwards met the Pascha, who recognized them, and knowing that they were not accustomed *to walk*, enquired the reason.* When he was informed that they had been robbed, and by whom, he proceeded straightway to the barracks; and finding out the offenders, had their heads struck off on the spot. It is now some time since this circumstance took place; but the example had a salutary effect, and the Franks have seldom been molested since. On the other hand, some of those who are engaged in the Pascha's service, aware of the lenity with which they are treated, do not hesitate to indulge in unwarrantable liberties. One day, five Germans from the manufactories, were passing through the streets of Boulak in a state of inebriation. One of them, either accidentally or intentionally, reeled against a wealthy Turk, who was gravely bending his

* In the East, nobody of any consideration goes on foot.

steps along; and conscious of his offended dignity, and more impetuous than wise, immediately drew his yatighán from his girdle. The undaunted son of Bacchus seized the nabob by the throat, and soon possessed himself of the glittering weapon, which, having brandished triumphantly in the air, he snapped beneath his feet, and threw the fragments to a distance. Some of the passers-by interfered, two of them being soldiers: the four Germans then came to the relief of their comrade, which was a signal for a general fight, and the affair began to assume a serious aspect; for the Franks being joined by others, succeeded in taking possession of the guard-house, and actually disarmed some of the troops: but they were at last overpowered by numbers, and conveyed to Cairo. Fortunately no lives were lost; I suppose the soldiers dared not shoot a Frank without orders; and feeling no particular interest in the cause, they were content with bringing the offenders to *justice!*

Had these men been Mohammedans, they would have been severely bastinadoed, and most likely have paid for their frolic with their heads: but being Franks, Habbeb Effendi confessed that "he did not know well what to do with them," as Mohammed Ali was at Alexandria—so he locked them all up in the citadel; and when the Pascha arrived, they were turned over to their respective Consuls, who placed them in solitary confinement for their disorderly behaviour, and then would have passed them home to their native countries, with instructions not to show their faces in Egypt any more; but being, most of them, good workmen, they could not conveniently be *spared;* so they were re-instated. In this way delinquents escape with impunity; and however refractory

such men may be, their services are too valuable to the Viceroy, to admit of their being dealt with "according to law." European heads cannot be imported like other merchandise; so it will not do to be lavish of the stock in hand! I remember an instance in which a Maltese sailor had the brutal ferocity to abuse the unsuspecting innocence of a little Arab girl. The wretch endeavoured to effect his escape; but he was apprehended on the spot; and had he been abandoned to the fury of the mob, would assuredly have been torn to pieces. Being however, under European protection, he was simply transferred to the custody of the Consul, and imprisoned until he could be sent away.*

* It happened at Alexandria, that a weather-beaten "Polyphemus-looking" Jack Tar—one of the "Old Gravel Lane" species—belonging to an English frigate that was lying at anchor in the roads, having made himself more free than welcome to some ladies who were returning from the bath, was brought before the Pascha in the dock-yard, charged with creating a disturbance—*striking* proofs of which appeared in the persons of two Arabs of the guard, who, in attempting to check Master Neptune's vagaries, discovered that they had "caught a *Tartar;*" for Jack, who had been indulging a little at "The Three Anchors," was not at all disposed to be placed under restraint by such like "Varmint" as he termed them: and the moment they laid their hands on him, he launched forth into vehement dogmatical asseverations, touching the condition of "their eyes and limbs"—their "*outlandish*" appearance, and the "*dirty*" colour of their skin:—he whisked about like an eel, and challenging the "*cripples*" to "come on," applied to them sundry elegant epithets culled from a choice selection of extracts from the "Portsmouth Vocabulary"—and set to work in "right gallant style," pummelling their heads for them in such a fashion, that when they were led into the presence of the Viceroy, they could scarcely distinguish him from his officers. His Highness was quite at a loss to understand how the sailor, who was unarmed, had contrived to disfigure their faces in such sort. A ridiculous scene ensued; for when Galloway Bey, by way of illustration, told him to "let the Pascha see *how he did it*," the Man-of-War's man, delighted to hear the round tones of his native idiom once more,—being as he thought, "in the hands of the Philistines," replied at the top of his voice, "Aye! Aye! Sir!" and suiting the action to the word, "hitched up" his trousers, and began "*squaring*" at a group of soldiers that stood near,—knocked one of them down, gave a back-handed blow to a second, and simultaneously putting out his foot, capsized a Colonel of Artillery, who in the scuffle, was trying to get out of the way. Mohammed Ali enjoyed the joke as much as any body; for in all his experience, he had never witnessed such a scene be-

The Pascha's residence at Shoobrah, is one of the most delightful spots in the neighbourhood of Cairo, on account of its gardens: but the palace is by no means large. As the ladies of the Harem were absent, we were admitted to view some of the apartments: these were lofty and spacious, and fitted up in the usual style, with carpets and divans, exquisitely worked tapestry, and curtains of richly embroidered silk. The walls were beautifully painted, and the ceilings were gilt, carved, and ornamented: but the decorations were too gay for European taste: and upon the whole, there was an attempt at splendour which I thought did not correspond with the quality of some of the materials employed. The arrangement of the rooms was very simple: the doors of the chief apartments opened into one large saloon, which was entered from a corridor at the top of a wide and handsome staircase — the dwelling places of the slaves, cooks, and attendants, being principally on the ground floor, near the baths. But there is also a very commodious bath in the grounds, situated in the midst of beautiful plantations. The building may be said to consist of several small kiosks united by colonnades, partly of white marble, and partly of composition in imitation of marble. The sides of the kiosks are variously sculptured, and painted "in fresco:" — in the centre, is a large square basin, with a boat, and numerous marble figures, such as urns, pillars, and lions, — and in different parts, a fountain pours its waters from the mouths of

fore. Our hero, having been admonished by his countryman, was sent "under convoy" to the Mahmoudieh, or landing place, where he said he should find his comrades, and the ship's boat. Being told to depart, he gave his trousers another "hitch" — kicked out his right foot significantly, and *rolled* out of the yard, muttering words of *mysterious* import, and making grimaces at every body he met.

crocodiles: the whole is paved with the same material; and there are verandahs, and dressing-rooms fitted up with divans. To this luxurious retreat, the Pascha is wont to retire from the bustle of Cairo, to sip his coffee and sherbet, after any political excitement, or when he wishes to enjoy the society of the more favored of his Harem. We can easily conceive that, when lighted up, and prepared for His Highness' reception, it might be made a most enchanting place.

The gardens of Shoobrah are said to cover a space of from thirty to forty acres; they are well laid out, and do credit to those who planned them—certain Greeks, who, I believe, were brought to Cairo as slaves. Evergreens and exotics appear in great variety: the citron, the almond, the orange, lemon, cypresses, pomegranates, mimosas, and other trees and shrubs indigenous to Egypt. Here and there, are to be seen alcoves and trellis-covered paths, over which numerous creeping plants have been directed, and which emit the sweetest odours. One of these is the favorite resort of Mahommed Ali in the cool of the evening; it stands in the midst of orange and cypress groves, clematis and roses, and is a very picturesque object. We ourselves lingered on the spot until reminded that it was time to depart; for we had not seen any thing of the kind for a long while, and the heat of the sun induced us to stay and revel in the refreshing shade.

I sincerely regret that I am unable to speak, from personal observation, of the "Houris" of this terrestrial Paradise. My profession sometimes gained me admission to the Harems of others; but my services not being needed in the present instance, I was no better off than the rest of my sex. Such excellence, I suppose, would be too much for infidels to gaze upon—

"even in a dream!" In order, however, to gratify my fair country-women, I will avail myself of the description given by an American lady, resident in Alexandria; and who, during her resort to Cairo, was favored with the extraordinary privilege of a visit to the Sultana and the ladies of the Seraglio.* It is a mistake to suppose

* "We are the only Christians who have ever been admitted to the Pascha's Harem. We were there twice. The first was a mere visit, but the second was to spend the day. I must endeavour to describe it to you. At the entrance we were received by a dozen black eunuchs, who led us to the garden-gate, where we found three girls playing upon different Arab instruments, while two others were singing, and two dancing, magnificently dressed in crimson and blue cloth, embroidered with gold, the full pantaloons hanging over the foot, just allowing an embroidered slipper to be seen; a jacket tight to the shape, without sleeves, open a little upon the chest, where appeared a chemise of blue or white gauze; closely-spangled sleeves of the same, hanging large and full to the elbow, and down behind in a dozen plaits; and on the side and top of the head, large sprigs of diamonds. A sash of gold tissue, with a deep gold fringe, finished the dress. These pretty creatures preceded us to the Palace door, where we were met by old friends, by the Sultana, her maids of honour, and attendants, to the number of 100 at least.

"The great Hall of State into which we were ushered, was an immense one, lined and floored with white marble; in the centre, a basin 15 feet in diameter, from which the clearest water was playing. The ceiling richly painted and gilt; one side of the hall lined with ottomans of white silk embroidered in gold, and a beautiful Persian carpet spread in front of these. As soon as we were seated, coffee and pipes were handed down to us. The Sultana is about 35 years old, with a fine face, though her eye is stern. Her dress was a challi, made in the Turkish style, only more closed over the neck. On her head was a sort of skull-cap, formed entirely of diamonds; around this was twisted an embroidered kerchief, and on the left side, down the ear, was placed a sprig of flowers, made of enormous diamonds, a single pair of ear-rings, shaped like a drop, as large as the end of my little finger, and on her little finger was a superb diamond ring. Around us stood the hundred attendants, dressed in coloured silks, and every one, even of the lowest rank, with heads covered with diamonds. The pipe-staves and sockets of the coffee-cups were also covered with these precious stones. Such a glitter I never saw before. An Armenian woman, who spoke Italian, was there as an interpreter. Our gloves and buckles excited their admiration, as indeed did our whole dress. We were taken all over the palace, which vied throughout in elegance with the great Hall.

"At half-past twelve, we were called by the Sultana down to the reception-room to dinner. As we entered, girls bearing silver basins approached; others, with pitchers, poured water over our hands, and others presented us with towels. On the centre of the Persian carpet was placed a small table, about a foot square, covered with cloth of gold tissue; on that was a circular glass waiter, about three feet in diameter. In the centre was a dish of roast mutton. The Sultana

that ladies in these countries are denied the pleasures of female intercourse. The indulgence is certainly limited; and upon the whole, they lead a sequestered life: but it does not appear that they are necessarily dull or unhappy. I speak in general terms. An European who had once known the charms and blessings of intellectual society, would die of ennui in a very short time:—but these simple children of Nature, who know nothing of the realities of life, are satisfied with toys and trifles; and, so far from objecting to rival candidates for their master's favor, they may even hail the

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sat down with my mother and self on either side of her, then E—— and G——, and a lady of the court, formerly a slave of the Pascha, but now married to a Colonel. The china was French, and there were handsome silver knives and forks, &c., which the Sultana did not know how to use.

"When we sat down, a napkin was placed in each of our laps, another, embroidered with gold, laid over the right shoulder, and a third and finer one laid upon the lap to wipe the mouth with. Some of the slaves fanned us; some held the various dishes, and others silver pitchers, and so on. The dinner was almost too much for us; we counted 39 different dishes, one at a time, and of each we were obliged to eat a little—and so strangely served as they were! The first five dishes were of mutton, rice, &c.; then a sweet dish next, fried fish and nuts, and so on to the 39th dish, which was stewed rice and "bonny-claber." The glass salver was then taken away, and a silver one with melons, peaches, grapes, &c., replaced it.

"When we rose from the table, the girls with the basins knelt before us, and our hands were washed as before, when pipes and coffee were given us to finish with. While we smoked, the Sultana retired to prayers, which she does five times a-day. Now, if you could have witnessed the scene, you would have imagined us among a parcel of great children. Oh, how we were dragged about, patted and pulled, each declaring we belonged to her, and should not speak to the others. At three o'clock we were sent for to depart. The Sultana held us tight however, and said the Capoudan Pascha had no business to send for us, and it was four o'clock before we could get away. We made a great procession through the garden: first went the musical, dancing, and singing girls; then the Sultana and ourselves, slaves bearing fans of peacock feathers over our heads; and then came the attendants. At the garden-gate, sherbet was handed, when we took a kind farewell of our hospitable Sultana, and were consigned to the care of the eunuchs, who led us to the carriage."

That the splendour of the Royal Harem has not been here exaggerated, I judge from the comparative luxury and wealth displayed in those families to which, as a privileged person, I have myself been witness:—the account has also been confirmed by others.

introduction of a fresh inmate as an event likely to increase rather than diminish their joys. Love is out of the question; they are more or less the slaves of him to whom they belong; they cannot be called companions. They do not expect to engage the affections of their lord: they have been taught that it is their duty to obey him, and contribute to his pleasure :—they are therefore silent and submissive, and meet his approach with downcast eyes: and it not unfrequently happens, that his absence is a relief to them. When left to themselves, I know that they are as playful as little kittens; they skip, and dance, and sing, and are as merry as children at a twelfth-night festival. They are attracted by any novelty. An English lady, who frequently visited the Harems of the great, assured me, that she found the fair inmates generally, for want of education, very insipid; but truly amiable, affectionate, highly sensitive, and possessing good abilities. They were very kind; and invariably loaded her with sweatmeats, and other presents—had an infinity of questions to ask—could not understand why in Europe the ladies exposed the face, and how it happened that a man was only allowed to have one wife. They spoke of the Court ladies as if they were all the King's mistresses, and regularly stripped her to see how she was dressed. When they came to the stays, they laughed outright, and declared they were "the most monstrous contrivances they had ever seen in their lives." Thus, then, it appears they are good-natured, light-hearted, and full of little tricks, and fun, and frolic. Their resources are, of course, contracted; and few, if any, can either read or write: so they endeavour to amuse one another with little romantic tales, the coinings of an excited imagination,

such as we read of in the "Arabian Nights." They speak *learnedly* of matters concerning which they cannot possibly know any thing, and, doubtless, entertain the most incongruous ideas. It seems as if it would be a pity to undeceive them, or interrupt a state so rustic and unsophisticated. It evidently has its joys, negative though they be—and if the voice of Nature occasionally whispers in their ear, that there are other pleasures in the world to which they are strangers, their regret is but transitory: like children, they soon forget their cares: some fresh bauble — the last present—a casket—a new veil—a piece of embroidery—a song—a dance—a flower—or the chat and gossip of the Harem, arrests the attention—the thoughts are diverted into another channel—the pensive sigh passes away unheeded, and the heart is once more gay:—that is, provided the innocent, secluded girl is treated kindly, and that she has no recollection of by-gone days—no filial regrets and painful associations, which prey upon her soul, and check each grateful impulse of the heart.

Generally speaking, the Turks and Arabs are kind to their women; they want for nothing which luxury and wealth can bestow; and if they conduct themselves well, they experience neither cruelty nor oppression. Nevertheless, the system is a bad one; the charms of woman were never meant to be immured within the cloister or the prison-house; and the virtues so peculiarly her own, were not designed for a life of sensuality and sloth. Education and early impressions may do much to reconcile the Orientalists to their condition; but perhaps the thraldom of what is *here* called "ton," would be infinitely more irksome to them: still the very circumstance of having little occu-

pation, must render their life monotonous. So few incidents occur within the circle of their operations, that it seldom happens there is any thing to call forth their sympathies: the best feelings of their nature lie dormant, or concealed; and although it is true, that like children, they are easily pleased, and possess an extraordinary power of accommodating themselves to circumstances, which may compensate for many external disadvantages; and although they may be free from artificial wants, and the usual anxieties of life, satiety and even disgust must often render their existence sorrowful. The more generous feelings of youth are suppressed, the spirits are broken; a sisterly affection may be interchanged, but they are among strangers; and though memory may not retain a single trace of the parent lost in childhood,—of her whose endearing tenderness transcends all other affections of the heart, who cherished the abducted girl in infancy, and surrendered every comfort for her sake,—still the venturous imagination will, at times, wander homewards, or it may be, picture to itself, in moments of solitude, the bright form of her which it knows but in thought—the Angel and the mother joined! It is enough that she is banished from all that is dear to her upon earth; but if her freedom should unhappily be sacrificed to the will of a being whom perhaps she loathes and detests, her lot is sad indeed; for if not actually ill treated, meekness may be trampled under foot, and virtue grossly insulted; yet there is no appeal, except to conscience and to Heaven. The slightest resistance—a murmur—a cold look—indisposition feigned or real—may call forth the passions of the tyrant; and then, a thousand methods of torture may be invented,—gratifications denied,

liberty refused, and penalties imposed, — in order to gratify his revenge. If her days be not suddenly cut short, her life may be embittered by the keenest anguish of the soul—such as no Europeans can appreciate, and she may drag on a miserable existence, the persecuted slave of an infuriated demon, hopeless, comfortless, and broken-hearted.

It is said that "Time never rests his wings to dwell with happiness. He only lags and lingers with pain and misery!" How many a wretched captive, reclining on the downy, silken couch of luxury, amid all the glitter of Oriental magnificence, has languished and pined in listless apathy, and sought in vain to be released by death! How many a disconsolate spirit has watched with anxious emotion, the transports of a favorite kid when capering around its mother, or when innocently acknowledging her caresses! The creative genius longs to pause amidst the joys it pictures, and which, alas, it never can experience, — just as the heated imagination of the exhausted traveller conjures up to his distracted senses the most beautiful fountains and overflowing streams in the desert; but which he is destined never to taste.

On the other hand, how superlatively happy must that woman be, who, protected by a wise and fostering Government, has not only her liberty, but finds herself united with a person of refined taste and cultivated mind, domesticated, and able to appreciate and return her confidence and affection. Left to herself, woman is like the tender myrtle exposed to the wintry blast; but when associated with the other sex, she may aptly be compared to the ivy entwining itself about the stately oak of the forest, for shelter and support. It is the peculiar province of man, to defend, provide for, and solace her whom God has given him for an help-

mate and companion. Whilst *he* is abroad, toiling for their mutual subsistence, it is *her* province, by carefulness and assiduity *at home*, to render their habitation cheerful, and to train up their children to habits of industry and virtue, and in the fear of God. How infinite must that wisdom be which has so nicely balanced the attributes and necessities of the sexes, as to make the happiness of the one depend on that of the other, to the end that, by marriage, human beings may, if they please, contribute to each other's comfort, and render their passage through the world, tolerable :— whereas, *either*, in a separate state, however prosperous, knows nothing of that exalted and intellectual bliss which flows from an ingenuous and devoted attachment. Left to himself, what an uncouth, ruthless savage would man become, were it not that, as in Europe, he is happily restrained by the laws of society. What I have already had occasion to relate, illustrates this. Females were obviously designed by the Creator to encourage men to acts of moderation, to curb their passions, and to render them domesticated and rational. Tenderness and compassion are therefore their leading characteristics. There is that implanted in them which the rudest, the most uncivilized, continually evince in the highest degree—I mean sympathy. I have invariably met with kindness, although a foreigner, from the females of other countries :—they have watched over me when sick, when I had none to help me, and was far removed from friends or relatives. Even in the desert, I have experienced such disinterested kindness from the women, that I can never forget it. They have brought me little presents ; and, regarding me as a stranger who needed the care and assiduities of a nurse, they seemed to feel it a duty,

and certainly made it a pleasure, to shew me all the attention in their power. In testimony of their gratitude for the services which I had rendered them and their families, they vied with each other in contributing to my comfort, and made me assurances of their devotedness—assurances which, I am positive, were sincere, and so heartfelt, that had the occasion required it, they would have incurred any risk to have protected me from harm; and I may truly say with Mungo Park, that "whatever risks I ran, whatever privations I underwent, whatever sufferings I endured,—I never was deserted by the women. I invariably experienced at their hands, however savage were the men, the tenderest and most heart-endearing sympathy; for if they handed me but a cup of water, to cool my parching tongue, it was done in a manner which marked the native goodness of the female heart."

The principles of our nature remain the same: and they will do so to the end of time. The female sex may be led away by various temptations, and the perfidy of certain of our own. They may become heart-broken, and lost in consequence; and there is no telling to what extent excessive grief and evil indulgences may at last lead them. It is also true, that when a woman is really depraved, she is more savage, more remorseless in her depravity, than the men—or even than the brutes themselves; but still, I believe that the female heart never was, nor ever will be, *radically* bad. Take the most horrid female monster that ever lived, and we may depend upon it, much as her feelings may be changed, there *was* a time when *she* too was sensible of tender emotions, like the rest of her sex; and, like them, as ready to shed the tear of sympathy.

I consider that when a female entrusts her happiness, and existence, to the keeping of one of the other sex, —when, I may say, she, a helpless being, incapable of contending with the world, reposes in him such generous and endearing confidence, that she accepts him as her guide and protector, and proclaims herself willing to share with him the trials, dangers, and afflictions of life, (and, as medical men often witness, with exemplary fortitude, such that nothing short of the most ardent attachment could effect,) she confers upon him an honor for which neither riches, titles, nor any other gratification can compensate:—and insensible indeed must he be who is unable to appreciate and deserve it.*

I have endeavoured to shew, that in semi-barbarous countries, equally as among the most civilized, the female heart is open to the same good impressions; every thing depends on *education*. I believe I have already stated, that in Egypt and Turkey, there is no such thing as *mixed society*.† Thus, when one person calls on another, be his visit long or short, on business or on pleasure, though he may eat and drink with him, he is not introduced to any of the ladies; nor does he enquire after them, except in general terms. It would be offensive, and probably excite jealousy, if a Mohammedan were to say, "How is your wife?" But it is esteemed kind and respectful to say, "Your Harem—is it well?" or, "How fares it with your House?" or, "Is it well with you?"—"Ma'shâllah! it is well! and you—does your House prosper?" Such would be the questions—and such the answer! always *collectively!*

We must not suppose that Oriental women are not permitted to go out. The ladies of the rich never stir

* See Vol. I. p. 232. † See Vol. I. p. 225.

abroad *alone:* they are generally accompanied by eunuchs and female slaves; and if they are persons of great consequence, a canopy, or a species of parasol, is also spread, and the attendants carry fans and mosquito brushes with them. Their costume is elegant, and often costly, and their linen is of the purest whiteness. The head-dress consists of a "ta'ckee-'yeh"—or white cotton cap, which fits close to the crown, beneath the red "taboosch," already described, —but the latter, when worn by ladies, is more or less embroidered; over it is thrown, as a substitute for a turban, a worked handkerchief, viz., the "farood'gè." The hair is parted in front, and allowed to hang down the shoulders in plaits ornamented with gold coins: but sometimes a curl or ringlet escapes on either side of the face. The "tar'hhah," a long scarf of muslin, crape, or very fine cloth, variously spangled and worked at the ends in silk and gold, is suspended in the Madonna style, from the back and crown of the head, down to the ankles; it is very light and elegant, and can be brought forward at pleasure, so as entirely to conceal the features. A coloured vest ("ye'lek"), generally of striped stuff, with loose, hanging sleeves, and open at the bosom, is worn next the chemise, and the loins are protected by a broad shawl of Damascus silk. Above these again, there is a jacket, or "d'gibbah," of velvet richly worked in gold. The trousers ("shinti-ya'n") are very wide and full, except at the ankles;—neither socks nor stockings are much in use, but many ladies wear a red morocco shoe, and they also put on a pair of yellow "papouscheS," or boot-slippers, when moving about the house. In the streets, and court-yards of their dwellings, they commonly wear high-heeled wooden clogs, to keep the skirts of their dresses

from being soiled; but ladies of distinction are not presumed to walk much, especially in public, and not at all in dirty weather; they may often be seen on the back of a donkey, with an attendant on each side of them, and they ride after the same fashion as the men. Out of doors, they usually envelop themselves in a "hhab'arah," or flowing scarf of two or three lengths of broad silk sowed together at the selvidges,—black, if the individual be *married*, white if *unmarried*; either has a very distingué appearance,—but married or single, they are always close-veiled.* The ladies are at liberty to stroll in certain parts of the gardens attached to the Seraglio, attended by females only, a favorite slave, or the "D'gees Suffeed"—i. e., the mistress, or chief superintendent of the Harem; they also frequent the "khámmàm," or bath. Every palace has its own bath: but persons in more humble life go to the public baths,—generally with some female confidante; and it is said, that on such occasions, there is sometimes a little scheming carried on—love-making, and even elopements! Of course, any thing like intrigue is attended with imminent peril to all parties; and if detected, would be punished with instant, or possibly, a lingering death.†

The cruelties committed at such times, are beyond all conception, and would not be believed if described. The dagger or a cup of poison would be a boon too merciful to hope for; and yet, so wretched are the wives and bonds-women of certain eastern despots, that death in almost any shape, is preferable to life on such terms. These miserable, devoted beings, are ready to abscond with any one who is willing to protect them,

* See Genesis xxiv. 65—Isaiah iii. 23—and 1 Corinth. xi. 10. Consult also Lane's "Modern Egyptians"—Hope's "Anastasius"—&c.

† See Vol. II. page 88.

and convey them to a place of safety—no matter where, or how great the risk—provided only they have the prospect of being secure from further persecution. I have been more than once solicited, in the most impressive manner, to aid individuals in escaping from the tyranny of their oppressor. I have been sent for by ladies who feigned illness, or the illness of a child, expressly, as I believe, with this view. They have entreated me, with tears in their eyes, to take them away. I pointed out to them the impossibility of success, as well as the impropriety and the madness of attempting it; but I found them deaf to all remonstrance, declaring that they were willing to work, and would cheerfully serve any one who would be kind to them; but that their present state of existence was insupportable, and, that sometimes, in despair, they were almost tempted to destroy themselves. Yet they were surrounded by every luxury! But what is luxury to a broken heart? What is splendour to her, who, loaded with Nature's choicest gifts, is doomed to be the wretched victim of a tyrant's hate, or else the object of his hateful love? What is luxury to one who—

"Mid the Harem's lonely bow'rs,
While she wastes her captive hours,
Far from Georgian vales remov'd,
Far from all she fondly lov'd,
Vainly every path may range,
And seek the weary scenes to change;—
All appear the haunts of care,
For—Liberty is wanting there!

All that swell the Sultan's train,
Chaunt their songs of mirth in vain;
Vain is all their softest art,
E'er to soothe her aching heart;
Feast and dance in vain essay
To cheat the languid hours away,
Or drown the sigh of deep despair,
For—Liberty is wanting there!"*

* A beautiful little Persian Air, harmonized by Clementi.

In Mohammedan countries, the same baths are often used by both sexes: in the morning by males, in the afternoon by females,—when a napkin or other portion of linen is suspended at the door to warn away the men. The public baths are also given up on Friday (the Mohammedan Sabbath) for the entire use of the women —who repair thither with their children, and frequently spend several hours, not shampooing aud bathing only, but in the carpeted saloons, eating sweetmeats, reclining at their ease on the divans, smoking, chatting, frolicking, and drinking coffee and sherbet. They make appointments with their acquaintances; and the time spent at the baths, is decidedly the most free and agreeable which they experience. All restraint is laid aside; they mix with their neighbours, see strangers, and hear what is going on in the world—or rather in *their* world—(circumscribed enough it is.) Here they crack jokes, relate stories, and aid one another in the application of depilatories,* in *pencilling* the eyebrows, in plaiting the hair, and in sundry other important operations connected with the toilet. On these days, they do, no doubt, enjoy themselves very much; and it is chiefly at such times, that mothers select brides for their sons. Those who cannot afford to go to the khámmàms, do not hesitate to bathe in the river,—in retired situations, as they wear no dress. On the other hand; on particular occasions, such as an approaching wedding, the middle classes, who have no bath of their own, hire a portion of a public bath for a few days. But when a female is at the bath, whether at home or abroad, she leaves her slippers outside the door of the anti-rooms;

* The chief depilatory employed, is a preparation of lime, sulphur, and arsenic; they have also a kind of resin, called "liba'n shámee," which they melt for this purpose; and there is a superstitious notion, that "the blood of a bat applied to the skin of an infant, will prevent the hair growing on the parts touched."

and these apartments are, for the time being, *sacred* to her. It is not usual for her husband even to cross the threshold; and it is this custom which, we are told, affords an opportunity for assignations and elopements. We greatly err if we suppose that men are the only tormentors upon earth. Ferdusi declares that

> "Women are ever masters when they like,
> And cozen with their kindness; they have spells
> Superior to the wand of the magician;
> And from their lips the words of wisdom fall
> Like softest music on the listening ear:—
> Oh! they are matchless in supremacy!"

But it *sometimes* happens in the East, that practical illustrations of the Poet's argument *do* occur. Thus in Persia, it is a common remark, when a man does not find it quite convenient to render an account of his proceedings, that "he will eat enough of his wife's slipper" when he gets home; and many a man's countenance bears testimony to the independent spirit which prevails in his Harem! But this must be a libel upon the ladies; for Pope, who was well acquainted with Human Nature, has said—

> "Would men but follow what the Sex advise,
> All things would prosper: all the world grow wise."

By the way, I mentioned that ladies in these countries, have a curious custom of "tattooing" their faces, necks, and arms, of a blue or greenish tint, and of staining the nails and certain parts of the hands and feet (which, with few exceptions, are well formed), of a yellowish red, or deep orange colour, with a vegetable substance called "hhenna'h." * Tattooing is generally performed about the age of five or six. The skin having been pricked by means of *seven* needles tied together, some lamp-black mixed with

* The powdered leaves of the "Lawsonia inermis," called also "the Egyptian Privet," simply made into a paste with water.

human milk, is rubbed over the part; and in a few days, before the surface has been healed, a paste (made of the pounded fresh leaves of white beet, or clover) is applied, which leaves an indelible mark. As the Egyptians think it no shame to expose the bosom, they ornament it nearly to the waist, by tracing upon it various fantastical devices — the sun and crescent, stars, trees, and birds; and the dress is worn open that they may be seen, although the *face* is scrupulously concealed; and it has occasionally happened to me, when suddenly turning the corner of a street, that a woman, not having had time to adjust her veil, has stood on one side, with her face against the wall, until I had passed In some parts, the ladies of the Great let the breasts be exposed entirely: others allow them to be seen through thin gauze, and some cover the nipple with silk of various colours. The practice of dyeing the inner edges of the eye-lids, is universal; and dark eyes are very much admired in the East. It would seem that there is a great deal of business transacted at the "kh'ammàms:"

> "While some bring leaves of 'hhenneh' to imbue
> The fingers' ends with a bright roseate hue,
> So bright that in the mirror's depth they seem
> Like tips of coral-branches in the stream;
> Others mix well the 'kohol's' jetty dye,
> To give that long, dark languish to the eye,
> Which makes the maids whom Kings are proud to cull
> From fair Circassia's vales, so beautiful." *

There must be an infinity of matters to arrange and to discuss. The Turkish ladies are very particular about the neatness and cleanliness of their garments; they wear a variety of ornaments, and like to exhibit them,† they comb, plait, and dye the hair; they anoint

* Lalla Rookh. See 2 Kings ix. 30.—The original words are, "She adjusted her eyes with the powder of lead-ore."—See also Ezekiel xxiii. 40.; Lev. xix. 28.; and Jeremiah iv. 30.

† See Vol. I. pp. 178 and 227.

and perfume the body, and are unanimously of opinion, that all the transactions of the "khámmmàs" demand their most *serious* consideration :—

> "Since neatly dress'd, with smiles that ever please,
> A lovely woman wins the heart with ease ;
> And social maxims flow with better grace,
> From those endowed with charms of form and face ;
> From ruby lips, with pearls divinely set,
> From eyes of languid softness, dark as jet ;
> And hence domestic precepts, rules, and laws,
> Pronounced by beauty, *must* command applause."

Many barbarous nations have the custom of tattooing their bodies, and they are induced by various motives. When it is done to any considerable extent, it is doubtless intended as an ornament, especially when had recourse to by the women. But it often happens, that the arms are tattooed by parents, that they may recognise their children should they be stolen or taken prisoners ;—the slave too is marked and branded by his master, that he may swear to him in the event of his running away ; and this, as in every other case, is an indelible mark ; it is generally blue. The same thing is done by pious persons, in order to signify that they devote themselves for ever to the Deity, or idol they worship. This practice is of ancient origin, and is still adopted by the Arabs and Nubians. The most frequent signs are the crescent and the sun, and various passages from the Khoran, as "Allah, Allah ul Allah !" "There is but one God !" &c. The word "Allah" is very common. It signifies simply "God," and means, that they devote themselves to the "Most High." The 5th verse of the 44th chapter of Isaiah is a very remarkable one, and evidently refers to this subject. The crusaders were wont to mark themselves with the cross, or to imprint the name of our Saviour indelibly upon the wrist or

arm, in testimony of their devotion to the cause in which they were engaged. It was this, according to Dr. Doddridge and Bishop Low, which introduced the practice of making the sign of the cross at the ceremony of baptism, and it was intended as an emblem of their devotedness to the Christian religion, as undertaken by sponsors in their behalf. The Roman Catholics and Greeks have adopted the sign of the cross also in token of their faith and determination to imitate our Saviour's example; they continually use it on all solemn occasions; and so among the uncivilized, of whatever creed or nation,—the custom of stamping the religious devotees at the Temple of their God, when initiated, with some mark which could not be eradicated, was very prevalent. A soldier would voluntarily devote himself to the cause of his General; and British sailors, in the present day, whether from superstitious motives or fancy, are in the habit of thus dedicating themselves to Father Neptune, by imprinting upon their arms, a whimsical portrait of the azure god, or the flowing tresses of his consort, a dolphin, an anchor, and similar emblems, and which, I believe, are usually burnt in with gunpowder. The operation is most effectually performed, and they carry these marks with them to the grave.

The custom of anointing and bathing the body, is of great antiquity. It prevails, and has prevailed, from time immemorial, all over the East. "Ointment and Perfume," says Solomon, "rejoice the heart." Many other similar passages might be quoted both from the Old and the New Testament. A moment's reflection will convince us, that in hot countries, these practices are not only agreeable and refreshing, but that they "rejoice the heart," by convincing the guest that he is

respected. Oriental nations attach great importance to ceremonials; and any deviation from established usages, however trifling they may seem to us, would be construed into disrespect and wilful neglect. After a journey, nothing refreshes so much as a bath, and subsequently anointing the body; and it is regarded as a great compliment when the means thereof are voluntarily provided for a guest. The honor is always appreciated; and it is often a costly one, especially when the individual is a person of consequence; rich gems, spices, and perfumes, which are brought from remote districts, being employed,—to wit, attar of roses, the aloe, frankincense, and myrrh. It is usual not only to rub and anoint the body, but to bathe the head and temples with rose-water, comb and fumigate the beard, and stretch and knead the joints. These are luxuries which may be *talked about* in Europe; but it is quite impossible that they can be felt or understood in a northern climate; certainly not by any description. I would recommend all European travellers who visit Egypt, to anoint the body every morning, either with fresh butter, or olive oil when it can be had. I attribute my good health in a great measure to this practice. It is anything but unpleasant, although quite contrary to our English notions. We may rest assured, that whatever the custom of a country has established as useful, and essential to the well-being of the inhabitants, must be doubly advantageous to foreigners; and they will do wisely to adopt it; at the same time, avoiding extremes.*

* One of the greatest annoyances felt by travellers in Egypt, is the "prickly heat," an eruption which makes its appearance chiefly on the breast, neck, and shoulders. The surface of the cuticle becomes covered, as it were, with little pin's points, which bleed when rubbed: there is otherwise no discharge from

I shall conclude this subject, by simply calling the attention of the reader to three practical illustrations of what I have been describing, viz.,—the "precious ointment" that was "poured upon the head of our Saviour:" the humility and adoration of Mary Magdalene, who, in token of her repentance, not only "anointed her Redeemer's feet," but "bathed them with her tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head:" and lastly, to the practice in ancient as well as in modern times, of "anointing Kings."*

The ladies of the Egyptian Harems belong to various nations, and are remarkable for various degrees of beauty, according to the taste of individuals. I have already alluded to the Circassians and Georgians: they are justly celebrated, although there is a variety among them, as in other countries. But it is considered better for a young girl to fall into the hands of a rich Turk, than to fall in love with, or be *carried off* by, one of the native Princes, who are, generally, very poor, very proud, and very cruel; and continually at war with their neighbours! It is no uncommon practice, therefore, for parents to *sell* a daughter who is beautiful, to the former, that she may be well provided for; or, what is the same thing, to accept of a purse of money, or

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them; but the irritation is incessant. It arises from the dry state of the skin, depending on constitutional causes, and change of climate. The stomach is weak; we must therefore give it less work, let the food be light and bland, and abstain from stimulants, and heating aliments: much solid will do harm; we should avoid excitement, fatigue, and the extreme heat of the day; and to crown the whole, take a bath occasionally, of about 90 degrees of Fahrenheit, and *anoint the body* regularly night and morning. The same practice will be found a good preventive against fever; and the application of olive oil is perhaps the best way to allay the irritation of mosquito bites. Vide Vol. I. p. 207.

* John xii. 3, *et seq.*; Matthew xvi. 6 to 14; Luke vii. 36 to the end; 1 Samuel, x. 1; xvi. 13.

some lucrative appointment, as a "marriage gift." Horrible as this may seem, it is no more than we may repeatedly observe in our own country: there is no denying the fact, that young ladies both in England and France, *are* sometimes sold to the highest bidder! (See Vol. I. p. 232.) There are a few Greeks and Armenians in the Harems, but Christians are now no longer to be *purchased* as formerly.* Many of the inmates are Negresses and Abyssinians; but they are not always in the capacity of slaves. I have met with instances in which they proved to be most excellent wives, faithful to their husbands, and devoted to their children. Some of the Abyssinian women are very beautiful. I have seen them exposed for sale continually in the market, and finer symmetry of feature and form I never beheld; they appeared also modest; and, judging phrenologically, I should say, were in no respect deficient in ability. They are not generally so robust as the Negresses who come from Cordofan and

* I have also heard of a few Maltese, Italians, and French; the Chief Sultana of the Sultan Mahmoud was a French woman; and only a short time before his Highness's death, she eloped with a Russian officer. One day, at Cairo, I received a visit from Osman Effendi, the Scotch Mamlûk, who called at the request of Mr. Hay, to state that a Greek female was exhibited for sale in the common slave-market (a most unusual thing), and he was desired to see if the resident English travellers were disposed to liberate her. Mr. Hay had headed the subscription with his accustomed liberality; but, in his eagerness to do good, had not arranged any plan for the future protection of this unhappy girl; — I therefore reminded him, that although I was ready to do any thing in my power to procure her release, still, in my opinion, it would be doing her no kindness to set her at liberty in Egypt, without a friend or the means of support. Mr. Hay thanked me for the hint, saying that he would turn his attention to the subject. The sequel does him infinite credit, and ought to be recorded. Being about to embark in his candgia with Mrs Hay for the Upper Country and Sennaar, it immediately occurred to him that she would be a very suitable attendant on his wife, (herself a Greek, and a highly accomplished and intellectual lady.) Without further hesitation, he procured her freedom himself at considerable expense. She continued in his family some time, made two journeys to the interior, and, at last, this excellent individual had the happiness of restoring her to her own relations.

Dafour: they are more slender and delicate, equally sensitive, and what the French would call "gentile." The features of the Negress are larger and coarser, being characterized, more or less, by the broad, thick lip, projecting jaw, and high cheek-bones: there is, consequently, not the same intellectual expression; the complexion is almost black, whilst that of the Abyssinian is of a yellowish brown; but the skin of both is as soft as velvet (provided they be young and healthy); their teeth are like ivory, and the eye is dark and sparkling.

The Arab women, that is to say, the "Caireens" of the present day, are not tall; but they are well formed; they have good eyes, a pale complexion, pretty, regular features, and excellent teeth. There is no want of expression; they are for the most part, cheerful, strong, and industrious, fond of their children, and, if fair, are much esteemed; and they make good wives when fostered and taken care of. The Nubian women are, I think, not generally so good-looking. They are shorter, have dark, swarthy complexions, irregular features, high cheek bones, and appear to form a link in the chain between the Arab and the Negro. These people come from beyond the Cataracts, and there are various tribes of them. There are also the Bedoueen women, the Coptic women, and a very fine class of beings in the neighbourhood of Dongola; but of these hereafter.

There is a great diversity of ornaments worn by all of these, according to their rank,—necklaces of the most costly materials, from brilliants down to coral and glass beads; armlets and rings on the toes, fingers, and wrists, curiously manufactured of gold, horn, ivory, and brass; besides sundry little appendages to the ears and ankles.

"Then does the sprightly heart rebound,
Arch smiles and laughing jokes go round,
The joyous dancers beat the ground,
And anklet-bells with tingling sound,
Betoken their delight!"

I have mentioned that in Egypt, military music does not now differ from our own, and that the Arabs have a correct ear and refined taste. But the piano has not yet been introduced among the ladies: they have the tabret, pipe, lute, harp, dulcimer, and a species of viol; and they accompany these instruments with the voice, which is for the most part soft, and the native airs are simple and plaintive.*

The lute, tabret, and harp are the instruments in most general use, even as in the days of the Patriarchs. The influence of music appears to have been extensively felt in all ages, and to have been employed on all public and State occasions:—but music was condemned by the Prophet, "as exercising too powerful an effect upon the passions, and leading a man into gaiety, dissipation, and vice." Like dancing, painting, and sculpture, it may be, and unquestionably has been, applied to the most virtuous, and often to the most wicked purposes. Thus, we know that it was after a feast, when under the inspiration of wine and music, that Herod granted the head of John the Baptist. Music has been employed to celebrate victories; † it has been made the signal of idolatry, ‡ and it has been used in honour of the only true God! § There

* "Turkish Advertisement.—For sale! A black female slave, who is *unique* for playing the fiddle, lute, mandolina, and dulcimer, and is moreover, a beautiful dancer! Price 300 piastres (about £27 sterling). Apply," &c. From the "Djeridée Havadis," of the 13th of Oct. 1841.

† Vide Gen. xxxi. 27; Isa. v. 12; Matt. xiv. 3 et seq.; 1 Sam. xviii. 6; Exod. xv. 20, 21. See also Vol. I. Chap. V.

‡ Dan. iii. 5.

§ 2 Sam. vi. 14; 1 Chron. xxiii. 5.

is much truth in the observation that, "the most corrupt Church has the most imposing and pompous ceremonies." Certainly, nothing can be more sublime than sacred music, and when adapted to public worship nothing is more calculated to refine the heart, and elevate the soul; but if the fundamental principles of religion be not *spiritually taught and practised*, the most attractive form of homage will savour little of true devotion; and it is easy to see, that music in the hands of fanatics, or of a designing priesthood, may be employed to steal away the senses, and impose upon the credulity of the ignorant and superstitious. As regards the Arts of life, and the established usages of society, I confess I have always thought, that any demonstration of joy, whether it be music, singing, or dancing, public exhibitions or amusements, if carried to extremes, or otherwise abused, may corrupt the heart; but every thing depends on education and principle. We are commanded to cultivate the social virtues, and not to be "righteous *over-much*"—because "there is a proper time for *all things*." I have remarked that the truly pious, are invariably the most cheerful, and of all people, the least disposed to be censorious or austere; for the same Infinite Wisdom which has taught the birds of the air to warble forth their Maker's praise, and the lambs to skip and revel in the sun, in token of their delight, has taught us that it is sinful in man to endeavour to suppress those feelings and inclinations which are, for the wisest purposes, implanted in our nature, and which reason dictates may be gratified without remorse: for there is nothing rational that may not be done to the glory of God.

The Pascha has a small collection of animals at Shoobrah. I saw there a female giraffe, or cameleo-

pard of great size and beauty. She measured upwards of ten feet to the crown of the head, and her coat, which was beautifully spotted, looked sleek and close; she was in good health and spirits, very gentle, and had an eye that was truly brilliant. The giraffe is very rarely met with, even in Cairo. It inhabits the deserts of Cordofan, and is hunted by the natives for the sake of its flesh, which they eat, and of the skin, which they manufacture into bucklers and sandals. It is described by those who have seen it in its free state, as a very timid animal, and somewhat akin to the gazelle, in as much as it delights in rocky and retired, woody districts, feeding on the leaves of trees, and is so fond of society and freedom, that it generally pines after its companions, has been known to shed tears, and refuses food. It is remarkable also for its sagacity and fleetness. When pursued, it will leap ravines with great ease, and set the swiftest horse at defiance. Several have been brought to England at different times, at a great expense, but they seldom live. It is not so much the climate that destroys them, as unnatural habits, and banishment from their own species. Five very beautiful giraffes were sent some time ago to New York, from Catabol, in Abyssinia, by Monsieur Vaissière, ex-aid-de-camp to Ibrahim Pascha, in the wars against the Whahabees; but I can hardly suppose they survived long.

The other creatures that were shown to us, were some kangaroos, some English deer, and the Pascha's stud of horses, about twenty-five in number. Among them were some milk-white steeds, which in Egypt are very rare.

Upon enquiry, I was also shown an English horse that we brought out on board the "Bristol," as a pre-

sent from Messrs. Briggs and Co., to the Pascha. It had recovered from the effects of the voyage, and grown quite fat. The horses most esteemed in Egypt are those which come from the "Neg'dis,"* and particularly those of the *Hassan* breed. They stand higher than the Hungarian cavalry horse, measuring about fifteen hands: they are well-proportioned, very fleet, and chiefly of a chesnut colour.

The Dongola horse is most generally black: it is sturdy, and thick-set, though it has often long white legs. It is much stronger than the former, but neither so fleet nor so elegant, being larger-boned; but he is high couraged, and makes a good cavalry horse when well trained.

The much lamented Sir Alexander Burnes, late of the Bombay army, once had the charge of some English dray-horses, which were presented by his late Majesty to the King of the Seikhs. Runjeet was very anxious to behold the animals, of which he had heard so much; and would not believe they were horses, but imagined them to be something between the horse and the elephant. The Circassian horse is much esteemed in the East; and for elegance, suppleness, and use, he is perhaps equal to the Arabian. He is well trained, surefooted, and capable of enduring great fatigue. The regime necessary for training, is severe; but no people can use their animals better than the Circassians. Like the Arabs, they never strike a horse, and would be offended with those who did; yet the creature is obedient, and makes a friend and play-fellow of his master. He is as tractable and sagacious as a dog, full of mettle, and so gentle, that a child might play with him; and

* A district of Arabia. Query—Is the English word "Neddy" derived from this word?

during a skirmish, he will lie down as if dead, or remain motionless, and suffer a gun to be discharged resting upon his head.

The Persians have a particular aversion to a horse with what they call "chup," i. e. having one or more white feet, and they undervalue any horse which has the "ableh" or white leprous-looking marks on the nose, round the eyes, and under the tail. The Arabs are in the habit of fastening their horses by the fore and hind legs, by a short rope, when feeding; and the fore legs are often drawn under the body in consequence. When they are grazing, they usually fasten them by two other ropes, pegged down to the ground. When, however, they are in the stable, and there is no partition between them, they sometimes tie them up to the ceiling at all points, to prevent them kicking. From habit, I have known these people (ignorantly) do the same occasionally, with a single horse, although not vicious. In Egypt, many horses have broken knees, and there can be little doubt, I think, that the circumstance may be mainly attributed to the want of due discrimination in regard to these particulars. The Arabs of the Desert do not usually shoe their horses, and when they do shoe them, they employ what we should term in England, a *bar-shoe*, such as the farriers employ when a horse has an unsound hoof; it resembles that in common use in Turkey; it is quite round, and consists of an entire plate with a small circular hole in the middle. This may do very well for the soft, sandy desert, or loamy, bad roads, as in either case, a firm footing might be obtained: but this practice does not suit the paved, uneven, rugged causeways of the towns in Egypt or in Turkey; and as might be expected, the horses slip about, and often

stumble. The earliest mention of horsemanship perhaps on record, is in the Bible, and in Homer, who is supposed to have been the co-temporary of Joshua.*

The communication between Cairo and Shoobrah is made by a noble avenue of mulberry-tres, sycamores, acacias, and tamarisks. Between them is a fine road ninety feet in width, and shaded in the most delightful manner, the branches in some places meeting above. The view between the trunks of these stately trees is also very interesting. On the right, we behold the sparkling waters of the Nile, carrying the various cand'gias and d'germs with their enormous sails upon their surface; and beyond, we catch a glimpse of the desert. On the left, in the distance, is the city of Cairo itself, its lofty minarets and domes crowned by the Mokattam hills and rocks, and in the suburbs, the various cupolas of the tombs of the Kháliphes, and the scattered gardens of banana, and lemon, mimosa, and prickly-pear, which lead to the place of the "Esbekéyah."

* Genesis l. 9., Exodus xiv. 9. It has been remarked by Mr. Whyte as a curious fact, that although the poet frequently dwells on the beauty of the horses which drew the chariots of his Heroes, he only refers to *horse-riding* twice in the Iliad, and once in the Odyssey.* The first is where Ulysses and Diomede having stolen the horses of Rhesus without the chariot, mount, and gallop them to the Grecian camp. The other is where he describes Ulysses, after his shipwreck, as bestriding a beam of wood among the waves, in the attitude of a man on horseback.

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* Vide K. 513. E. 371.

CHAPTER VII.

OLD CAIRO—THE PYRAMIDS OF GHIZEH—THE SITE OF MEMPHIS—THE EGYPTIAN MYTHOLOGY.

If the activity of the donkeys surprised us in the midst of the crowded streets of Cairo, it was equally admired by us in the open country, where there was nothing to obstruct their course. They ran, and snorted, paused to sniff the air, and again went forward at the command of the drivers, who continued to follow close at our heels, apparently regardless of time or distance. As to the half starved, emaciated varlets, our running footmen, we could but lament their misfortunes. A traveller soon becomes known among them, and they constantly watch his movements. Every morning, the portals of our dwelling were distinguished by groups of young urchins who were candidates for office. Certain of the more favored of them, the superiority of whose donkies had secured them a larger portion of our patronage than the rest, having learned,—by what unaccountable means I know not,—that we contemplated an excursion to the Pyramids, became now more importunate than ever. They surrounded us as often as we appeared, brushed up their mangy-looking friends, polished their ragged saddles, and had recourse to every scheme which in-

genuity could invent, to render themselves acceptable. It was seldom that a day passed without a battle on our account; and at last, we put an end to the encounters, by issuing a proclamation, that "whosoever was known to scratch or fight without an especial 'firmaun' from us, should 'ipso facto,' forfeit all claim to our generosity," or, as the Oriental phrase hath it, that they should no longer be permitted to "labour beneath the shadow of our wings!"

This had the desired effect, and those who had obtained "favour in our eyes," were commanded to draw near and receive the long-expected "token of our condescension." Oh prosperous youths! Happy few! The "star of your destiny then was on the rise:" at that moment, your countenances shone bright, your eyes sparkled, as the rich "diamond of the desert;" and when you rejoined your disappointed rivals, surely, "your heads touched the skies!" The necessary arrangements being made, "a fortunate day" was chosen, and the hour of our departure fixed. Osman Effendi was to be our "mehmandar," and our party the same as on former occasions. Morning was yet faint in the east when we set forth. On the way, we passed through Old Cairo (Misr el Atteekeh, or Fostât*), an irregularly built town, founded, as is supposed, by the followers of Cambyses, who named it after their own metropolis. It is, therefore, believed to occupy the site of the Egyptian Babylon, which, in the year 640, was made the seat of Government by Amru-Ibn-el-Aasi. We are told that it was then, nine miles square; and, if we may judge from the extensive ruins

* "Fustaat" means Tent, or Tabernacle. "Fossatæ," i. e., moated; the tents being surrounded by a wall and moat. "El Atteekeh" signifies "The victorious."—A "mehmandar" is an armed guide and provider.

in its immediate neighbourhood, it is likely to have been the case. Now, however, the whole of the habitable buildings may be included in an area of a mile and a half, or two miles. It contains many gardens, and beautiful kiosks, or pleasure houses, to which the rich are wont to repair, away from the more bustling and crowded Capital, especially at the season of the year at which the Nile overflows its banks. At the entrance of the town, is the ancient aqueduct, and the water-engine, established, I believe, by the Saracens. They are miserable objects at present: the former is dilapidated, and the wheels of the latter, to which earthen pots are attached, are turned by oxen:—this machinery is, nevertheless, employed to convey water to the Citadel.* Here is also shewn, a large quadrangular building used as a storehouse; it also, was built by the Saracens, and received the name of "Joseph's granary." A few other spots in Old Cairo are worthy of notice; but as our object, on this occasion, was to reach the Pyramids as early as possible, we did not stop to visit them. There are also some poor remains of a town which once existed between "Fostât" and the modern "Kahira." We passed onwards through what is called the "Mogrebbin" quarters, and winding our way along a beaten track, in the midst of rubbish, broken pottery, and bricks, from the hollows and tortuous promontories of which, we were occasionally saluted by the dogs, we soon arrived at the banks of the Nile; and turning short round to the right, found ourselves at the ferry. The glowing vapours of the east had long reminded us of the approach of day; the sun had just

* It is said that an hydraulic apparatus was presented to the Pascha many years ago, by the King of England; but that it was rendered useless by the clumsy manner in which it was put up;—the source of the water is the Nile.

now burst upon the horizon, in all the glorious majesty of Heaven; and as it dispelled the dim expanse of mist which still floated lightly on the waters, it unfurled to our delighted senses one of the most lovely views that ever cheered the heart of man. Immediately opposite, in the middle of the stream, we beheld a portion of the island of "Er-Rhouddah," with its plantations of tamarisk, sycamore, and acacia; near us, a long range of white buildings, marking the position of the ancient city through which we had just passed; on the western bank, the picturesque village of Ghizeh, its palm-groves and kiosks, the site of Memphis, the Libyan desert, and the mighty Pyramids, which appeared to rise, as it were, almost from the banks of the stream which then was flowing at our feet, and covered with a variety of picturesque sails, softly skimming its surface. The view from the village of Ghizeh is also interesting. It consists of the walls of "Fostât," its mosque and shrubberies, the ancient aqueduct, and castle, (now a Greek convent,) minarets, and gardens, flanked by the craggy summits of the Mokattam, which stretches gradually southward to the margin of the river, exhibiting to the eye its barren, lofty sides, its tombs and excavations—"Er-Rhouddah," and several smaller islands—the more distant domes and pinnacles of Kahira, with its towering Citadel and walls—the site of Memphis—the Pyramids of Sakh'arah, Abousir, and Dashour, rising in the distance—and the Libyan waste, in the midst of which, we behold those stupendous monuments of human skill to which we were then hastening. Ghizeh itself is a miserable village; we saw several herons perched upon the turrets of the buildings, pigeons and pigeon-houses innumerable, and no want of *would-be* guides, the moment we were recognised as Franks.

We soon traversed the plain which leads to the boundary, or edge, of the desert in which the celebrated Pyramids of Ghizeh, or perhaps we should rather say, of Memphis, are situated. The whole distance between them and Cairo is computed at about ten miles; but there are few persons willing to believe this, until they have made the journey; and it is somewhat amusing to remark with what pertinacity those who have just arrived in the country, dispute the point. Even when viewed from Ghizeh, the delusion remains;—no one can persuade himself that he has more than one or two fields to pass; he sees before him an irregular semi-cultivated plain, with here and there a few plantations of acacia or date; near at hand, some gardens of contracted dimensions, containing the tobacco plant, the fig, the water-melon, the gourd, the prickly pear, the olive, and the Dhourra corn, which last grows in great abundance, and is remarkable for its prolific quality.* The fact is, that all objects appear distinct in proportion to the thinness or rarity of the medium through which they are beheld. I may remind the reader, that here, as in tropical climates, the atmosphere is so perfectly pure, that even the moon and planets dazzle the eye of the beholder; it is painful to look at them long together, and they appear to be *nearer* the earth's surface than they really are; it is very seldom that the vapours can collect into a cloud, and there is a perfectly transparent blue sky, by night and by day, so that the exact form of the heavenly bodies may be distinguished, and fancy paints the precise dimensions of their spheres. This is diffi-

* Mr. Hamilton mentions that he once counted on one ear of this corn, as many as 3000 grains, and this statement has been confirmed by the experiments and observations of others.

cult for an European to understand; for even those who have been accustomed to admire a serene Italian sky, can form but an indifferent idea of an Oriental climate. It is such, that the most poetical account would fall very far short of the reality. He then who professes only to write a simple narrative of his travels, can barely allude to the scenes he witnessed; and much as he desires to impart to others the pleasure which those scenes afforded him, he can only regret that his powers of description fail him when he most stands in need of their aid. He is compelled, therefore, to return to mere matter of fact. In Italy and in Spain, where the atmosphere is serene and bright, (i. e., for a northern hemisphere,) the buildings are rendered more distinct and clear; they afford a more perfect outline, and are seen at a much greater distance, than they would be in the dense and murky climate of England or France. The relative height of St. Paul's cathedral and St. Peter's at Rome, is much the same; yet the ball of the latter is more clearly defined, and seems to be much nearer to the earth than that of the former, though it is more elevated. Can we wonder then that the great Pyramids, which stand isolated in the desert, remote from all other objects, should appear to be so much nearer than they really are, especially when we reflect that the heat radiated by the sand, renders their *immediate* atmosphere still more clear, and gives rise to a continued succession of currents in the air, and changes in the reflection and refraction of the rays of light, as they fall upon their bright and massy sides? After giving the subject due consideration—perhaps not; but these things do not occur to the mind at the moment, transported as it is by the novelty and extreme beauty of the scene, and the almost

endless association of ideas which attends us at every step. We pursue our journey across the plain, by a circuitous route, one which it is difficult to track after the recent abating of the waters; for the whole of this district being inundated at high Nile, the Pyramids are to be seen rising from their blue surface, like Ailsa Craig from the midst of the briny deep. Their appearance at such a time, is most extraordinary; and were it not that a solitary palm-tree rears its feathery branches, like the downy plumes of the ostrich, here and there above the stream, we might almost fancy ourselves becalmed upon the ocean, tranquilly resting upon our oars in the midst of isolated rocks—the habitations only of gulls, or birds of prey,—such as the eagle chooses for her young, remote from the intrusions of aspiring man. When the waters are out, the Bedoueen strikes his tent, and seeks the desert; the approach to the Pyramids is made in boats; but for a short time after the flood has abated, it is almost impossible to reach them at all; for the boats are rendered useless, and the ground offers a precarious footing to the quadruped. Some, therefore, who have started from Alexandria, having but a few days at their command, purposing to visit the Pyramids and return, have been disappointed. The waters leave a rich slime upon the ground, which the Arabs cultivate; so that detached spots of vegetation are subsequently to be seen in all directions.

Even when halting at the Great Sphinx, a distance of only 500 yards from the Pyramids, many persons persist in the idea that these stupendous edifices are mere heaps of brick or stone, such as would require no more than ordinary skill to raise, and that they are totally unworthy of the flaming descriptions which tra-

vellers have been pleased to write. It is not until actually arrived at the base, that we can be convinced of their immensity, or bring our minds to believe, that in traversing the light sandy plain which leads from the modern village of Ghizeh, we ride a distance of four miles! When, at last, we cast our eye upwards along their enormous façades to the towering summits, we begin to form a just estimate of their really awful sublimity! A thousand associations rush upon the astonished mind in the same moment, and the beholder is rivetted in amazement to the spot. He gazes in silence: his thoughts are carried back to the period of the Patriarchs and the Pharaohs; he imagines to himself the ordinary transactions of days long past; and the mighty doings of Kings are recalled to his recollection; a certain degree of reverence for the ground on which he stands, imperceptibly steals upon him, and he smiles to think that he should have been so deceived! Yet still he pauses—walks forwards, and about, and again returns, his eye continually directed upwards, as if unwilling to believe that what he sees is real; all the skill he has cannot satisfy him concerning the means by which such enormous masses of solid masonry were put together, and with such exactness, that the most exquisite symmetry of form has been preserved throughout; he is utterly at a loss to conceive, how these only, the proudest of the Egyptian monuments, could have escaped the general wreck,—these whose origin is so remote, that every certain record concerning them is lost, and he is curious to know for what purpose they were contrived.

The Pyramids of Ghizeh are numerous; but those which are spoken of as *the* Pyramids, are three in number; they are situated at the confines of the Great

Libyan Desert, on a bed of limestone rock, about 150 feet above the level of the sand, and 160 above the river. There is now, scarcely a vestige of the ruins of Memphis; but sufficient observation has been made to determine the site of that ancient city; and the Pyramids are believed to mark the situation of its *western* suburbs, between which and the silvery Nile, the haughty kings of Egypt once had their palaces, their temples, and their baths, and were accustomed to assemble their warriors before they set out on some distant expedition. Fancy may depict the gilded war-chariot, the neighing steeds, the bow-men, and the spear-men passing in review before the proud and mighty Chief, together with groups of richly-attired females, and ruder artizans, attracted forth amid the glitter and the clang of arms, to see the host depart! A very different scene now presents itself: all is still: heaps of subtle, quartzy dust roll on in quick succession, like the fluctuating billows of the ocean; and what the day brings forth, the evening breeze obliterates. If the wind should rise, the sand is seen to drift in clouds, and settle like the driven snow, wherever it may find a nucleus;—an almost endless variety of hillocks is thereby produced, and the whole face of the plain is changed with the setting sun: not a trace is left of what the eye had recently beheld; yet every thing looks parched and withered as before. It is only in the direction of Ghizeh that any thing grateful to the eye is to be seen; and here, as the seasons revolve, a variegated carpet of pasturage affords a pleasing but striking contrast with the blasted wilderness that stretches towards the horizon. The only signs of habitations are the black tents of the Arabs, which here and there appear in clusters; and so much are

they in keeping with the solemnity and peculiar aspect of the scene, that their swarthy inmates might pass for the secret guardians of the dead. They are tall, large-featured, athletic men; and when they go forth, they are enveloped in a huge black "haik," or mantle of camel's hair; they carry, besides a hh'and'giar, * a lance of prodigious length which they wield with exquisite skill. Their faces, naturally swarthy, have become quite dark from the constant action of the sun's rays; their head is bound by a scanty turban, over which a handkerchief of red, green, and yellow colours is slightly thrown, so as to protect the neck. At first, they are not discovered, but rising suddenly from the earth, they seem to have emerged from the gloomy recesses of the nether world. Many of them take up their abode in caves and grottoes, the sepulchral chambers of generations long forgot. Their look is most ferocious; and when beheld at night, in this deserted region, seated around a blazing fire, their appearance is any thing but earthly; and it requires no great stretch of the imagination to suppose them to be indeed the myrmidons of Pluto, sent forth from the gates of Tartarus, to see that none deprive the Monarch of his prey—to guard the suffocating avenues of death, and watch the Spirits that still linger, hovering about the confines of his murky realms, amid these nauseous, close, and dismal hollows, the sides of which are blackened by the bat, and skulking owl,—creatures which shun the day.

No sooner was our near approach observed, than we were surrounded by some of these rough, ill-favored gentry, who resolutely insisted that we could not do

* A long and slightly curved knife, like a y'attigh'an: and like it, also worn in the girdle.

without them, and that if we were rash enough to enter the Pyramids *alone*, we should never again behold the light of the sun; for that they were built by the "Spirits of darkness," and communicated with the centre of the earth,—that the small door which was barely visible above our heads, was, nevertheless, one of the "broad ways of death,"—that it led to the other world, and that no man could pass the threshold with impunity, &c. Finding us deaf to their entreaties, they told us with increased gravity, that it was the "abode of ghouls;" that if we so irreverently set their power at defiance, the *evil eye* would dwell upon us; and that neither charm nor talisman yet had been discovered that could avert its deadly influence! We passed slowly onwards, gazing alternately at the fierce forms that stalked at our side, and then pausing to contemplate the structure, which, if all were true that we had heard, was likely to become our *funeral pile*. When our *earthly monitors* observed us approach the Sphinx, which has been keeping watch at the door of the great Pyramid upwards of 3,000 years, their importunities increased, and we were much amused at the earnestness of their manner, their volubility of tongue, the nice subordination in which they held the muscles of their countenance, and their expressive gesticulations, — affording a striking contrast with the apathetic, deliberate, and taciturn demeanour of the Turks. We admired also their dark eye, and well-formed brawny limbs, but were little inclined to be intimidated by either; and certainly, no "Spirits of earth or air," nor "Demons dark," could alter our determination to enter and explore every hole and corner that we could, in and about these stupendous monuments of antiquity. But when our swarthy compa-

nions perceived that all their eloquence was employed in vain, and that we were so wicked as to smile at the idea of curses, spells, and incantations, they began to try other measures, and to hold out threats of a more tangible nature. They persisted in following us whereever we went, and declared that we should not enter the Pyramids without *their leave*,—demanded "Backscheesh," and, to judge from their altered tone and manner, were likely to be very troublesome; the words "Backscheesh," and "Flusse," ("a present," and "money") again rang in our ears, and were loudly reiterated on all sides, so that it was quite time to interfere. Osman Effendi led the way, brandishing his staff among them, like a true "Kavaass!" Many a heavy blow was dealt, and the party soon dispersed, leaving us masters of the field. No doubt they knew, from our being escorted by a Janizary, that we were under the protection of Mohammed Ali; and they had therefore, too much regard for their own welfare, to offer us any serious molestation.

Such is the Arab character:—by intimidation they will do much, and all that they can; but they are too shrewd to come to an open rupture with the neighbouring Authorities, without a serious provocation. For the sake of complying with an ancient custom, and to let them see that we were disposed to be friends, we distributed a few piastres among such of the party as were the best behaved; but not until they were convinced, that what we did by choice, *force* could not effect. We also accepted the services of two or three to assist our own attendants in looking after the animals, whilst they prepared our breakfast, &c. Some were anxious to "lend us a hand" in mounting, but this we altogether declined; they accompanied us,

nevertheless, and it was astonishing with what agility they made the ascent.

The calcareous rock on which the Pyramids stand, is rendered very rugged in appearance, in consequence of the sand accumulations and sepulchral grottoes which every where surround their base. The Pyramid of "Cheops" stood in awful majesty before us; and, viewed from below, its gradually sloping side appeared like a flight of ordinary steps; we were not a little surprised, then, to find that each of these stones, or tiers, was level with the chest, and that we had no other means of mounting, than to place the hands upon them, and so vault from the one range to the other. The dimensions of the steps vary; but they are upon the average, perhaps, three feet in height, and a foot or a foot and a half in width, so that there is little danger of falling for want of standing room; the range of terraces is, for the most part, firm and level, and there is no reason to apprehend that the foot will slip, unless the head turn giddy. About half way up, some of the stones are broken away, still the difficulty is not great; but it certainly is an awful thing to look down from such an eminence; and the sensation produced by the consciousness of our situation, is not altogether the most agreeable. A good head and a tolerable share of fortitude, are necessary to enable one to proceed. It was some time before I could muster courage to look around, and then I refrained from gazing long together. The scenery enlarged at every step, and the desert opened to view; but the most interesting object was the gradual expanse and course of the majestic Nile, as it was developed bending its way from among the mountains, even to the plains of Memphis, and the gracefully tapering minars of Misr. I continued to go on vaulting from one tier to another, and tried to forget

that I was on the Pyramid. At last, a perceptible change in the temperature convinced me that I must be getting into higher regions; and being told by one of the Arabs, that I was approaching the "half-way house," I resolved to prepare my mind for a good survey—should the Fates permit,—but I paused only to take breath, and then began again to prosecute my journey onwards to the summit; for, notwithstanding that I rested on one of the broadest terraces, I shuddered to look below, and clung fast hold of the rocky parapet that formed the next step on which I was to mount; it was not so high as many of the others, but such was the effect produced on my mind, on looking down this "dizzy height," that, for a moment, my limbs half refused their office—an universal thrill went through me, and I resolved to "look no more;" for, as I cast my eye upon the sandy plain, and tried to discover some familiar object, I began to think how I should ever get back. It appeared to me ten thousand times more difficult to get down than to get up; for in descending, it is impossible to help looking beneath one, and the scene is really so terrific to those unaccustomed to the task, that it requires no ordinary strength of constitution to accomplish it, and it would be no wonder, should the

> "brain turn, and the deficient sight
> Topple down headlong."

Although arrived at the upper step of this "Giant's Causeway," where there is plenty of room to move about, we hardly dare vault at once upon the summit; the situation is well calculated to try the strongest nerves. Breathless with excitement and exertion, we are glad to pause in some friendly nook until we become a little reconciled to our condition; for we feel as if a sudden gust of wind would cause us to make but two

steps of it to the bottom. We have, it is true, a range of thirty feet square; but we cannot forget that we are at an elevation considerably above that of the lantern of St. Paul's, and that there is, alas! no *iron-railing!* Another bound—and we reach the highest point,—the identical spot on which, in other days, the philosopher and the poet, the warrior and the chief, have undoubtedly stood, and contemplated in awful silence, the busy world beneath! Nothing can be more sublime; but the feelings which are then called forth, depend rather on association, the exquisite beauty of the climate, and the consciousness of our situation, than the actual grandeur of the landscape on which we gaze. There are no stupendous mountains with "snow-capp'd towers" and rugged cliffs, whose darkened sides mark the vicinity of some fearful region, the drear abode of "ghins and ghouls;" no sudden, over-hanging precipice, with gaping jaws and deep ravines—into the hollow of whose gloomy dells the raging torrent falls; no distant foam of variegated Iris hue, rising like a faint mist into the air, and by its constant melancholy roar, pointing out the boiling caldron of a cataract, the rushing of whose mighty waters tears up the kingly oak, the sycamore, and the pine,—and, detaching huge masses of the mountain's side, sweeps them in the angry flood, majestically on from tier to tier, and dashes them at length, with dreadful crash over the craggy parapet into the dark and fathomless abyss. Nor do we discover extensive forests of stately trees, where the red-deer love to range free and uncontrolled;—golden-headed crops sometimes *there are*, but none to cheer the honest *husbandman*, and crown *his* healthful labours with their just reward. Alas! we look in vain for peace and happiness in the poor Egyptian's hut,

and no where do we see the neat inviting cottage, whose woodbined front and gently curling blue smoke, denote prosperity and comfort, and a mind at ease.

The view from the summit of the Great Pyramid is bounded on the east, and partly on the north, and north-west, by parched mountains. As far as the eye can reach on the one side, is an arid melancholy waste, whose barren rocks, and dreary undulating surface proclaim at once the almost inexhaustible sands of Libya. Not a single cultivated spot is to be seen; and if here and there, a solitary stunted palm-tree raises its head above the drifting accumulations of the wilderness,—it is blasted and fruitless, and serves but to render the aspect more wretched. The appearance of an eagle watching his prey, a chameleon basking in the sun, and the occasional flight of a few small birds, for the most part solitary, or in pairs, are the only objects besides the Arabs and their tents, that are likely to change the monotony of the scene. Whilst gazing, however, intently upon the burning waste, absorbed in my own reflections, I descried afar off, in the S. W. quarter, amid sandy cones and stony irregularities, a caravan of forty or fifty camels suddenly emerging from behind a ridge of lime-stone rock, and slowly winding their way to the Imperial City. I had been so often mocked by the whimsical tricks of the "mirage," that at first, I thought myself deceived; but as I watched the moving mass, I could no longer doubt: my admiration of the camel increased; and it seemed as if no other creature was so well calculated to perform the various offices required of him by man, in his passage through the wilderness.

In the opposite direction, and to the south, we observed the rich and fertile valley of the Nile, abound-

ing in gardens, plantations of cotton, tobacco, and sugar, interspersed with fields of dhourra, rice, wheat, and Indian corn. The fig, the olive, and the date appear in clusters, and there are groves of sycamore, acacia, tamarisk, and a great variety of shrubs and plants. Yet all this, lovely as it may be on the spot itself, when viewed from the summit of the Pyramid, appears like a green streak drawn through the heart of the wilderness, and only tends to render the aspect of desolation more complete. In the midst, we behold the pale, blue smoke of Cairo, the city domes and lofty tapering minarets crowned by the barren Mokattam, the citadel, and, more remote, the wilderness of "On." Nearer, in front, are the town of ancient Babylon, its lofty tower, the ruins of a spacious mosque, and a noble aqueduct; the schools of Ibrahim, their plantations, the Island of Er-Rhoudd'ah with its beautiful shrubberies, and numerous small hamlets and magnificent kiosks which immediately skirt the river, whose loamy waters bend their rapid course from among the mountains in the distant south, and hurrying onwards to the sea, deposit their rich burden on Egypt's sandy plains. The valley of the Nile therefore abounds in every good, and affords a striking contrast with the land which lies beyond it. But in no part does it exceed eight miles in width, for it is shut in by the Libyan and anti-Libyan chains of mountains, running north and south. Immediately beneath, on the south-east side, half buried in the sand, is seen in a sitting posture, the celebrated Sphinx Colossus, looking towards the plains of Memphis. Near it, are traces of a spacious building; beyond, the Pyramids of Abousir, Sakh'arah, and Dashour, the False Pyramid, some scattered groves

of dates, and here and there a cluster of pigeon cotes, sure indication of a village, otherwise invisible to the naked eye. Turning towards the north, we behold, first, the palace of Ismael Pascha in the vicinity of Boulak, the bustling port of Cairo, which is crowded with d'germs and bales of goods; and secondly, the situation of Shoobrah. * Stretching far beyond, as far as the eye can reach, lie the once fertile plains of "Goshen," rich in pasture lands and cattle, *now* a parched and dreary waste, with scarcely a coarse blade of grass or prickly weed to assuage the camel's thirst, and altogether destitute of water. To the north-west and west, is the region of the Delta; in the present day, the garden of the land of Egypt. A short distance below Boulak, the river makes a sudden turn to the westward; and a few miles further, it divides into two great arms or branches, one leading to Damietta, and the other to Rosetta, or as the Arabs term it, "El Raschid." "Bakkarah," the point or head of the Delta, lies between the two, just at the bifurcation of the stream. Round about the base of the Pyramids, are vast numbers of sepulchral grottoes, generally of an oblong form, with sloping sides, and near them, for the most part, are some Arab tents. The Pyramid of "Cephrenes," the second in importance, stands to the south-west, about 120 yards off; and a little further on, beyond the Sphinx, we look down upon the third, the Pyramid of "Mycerinus," which is considerably smaller than the second. There are besides these, three others, one of which is nearly buried in the sand and rubbish: it is situated between the large Pyramid and the statue to the S. E. Some

* There are also numerous storehouses and factories; the custom-house, a couple of mosques, Ibrahim Pascha's palace, and a few other large buildings.

persons also particularly allude to one of these on account of its colour. They call it *the* fourth, or *red* Pyramid: it is small, and crowned by a single stone. Dr. Richardson tells us that an Arab once climbed to the top of it for "Backscheesh!" Abd'allatif describes it as being in his time, cased in granite.

The material of which these stupendous monuments are built, is of a calcareous nature; it is soft and white, and contains a great quantity of shells. The stones appear to have been every where joined by a palish pink cement. It took us about twenty minutes to reach the top; and something less to descend. Upon the whole, we did not find the task so laborious as we imagined it would be: it requires a good head, and some activity—no more: danger, there is none. Tradition informs us that a certain Ruler, imagining that the Pyramids contained treasure, conceived the idea of taking one of them down: that to accomplish this end, he commenced breaking away the stones at one corner, and having thus prepared a causeway or passage to the top, contrived to dislodge eight or nine layers of stone from the apex; but that when he had extended his operations so far, he abandoned the undertaking in despair. An opportunity has thus been afforded to travellers, not only to mount the Pyramid, but to hand down their name and country with that of the Pharaohs to future generations: numerous well-known individuals have employed their knife with considerable industry and skill upon the sides of the large blocks of limestone which have been exposed to view. When we find ourselves, for the first time, on the summit of the Great Pyramid, in the dead silence of the wilderness, left alone to our reflections, at a distance of three or four thousand miles from home, it is quite

impossible to reduce the thoughts to any thing like order. We are transported through the world, and the leading events of history pass rapidly in review before us, together with the phenomena displayed in the sublimer operations of Nature, which are continually exciting our wonder and admiration. Here too, we fancy we might sit, as on the great observatory of the earth, and contemplate the rise and progress of nations — the chequered fortunes of individuals — the advancement of civilization, science, and the arts—the force of habit and example—the variety of character and disposition exhibited in the human race—the resources of the mind when its talent is duly called forth, its degradation when perverted by luxury: how exalted it may become when nurtured and encouraged, how debased and brutal it often is when suffered to run to waste, and when the passions are uncontrolled. But the reflection that impresses us most, is of too serious a nature not to be devoutly felt, even by the sceptic, at such a moment: it is something that he would tremble to mistrust, and the truth of which he is conscious has been written in the most indelible characters upon his heart; for it refers to the wonderful constitution of the Universe — whose immensity has been made manifest to us finite beings only by the beauty and harmony displayed in the development of its several parts: yet the consideration of any one of those parts convinces us that there *must be* an omnipotent Creator, whose attributes are fully set forth in the most trifling atom, though they are boundless in wisdom, pre-eminent in design, and far exceed the limits of our comprehension. If any thing can inspire grateful thoughts, and raise the soul to God, it is the contemplation of His glorious works. Who then that

possesses a good heart, and has visited the Pyramids, can calmly consider these things, and not be struck with their truth? Such is the sublimity of the scene, that every object which we there behold, is calculated to awaken reverential feelings, and at no time perhaps is the mind of man so susceptible of good impressions. Awed by the situation in which he is placed, the ordinary transactions of life are, for a time, forgotten: and seated on this rocky eminence, he muses on the countless myriads of organized beings which inhabit the boundless tracts of the earth, and the unfathomable depths of the sea;—which wing their way through the air without control, carolling their Maker's praise, even to the confines of Heaven—and which gaze upon the sun in foreign climes, and take their flight throughout the wide expanse of Nature, as Nature bids,—they know not why,—at the appointed time, and come again,—as the day follows the night,—at the return of a more congenial season.

The origin of the Pyramids is still a mystery, and always may remain so; but there can be no doubt, that whatever was the precise object of their founders, they were associated, in a great degree, with the religion of the country; and although that religion admitted among its rites and ceremonies many wicked and idolatrous practices, that still the people *did* acknowledge one and the same great, merciful, and omnipotent Creator of all things, both in heaven and on earth,—that to Him and Him only they attributed the blessings they enjoyed, though they had been taught to worship and adore Him under various symbols, which they believed to be so many types or emblems of that great and universal Spirit of Providence,—that all-inspiring bountiful essence of the Deity, which

went forth at the Creation from the mouth of the Almighty, and has continued ever since to pervade all space, diffusing fresh vigour, beauty, and excellence; and without which vivifying principle, vegetation would cease, the system of the Universe would change, the seasons would no longer roll on—the sun, and moon, and planetary bodies would drop from their spheres, and chaos would come again! In order to feel the force of this, it is only necessary to bear in mind, that the peculiarities, doctrines, and mysteries of the Egyptian religion were founded on the idea that all the gifts of Nature emanated from one Great and Universal Principle,—and that the gods of Egypt were merely so many *forms* of the primitive objects of worship, as represented by the sun and moon: thus "Chemmis," * "Pan," "Mendes," (the "Esmun" of the Phœnicians,) signified "fecundating principle;" or according to some, "Immaterial Fire," or "*the first principle of all things.*" "Athor," the "Goddess of Night," was also called the "Mother of Gods and Men."

There is no doubt that temples were erected to her honor, and she was usually represented by a Cow. In like manner, "Isis" was generally drawn with a globe on her head, resting between two horns—the horns of the young moon—to imply that her generative influence embraces and fertilizes the whole earth; and she is often to be seen suckling the boy "Horus." "Neith" is also a form of "Isis;" it means "Nature."† Every figure that appeared on the walls of the Egyptian temples, was richly allegorical; of course, some were more important than others, but all had reference to

* "Shemyss, or Shemss," the Arabic word for Sun.

† This is proved by an inscription on her statue at "Sais."

the Divine Author of the Universe, and tended to exalt His name by the meaning it conveyed: thus: the serpent was an emblem of Wisdom—also of Eternity; and, when placed on the brow, of Sovereignty. The winged serpent ("Cnuphis") was a type of the "Good Genius," the "Agatho Dæmon" of the Greeks—the "Creator of the world." The "Crus Ansata," or "Key of the Nile," as it is termed, (because the overflow of the Nile enriches the soil, and causes it to bring forth an hundred-fold,) is supposed to be made up of the Circle, or Globe, which was emblematical of the "Preserver of the world," and the sacred "Tau" (the Greek letter T), which means, the "Wisdom which governs the world," and is, therefore, the monogram of "Mercury," "Thoth," or "Pthah". Mercury being also the supposed "Conductor of the dead," this symbol referred to a *future existence;* it signified "eternal life"—the *living*, i. e., the "principle of life," or of "organized matter." Another of the most common symbols, was the "Staff," or "Sceptre of Life and Power." It consisted of a common staff, having a pointed or bent head for its handle, which was supposed to express the "Watchfulness of the Divine Nature." It was the "Eye of Providence," and was therefore the united emblem of its "Security and Dominion." I have said enough, I think, to shew that the mystical signs employed by the ancient Egyptians in the constitution of their religion, were not only poetically beautiful, but consisted also of the most harmonious allusions to the Divine attributes. Moreover, at the very time when idolatrous worship was at its height, the Egyptians besought their King to let the Hebrews depart, "lest the curses of Heaven should be heaped upon them;" for they *feared* to incur the vengeance of *the God of*

Israel! We shall greatly err, therefore, if we suppose that the Egyptian religion was made up of mummeries which had *no meaning;* and we shall do its votaries an injustice, if we charge them with ingratitude to the Divine Author of their existence. We have reason to believe them to have been both talented and serious, and possessing too much genius to be indifferent to those obligations which the common light of Nature points out to every reflecting mind. Now, I have stated that "Isis" was represented by a Cow, with beautiful long horns, whose curves made the "Lunette" or "Moon;" and in the temples where "Isis" and "Athor" were worshipped, and even in others, it was no uncommon thing for milk-white cows to be preserved and fed in the adjoining meadows, and kept free from all labour. In some of the ruins, I have seen the places which were used for this purpose. The chief *living* object of adoration was "Apis," or "Mnevis," the "sacred bull." The animal was chosen of a black colour, and on his side were traced the lunar crescent, and other characteristic signs;—possessing any such marks *naturally*, the Bull became an object of peculiar adoration; he was decked out with lotus-flowers, fondled, and watched with devotional solicitude, as representing "Osiris," whose soul was believed to have taken refuge in the sanctuary of *his* body; and dying—his remains were embalmed and deposited with great pomp in one of the sacred edifices.*

* The large granite sarcophagus discovered in one of the chambers of the second Pyramid, was found to contain—not the remains of any *human* being, but the *bones of an ox*—supposed to be the Brahmin Bull. I have seen them, and they are, at this moment, in the possession of the Earl of Munster. The inference which I draw from these facts is, that the Pyramids, if not used as ordinary temples, were at least regarded by the Egyptians with great veneration,

Whether we wish to ascend the Great Pyramid, or enter it, we proceed in the same manner. We have first to climb over a quantity of sand and stone, on the north side; then taking somewhat of an oblique, or lateral direction, vaulting over a few tiers of masonry, we arrive at a small, narrow passage, about three feet and a half square, not quite midway between the corners, and on the sixteenth step. Finding us resolute, most of the Arabs had dispersed, leaving us to ourselves to take our chance, and cope with the "Evil Spirits" as we best could. A few remained behind, to watch (I suppose) and report whether we returned again to the world. Nothing daunted, and nothing loth, and depositing the cumbrous portion of our clothes without, we lighted tapers, and proceeded to explore the interior. Our astonishment increased at every step. The entrance is lined above and below, and on either side, with red granite—not porphyry, as some imagine. At the extremity of a passage, perhaps 92 feet in length, and inclining at an angle of about 26 degrees, we entered a kind of *forced* way to the right, which brought us to a rock about eight or nine feet high. This we climbed by placing our feet against the sides; we then entered another passage, about five feet high, and 100 feet long, taking the same sloping direction as before. Near the landing-place, at the top, is the opening of "the well," a most remarkable zig-zag shaft; it penetrates to a considerable depth, and leads to an apartment at the base of the Pyramid, cut out of the solid rock, and proved to be exactly under the central point of this mysterious pile. Some have supposed

containing, as they did, the emblematical tabernacle of their tutelar deity. I shall have occasion to return to this subject presently.

it to communicate with the Great Sphinx, and various other things have been surmised; but, the fact is, we know very little about it.*

Before us, lay two avenues; one a low, narrow passage of about 100 feet, terminating in the "Queen's Chamber;" the other, a continuation of the sloping passage which we had just left, taking the same direction upwards, to about 120 feet, and leading to the "King's Chamber," which is larger than the former, and situated immediately above it, although a considerable mass of stone intervenes. The roof and sides of these apartments are lined with single pieces of red granite, and there are holes communicating diagonally with the external air, for the purpose of ventilation. At the western end of the "King's Chamber," there is a red granite sarcophagus, placed with the head towards the north; it is equal in width to the main door of the Pyramid, and could not have been brought, by any contrivance, through the narrow passages which lead from it. It has neither ornament, inscriptions, nor hieroglyphics. There are in the N.W. corner, two *angular pits* of great depth, which are supposed to have been intended to receive mummies, but it is much more probable that they were tanks for *water*. We have no *proof* that any human body was ever interred in either of the Pyramids. It has been ascertained that the "King's Chamber" is, as nearly as possible, in the centre of the build-

* Herodotus states, that the tomb of "Cheops" was insulated by a canal from the Nile, and Mr. Salt imagined that he must have referred to this apartment; but it turns out that its base is thirty feet above the waters of the Nile, when they are at their highest; and it does not appear by what channel the Nile was ever brought into the Pyramid. Some believe it probable that another passage may branch off from this curiously contrived place into the "Θυια," or receptacle of the dead, mentioned by Strabo.—For further information on this point, see Barker's edition of Lempriére.

ing. Above it, is what has been called "Davison's Chamber," very similar to it in all respects. The entrance was ingeniously concealed. Colonel Vyse suspecting from the hollow and unequal sound produced in different parts of this chamber, that there must be some more cavities not far off, set some engineers to work, and by boring through the roof, discovered four, one above the other; they presented no object of interest, and are supposed to have been intended merely to relieve the lower apartments of a portion of the superincumbent weight. * Before quitting "Davison's Chamber," we fired a pistol, which occasioned an echo like thunder. The two larger Pyramids were opened by the Saracens, and most industriously closed up again by them; for what reason, no one can tell; and all the passages were found to be obstructed by fragments of stone and rubbish, so that they could only be explored upon the hands and knees, until Captain Caviglia and Mr. Davison, in their zeal for Egyptian literature, caused them to be cleared.

The Pyramid of "Cephrenes," the next in situation and in size, does not differ much from that of "Cheops." Herodotus imagined that it contained no apartments, merely because it was closed in his time, and tradition so reported; but it is surprising that such a man should subscribe to such an opinion. We are indebted to the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Belzoni, for a knowledge of the contrary. That enterprising individual was not to be put off with "on dits;" he

* The first of these has been called the "Wellington Chamber," the second, the "Nelson Chamber," the third, the "Arbuthnot Chamber," and the uppermost of all, which has an apex or pointed roof, the "Campbell Chamber." See Colonel's Vyse's "Operations at the Pyramids of Ghizeh in 1837, with a Voyage to Upper Egypt."

carried on his laborious investigations under the auspices of H. B. M.'s Consul, Mr. Salt, and was guided entirely by philosophic principles.* He strictly observed the situation of the entrance to the large Pyramid: he reflected that the passage leading from it, ran in a direct line to the east side of the "King's Chamber," that this chamber was nearly in the centre of the entire mass, and, that consequently, the entrance must be as far from the mid-way portion of the façade as the centre of the chamber was from the east side of it. Previous investigations had proved, that the Egyptians, in the planning and building of their temples, invariably observed the same scientific rules in every instance, and that they gave strong indication of their knowledge of astronomy, and the general system of the Universe. That they believed the earth to be round, and the planets to follow a direct course in the heavens, is proved beyond all doubt: and they also imagined the tides to be under the immediate influence of the moon. In constructing the Pyramids, they selected the ground, and determined their relative bearings, in direct accordance with astronomical principles; they made the four sides correspond with the four Cardinal Points; and the most important of them

* Having noted the situation, form, and bearing of the Pyramid, he first began to explore the eastern side, because immediately in front of it, and between it and the Sphinx, he found the ruins of a temple, which he thought, might once have formed the chief approach to the Pyramid, judging from analogy; for some of the stones composing the outer walls, were twenty-four feet long. He cut through large masses of rock, thinking to find a passage; but there was none. Having removed a quantity of rubbish, he found that the Pyramid was surrounded by a pavement or causeway; and he supposed that the Pyramid was built at the same time as the Sphinx and the Temple. He then turned his attention to the north side, and after sixteen days' toiling, found a *forced* opening, penetrating to about 100 feet, possibly the work of the Saracens or Romans; and, as if to conceal their want of success, they had ingeniously closed up the gap. See Belzoni's "Travels," and "Hamilton's Egyptiaca."

to face the North or Polar Star: in all the Pyramids which have been opened (amounting, I believe, to five, that is, of any consequence) the principal passage is found to preserve the same inclination of 26° to the horizon, being directed also to the polar star: again, the obliquity of the Pyramids is precisely so adjusted, as to make the north-front coincide with the obliquity of the sun's rays at the summer solstice—the four sides are therefore strongly associated with the four seasons: —moreover, the Egyptians connected astronomy with their religious ceremonies, and their funereal obsequies;—for Zodiacs are found, not only in their temples, but on the walls of their tombs:—they buried their dead also to the westward, in reference to the sun's course in the heavens, and the return of chaos, as poetically exemplified in the return of night, and by death. These, and many other considerations of the like kind, combined to confirm Belzoni in the views which he entertained, and encouraged him to proceed in the work which he had undertaken. Although opposed in a variety of ways, and labouring under many disadvantages, which would not occur again, he persevered, and the greater the obstacles which he had to encounter, the more resolute did he become. Having by dint of study, and attentive observation, acquired something like correct data to go upon, he returned to the second Pyramid, and commenced a scrutinizing examination of the north side: he went direct to the central point, that is, between the lateral angles — the spot which he had previously opened; he then began to measure the distance, assured that if his reasoning were correct, he could not be very far from the object of his search. When he had climbed about thirty feet laterally, he cast his eye steadily along the surface, and

was transported with joy to behold precisely similar marks to those which led him to examine the centre. He already fancied himself within the sacred depositories of the dead. He set to work with renewed ardour, and exposed the first granite stone on the 28th of Feb. 1816: on the first of March, he uncovered three other large blocks, and on the 3rd, he found himself in front of the right entrance. His feelings may be more easily conceived than described, — he passed along a granite passage (4 feet by 3 feet 6,) descending towards the centre at an angle of 26°—for the distance of 104 feet 5 inches, where he met with the first serious impediment in the shape of a granite portcullis, fifteen inches thick. It had been placed in a groove, and was raised with considerable difficulty: the passage then continued through the solid rock, to a perpendicular shaft of fifteen feet, which Mr. Belzoni descended by a rope, assisted by holes cut in the sides for the feet. At the bottom, he found another passage, running, first downwards, then horizontally, then upwards, in a northerly direction to the centre—where there is a spacious chamber hewn out of the native rock, and containing a granite sarcophagus.* The walls like those of the passages, were black with age and smoke, though sparkling with incrustations.† Two other passages were explored—one leading to a chamber in the west, and one to a portcullis similar to the first named, but thrown down. The avenue then takes

* Its dimensions are 8 feet by 3 feet 6, and 2 feet 3 in depth. It is destitute of hieroglyphics, ornaments, and inscriptions: but held the bones of "Apis," the sacred Bull, already mentioned.

† A few inscriptions in the old Arabic also appeared. One of them distinctly recorded the opening and closing up of the Pyramids by the Saracen Chiefs Mohammed Ahmed, Othman, and the Sultan Alij Mohammed. See the Quarterly Review, vol. xix. p. 201.

a direction upwards, at an angle of 26°, and communicates, as it would seem, with a second outlet; but which is still closed. It would be very important to ascertain this; as it might furnish a valuable clue for further investigation. This Pyramid, like the others, is built of a soft compact limestone, of a greyish white colour, and replete with shells, like the rock on which it stands; and within half a mile to the east and south, are extensive quarries of the same material. The steps on the north side, are broken; and on the south side, the facing being partly removed, it is neither difficult nor dangerous to ascend to a certain height: but beyond this point, the limestone casing extends to the apex, and presents nearly a smooth, plane surface. Niebuhr was rash enough to climb to the top, and others have done the same; but the danger is very considerable, and I am sorry to say, Europeans without reflecting, sometimes tempt the poor Arabs to undertake this feat for money.

On one occasion, a Frenchman engaged, for a wager, to take an ass up to the top of the large Pyramid. It will scarcely be believed that human nature is so depraved, but such is the fact; and there were also monsters enough to be found, who could deliberately look on, and suffer it. The result may easily be guessed: the reckless brute gained his wager, because he certainly did contrive to get the wretched creature up,—but there he left him, declaring with a laugh, that he did not engage to "bring him down again:"—and this was talked of by his accomplices, as *a good joke*. Of course the animal was killed in his struggles to descend.

The quantity of material employed in the largest of these Pyramids, is said to be just three times that of the vast break-water thrown across Plymouth Sound; it is

estimated at about six millions of tons; and we are *told* that a hundred thousand men were employed for twenty years, before the work was completed. It consists of upwards of 200 tiers, of different dimensions, forming, as it were, a gigantic flight of steps; and the whole was formerly cased in fine stone or marble, and covered with symbolical delineations on a large scale; which, had they been preserved, might possibly have led to a discovery of its early history.* It is said to occupy a square of 746 feet, which is equivalent to the area contained by the inner railing of Lincoln's Inn Fields. Its slope amounts to 800 feet, and it measures 461 feet perpendicular, which makes it 24 feet higher than St. Peter's at Rome, and 117 feet higher than St. Paul's; but, according to the best authorities, it is not so high as the spire of Strasburg Cathedral, by 33 feet.†

* Belzoni was of opinion, that although there was such a casing in the other two large Pyramids, it was wanting in this the largest; but analogy would lead us to expect that there was one.

† The Pyramid of Cheops ..	Measures in the slope	800	feet.
	,, in the square	746	,,
	,, in the perpendicular	461	,,
The Pyramid of Cephrenes ..	Measures at the base	684	,,
	,, in the perpendicular	456	,,
The Pyramid of Mycerinus ..	Measures at the base	280	,,
	,, in the perpendicular	162	,,
St. Peter's at Rome.....	The entire height.....	437	,,
St. Paul's Cathedral, as it stood in 1561.....	The entire height to the top of the wooden spire.....	520	,,
St. Paul's Cathedral in 1835..	The entire height to the top of the cross	344	,,
	From the floor to the lantern	330	,,
The Spire of St. Stephen's Church at Vienna.—Entire height		430	,,
		460	,,
The Spiral Tower of Salisbury Cathedral: the highest stone building in England		404	,,
The Monument in London		202	,,
The Spire of Strasburg Cathedral		494	,,

It would be an unnecessary repetition of what is to be found in other works, were I to enter upon a more particular description of the Pyramids. I do not profess to write an account of the antiquities of Egypt, though, at the same time, I am unwilling to pass over so interesting a subject in silence.—Consult the writings of Pococke, Burckhardt, Richardson, and Denon.—"The Modern Traveller" also, contains a very interesting compendium of all that is known on these points. See also Grieves's "Pyramidographia."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PYRAMIDS: THEIR ORIGIN AND USE—THE SHEPHERD KINGS—THE HEBREW CAPTIVITY—GOSHEN, AND THE KINGDOM OF "ON"—ANCIENT SEPULCHRES—THE SPHINX COLOSSUS—MEMPHIS—MYTHOLOGICAL REMARKS, ETC.

THE Pyramids of Egypt may justly be ranked among the "Chronicles of the world"—whose volumes are filled with the most eventful history; nevertheless, as regards themselves, they are *a sealed book*. We may admire their beauty, symmetry, and grandeur, and speculate concerning their uses, but their origin is involved in mystery; they have excited the wonder of all classes, in every period since the flood, and the warrior, the senator, and the sage, have alike been attracted to the spot. Pythagoras, Plato, Herodotus, and Germanicus went on the same pilgrimage; many Persian, Greek, and Roman princes—Cyrus, Alexander, Napoleon, and Smith—and a host of enlightened individuals in modern times, have also beheld them; yet, the founder's design has never been *fully* ascertained. The method by which the materials were conveyed to the spot, and raised to such an elevation when brought, has only been surmised. It was, for a long while, a matter of ingenious speculation with the French, what

plan could be devised for removing, even the obelisque of Luxor to Europe! and the undertaking was accomplished at last, at an expense of about a million of francs (40,000*l.*)!—from which it appears, that notwithstanding the progress made by us in the arts and sciences, the ancient Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the people of India, had resources within themselves of which we have no notion. That ingenuity was not discouraged by difficulties, is obvious; and if we consider only the mutilated specimens of the works which remain, and which man has done more to obliterate than the hand of Time, we shall see that in these remote regions it is, that we must look for the source of that intellectual spring which has gradually percolated the earth, and which, whilst it has removed the crudities of our nature, has not only given a polish to the surface, and rendered us more acceptable to each other, but considerably increased our intrinsic merit,—so that, aided by the principles of justice which the Christian religion has disseminated, we have become more useful, more rational, and upon the whole, better,—thereby approximating in some degree (let us hope) to the blessed state of our first parents before the Fall; and which, we are assured by revelation, will again be established on the earth, and serve to denote the second coming of our God. We gather from this, a confirmation of the words of Solomon, "that there is nothing *new*"—nothing that the eye of man hath not seen, nor his other senses experienced in some shape or degree. Every thing was created *at a word,—entire—perfect,*—and nothing is lost. It is still the disposition of man to tyrannize over his fellow when he can, and the weak *must* succumb to the strong. In reflecting, therefore, on the structure and origin of the Pyramids, we are im-

pressed with the idea that a work of such magnitude could only be accomplished by a powerful, ambitious monarch, who compelled his enslaved people, and those whom he had taken in battle, to aid him in the cause—or else, that the undertaking had reference to some important national object, about which *all* felt interested, —that being influenced by devotional zeal, they contributed their money and their labours with a cheerful heart, and, like the builders of the temple of Solomon, rejoiced that they were permitted to raise an altar to the Divine Being. There is too much reason, however, to fear, that the former was the case; and that the Pyramids were erected, like the Tower of Babel, to gratify the ambition of certain proud and haughty princes, who were anxious to do something to signalize their reigns, and ingratiate themselves with a crafty and designing priesthood, who, as we have seen, in after ages, held the people in the most abject of intellectual slavery. But the cruelties committed by these despotic rulers do not appear to have been greater than some which have disgraced the pages of modern history. The question has often been asked, whether the Pyramids were not built by the Israelites, during the period of the Egyptian bondage? To which I answer—"Certainly not!" That the Jews were enslaved, and compelled to perform many arduous tasks, is proved. On the walls of the tombs at Thebes, we see them distinctly represented, making bricks, and employed in a variety of ignoble ways, the Egyptian overseer sitting cosily by, and holding a rod or scourge. We see them toiling in the heat of the sun, and every species of indignity is being heaped upon them: but no allusion is made to the Pyramids; whereas, there can be little doubt that if the Hebrews had been engaged in a work

of such consequence, the fact would have been recorded with other historical events, especially on the walls of the Theban temples, where the Jews *are* represented as being led away captive, and where the mighty deeds of the Egyptian monarchs are so vauntingly set forth. If other arguments were wanting, the entire absence of any such delineation would itself afford sufficient evidence that the Kings who built the temples, had nothing to do with the building of the Pyramids; for we may rest assured they would otherwise not have forgotten to have told us of it. Historians are agreed that the Pyramids of Ghizeh are much older than any of the temples now remaining; and that they were most probably built by captives from the plains of Shinar, and neighbouring nations—(descendants of the children of Ham.) I believe them to be the most ancient edifices in the world, next to the Tower of Babel, and to have been planned very much after the same model. The kingdom of "On" appears to have existed long before the invasion of the "Cherethim," and to have flourished sooner than is generally supposed, after the arrival of Misraim, the grandson of Noah, who, it seems, led the first colony into Egypt, about 200 years before the deluge.

Many years are known to have elapsed after the departure of the Israelites, before the seat of Government was removed to "Memphis," or "Noph," an entirely new city. The followers of Moses are stated to have built several towns, "treasure, or store-cities"—more properly perhaps, granaries, and fortresses! The chief of these were "Pithom," and "Rameses." The exact site of the former is disputed: but it was somewhere to the north of "On," and is supposed to have been the same with "Heroum," or "Heroopolis," a

town said to have been situated on the Arabian Gulf, but of which not a trace remains. If so, it was a frontier town leading to Idumæa—but we have no data to go upon; and from the name, it is more likely, I think, that "On," and "Heroum," or "Heroopolis" were identical. "Rameses" occupied a prominent situation on the banks of the Nile, about seven miles above the present Kahira, a little to the south of the ancient "Lateopolis," or "New Babylon," which was subsequently possessed by the Persians. It was opposite the island of "Er-Rhouddah," and flanked by the "mountain of Arabia," or "D'gebbel Mokattam," about midway between the entrance to the "Valley of Hiroth," and the "Plains of On." The whole district was fertile, and celebrated for its gardens: and thus it happened, that the mother of the Jewish Lawgiver availed herself of the expedient of placing her devoted infant in the path of the king's daughter, when walking in the royal shrubberies of "Er-Rhouddah"—well knowing that here she could watch over her babe in peace.

It is ascertained beyond all doubt, that even at this early period, Egypt had made considerable advances in science, and was looked up to as a great country. Nevertheless, she was open to the incursions of the neighbouring States, and seems at one time to have been subdued by a powerful and warlike tribe, descended from Cush. They were the sons of Caslu-him, who was the son of Misr. They are known to us as the "Shepherd Kings,"—they were called the tribe of "Hyc-Sos," or "Huc-Sos," by the Aborigines; and are supposed by the best Authorities, to be identical with the Philistines, and the Phœnicians. As a clue to the subject in point, let us inquire a little

more particularly, reasoning from the facts which we already possess.

The native territory of the "Shepherd Kings" probably extended over the whole peninsula which stretches between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; but it was unquestionably situated on the east of the Nile, and extended to the river "Sihor," termed in Scripture, the "River of Egypt," because it formerly marked the boundary line of that country, and divided the wilderness of "Paran" from Judea. But they began to encroach in Abraham's time: for "Beer-sheba," the place where the Patriarch made a covenant with Abimelech, the Phœnician Governor, was no longer in "Paleseth," or "Philistia," which was the name given to a small portion of land on the more southern frontier which the Canaanites did not hold,—but whose King we read, resided at "Gerar," which is at the western extremity of the "Land of Goshen,"—strictly so called,—a beautiful district, inclosed on three sides by mountains, affording excellent pasturage for cattle, and having a rich fertile valley in the midst, which was well watered by the river "Bezor."* Although the "Huc-Sos," or "Philitim," reigned in Egypt during the whole of Abraham and Isaac's time, they had not much power along the eastern coast. Abimelech, the "Lord of Gerar," who was reproved by Abraham, on account of the depredations of his people, might be considered as a Feudal or Border Prince, commanding in "Auaris," or "Goshen," paying tribute to the Shepherd King, who was the Pharaoh of Egypt, the principal seat of Government then being

* See Exod. xv. 14; 1 Sam. xxi. 10; Gen. xxi. 32—34; x. 19. Consult also "Faber on the Origin of Idolatry," Beke "On the Dispersion of Mankind," and Yeates "on the Scripture History of Ancient Egypt."

"On." In confirmation of these statements, we are assured that, during the days of Abraham and Isaac, Egypt was subject to the first dynasty of the Shepherd Kings, who were Cuthim, Cherethim, or Phœnicians, and consequently Ethiopic emigrants—the remnant of Casluh and Caphtor,—the sons of Misr, who had conquered Egypt.* In the days of Jacob, the Israelites went from Canaan into Egypt, to buy corn. The old man himself followed, and was presented by his son Joseph, and "stood before the King." And the sons of Jacob implored the King by reason of the scarcity, that they might be permitted to "dwell in Goshen." Their prayer was heard. "In the land of *Goshen* let them dwell," said Pharaoh. "And Joseph gave his father and his brethren a possession in the *land of Egypt*, in the best of the land, in the *land of Rameses*." The two expressions here used are synonymous—Egypt being called "Rameses," in honour of the reigning dynasty.

This interview took place at "On;" and the Patriarch in his hundred and thirtieth year, "blessed Pharaoh." Being allowed to settle in the land, they became prosperous and powerful; at length they excited the envy and jealousy of the natives, who had a natural antipathy to shepherds. A new King arose,

* The authorized version of the Bible dates the Creation .	4004 B.C.
,, ,, the Deluge .	2348 ,,
The first Pyramid is supposed to have been begun about .	2095 ,,
Abraham visited Egypt about . . .	2077 ,,
The Shepherd Kings were expelled, about . .	1899 ,,
Joseph was appointed Governor, or Regent . .	1872 ,,
Jacob's family settled in Goshen . . .	1863 ,,
Joseph died in the year	1792 ,,
The Exodus of the Israelites is dated . . .	1648 ,,

The seat of Government was transferred from On to Memphis: but Thebes did not flourish until several hundred years after the invasion of the Shepherd Kings. Kahira is a comparatively *modern* city, having been built subsequent to the Moslem conquest; viz. towards the end of the 10th century.

"who knew not Joseph,"* and the day of adversity drew near. Moses and Aaron were sent to their relief, and in due time, they were emancipated from bondage. On emerging from the wilderness, they established themselves in the "Promised Land," and by degrees, succeeded in driving out the Philistines, who had gained possession of the cities on the coast, and in the time of Joshua, divided the country into five principalities; viz. Gaza, Askelon, Ashdod, Gath, and Ekron.† Thus ended the career of these remarkable people. No doubt is entertained of their identity with the "Phanakim," or Phœnicians. They came originally from the oriental "Cusha'dwhip," and invaded Egypt, where they managed to hold the people in subjection, during more than a century. At last, when their tyranny could no longer be endured, they took refuge among the mountains, and endeavoured to settle on the coast. They established colonies in various parts of Europe, which in like manner, they were ultimately compelled to abandon.‡ At a subse-

* It is generally supposed that by this phrase is meant "*a new dynasty*"—for the memory of Joseph's Ministry must have lasted a considerable time, the Patriarch himself living 110 years, and having held office eighty years.

† 1 Sam. xxi. 10.—Read Judges, 2 Sam., 2 Kings, and 2 Chron.

‡ In the language of Western Asia, the term "Pali," denotes Shepherds, and "stan," or "sthan," means land;—united, "Palesthan," or land of the Shepherds, —a warlike people, who lived in tents, and wandered by degrees over Asia, and a great part of Europe: they disputed the coast of Syria with Abraham: they held possession of Lower and Middle Egypt: they gradually spread into Africa, Arabia, and Hindostan, and still occupy the western shores of the Red Sea, where they are called "Berbers," from the Roman title of "Barbaria," literally "Shepherds." They are well known on the Tigris; and in various parts of Europe, several cities still retain their name. They established themselves at Carthage, in Italy, Sicily, and Spain; and subsequently settled in Wales, Ireland, Devonshire, and Cornwall. When Captain Hindmarsh, who commanded a British Man-of-War, was in the Mediterranean, he fell in with a curious looking craft that was evidently in distress. He lay-to for her—the men on board were Syrians, and had been driven out to sea, by adverse winds: they were without charts or compass, and had nothing to eat. All this he as-

quent period, the Jews were led captive into Egypt by Shishak, or Shishonk; and it is their sufferings on this occasion, that we see depicted on the walls at Thebes. For a long time, the Jews could not forget how they had been enslaved and persecuted by their "hard task masters" in Egypt: and on the other hand, the Philistines remembered with sorrow, how their race had been beaten and dispersed, after their rash and impious pursuit of the Israelites; and they continued to be inveterate enemies for 700 years.* The Pyramids are believed then to have been built by the Shepherd Kings, and not by those whose names they bear, though *they* also enslaved the people, and were in constant fear lest, when they died, the country might refuse to inter them according to the established rites. That the work was superintended and planned by powerful and extraordinary individuals, is certain; and whether the early projectors were actuated by piety or self-aggrandizement, it is quite clear that the Pyramids were associated with the religion of the day. I conceive that they are to be viewed in the same light as the altars erected by the worshippers of Baal, on Mount Pisgah, and other "High Places," which, in my lectures, I have had occasion to describe; and that like many of the Druidical and old Phœnician monuments, they were dedicated to the worship of *the unknown God.*† I regard the Pyramids as the first

certained through a Welsh lady who happened to be on board the English ship, and who was surprised to find that her own language enabled her to act as interpreter.

* See Joshua xiii. 2, 3; xv. 45 to 47; Judg. iii.; l. 4; Jer. xlvii. 4; Ezek. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5; 1 Sam. xxx., and Exodus.

† The Tower of Babel formerly erected on the spot now called "Birs-Nimrod," was 700 feet high, and consisted of eight steps or platforms. Sir R. K. Porter describes it as "a prodigious pile of unburnt bricks, cemented with mud and reeds in horizontal layers, and still rising to the enormous height of 200

temples constructed by the Egyptians; and I believe, that, like the Pagodas of India (the country from which these mysterious people derived their knowledge)—they were built in solitary places, in imitation of the practices adopted in the *earliest* ages of the world, by the Patriarchs, who "erected altars to the living God" in remote districts; and both then, and since, even in the days of Solomon, the people, having no other places of worship, used to "retire to the mountains," or assemble in some other sequestered spot, for the purpose of engaging in prayer, and here they set up "an heap of stones!"

Throughout the whole of the Egyptian mythology, there is one very remarkable and predominant feature: *the reverence evinced for the early founders of the human race.* All the religious symbols employed, had reference to the origin and history of the immediate descendants of Adam or of Noah,—the parent stock of the Old and the New world. The discoveries which are annually made in regard to the hieroglyphics, all tend more or less to this point; and it is very interesting to find that they combine to establish correct data for future investigations. Many curious things have lately come to light; the pictures that adorn the walls of the tombs of the Kings at Thebes, especially that of Psammis, opened by Belzoni, develop so many facts concerning the ancient usages of the inhabitants, (and among others, the peculiar doctrine of numbers), that we begin to feel much more confidence than we

feet." It is believed to have been devoted to the mysteries of "Sabaism." The Pyramids at Benares and other parts of India were of this kind, and there is just such an one at Medun in Egypt. Some Sepoys who once accompanied a division of the British army to Upper Egypt, were so struck with the resemblance of the temples to those of Budha on the banks of the Indus, that they immediately fell down before the colossal statues, and began to worship them.

formerly did, in the result of our enquiry. The idea which most prevails concerning the Pyramids, is, that they were designed to become the burial places of the Great. If they were so, the royal founders must have had a two-fold object in view, viz. Religion and Sepulture. I have stated that Apis or Mnevis, as the sanctuary of the soul of Osiris, was the chief living object of adoration : the bones of the Sacred Bull were found in the large granite sarcophagus in the Pyramid of "Cephrenes :"—we know too, that both Isis and Athor, i.e. Nature and Night, were represented by a cow, and that the cow was kept and fed in the meadows attached to the temples, dedicated to these goddesses,—being led forth on particular occasions, in processions, decorated with garlands and ribbons. The reputed founders of the Pyramids, like the owners of the excavated sepulchres at Thebes, did no doubt, intend them to become the future sanctuaries of their own souls, which they thought would one day resume their earthly tabernacles ; and, believing in an intermediate state of existence, they conceived that they might occasionally revisit the world *in spirit*. This induced them to shut themselves up from time to time, that they might *hold commune* with their departed relatives in the *tombs*, which therefore, it would appear, were dedicated not only to the mystic Trinity, in common with the practice adopted in regard to all other temples, but also to some favourite deity in particular, just as, in Roman Catholic countries, and among the Greeks, churches and altars are dedicated to the Virgin or some favourite saint. Thus, the Pyramid of "Cephrenes" may have been held sacred to Apis, Mnevis, or Osiris ; and in conformity with the established rites, some highly favoured bull which had been

long preserved, caressed, and pampered, in one of the temples at On, having paid the debt of Nature, we may suppose, was carefully embalmed, and suffered to lie in State; that numerous oblations and sacrifices were then made to it by the priests, in the presence of the people; after which, that it was carried in solemn pomp, across the river to the Second Pyramid, and there with sundry august ceremonies, deposited in the red granite sarcophagus.

We may picture to ourselves the Kings of Egypt from generation to generation, until their final overthrow at the period of the Persian invasion, going in great State to offer to the divinity within the secret recesses of the Pyramid, before setting out on an expedition, and on other important occasions; just as in modern times, the Pope might visit any particular church or shrine, attended by the cardinals, dignitaries, and priests, and followed by the pious multitude who seek a blessing at his hands. That such, or something like it, was the case in Egypt, I think very probable.* We have, however, a great deal still to learn respecting the Pyramids; it is possible that there are rooms yet undiscovered, and some imagine that there is a

* It is worthy of remark, that every tomb, even those of private individuals, has been apparently provided with an *altar*, and a niche or recess for some honoured idol. In the paintings at the "Beban el Molook" at Thebes, and in every temple throughout the country, the King is represented offering to the different deities, attended by his officers of State. We see in many instances, Isis and Osiris sitting side by side upon thrones, whilst Sesostris or some other King, is offering before them. When Mr. Wilford described the great Egyptian Pyramid to some very learned Brahmins in India, they declared it at once to have been a *temple*; and one of them asked "if it had not a communication with the river?" Being informed that there was a deep *well* which some thought might have received water from the Nile, they instantly replied that "it was a place appropriated to the worship of "Padma Devi," and that the supposed tomb was a trough, which *on certain festivals*, the priests used to fill with the sacred water and lotus-flowers." See pp. 272-3. The reader will do well to consult "The Mythology of the Hindus," by Chas. Colman—a very interesting work.

secret passage communicating with the Great Sphinx. The third Pyramid has lately been examined by Col. Vyse. He found in it a chamber which had been entered by the Arabs about 800 years ago. It contained a sarcophagus with the mummy of a *Bull* in it ;* and on the wall was written in curious old Arabic characters, the word "Bismillah!" Nothing can be more evident, than that the ancient Egyptians believed in a future State ; and, supposing the Pyramids really to have been tombs, the royal founders of them may have conceived the idea, that after death, they might there be associated *in spirit*, with the Gods, and tranquilly await the joys of the resurrection. If I am right in my conjectures, the people regarded the Pyramids as the "High Places" of their devotion, the "Holy of Holies," in which the most profound mysteries were performed, and from which the *uninitiated* were excluded : at the same time, having been early instructed in the symbolical delineations of their religious code, and taught from infancy, to view with superstitious awe, the cunningly devised practices of the priests and soothsayers, we may imagine the effect

* This fact effectually does away the objection started by Dr. Richardson about the sarcophagus found in the Pyramid of "Cephrenes," which, being only "eight feet seven inches long, two feet and a half broad, and two feet five inches deep," he remarks, is "of a mighty odd configuration if made to contain the embalmed carcase of a *Bull*." The embalming of animals was conducted by the Egyptians, in a very different manner from that of human beings ; especially the larger animals : many parts were removed, and the outward form of the creature was then completely changed ; it was somewhat elongated and flattened, the paws being placed close to the body—in proof whereof, (if such were wanting) we need only refer to the alabaster and earthen mummy-pots and vases, which are to be seen in every museum, and which are so often represented on the walls of the tombs at Q'hournah, and of the tombs of the Kings, before mentioned. Besides, the object of Egyptian veneration was the *Brahmin* Bull of India, a comparatively small animal, specimens of which may be seen at the Zoological Gardens ; so that the sarcophagus is just the sort of shape and size that one would have expected it to be. See the works of S. Rosellini, Wilkinson, and Denon.

which would be produced on their minds, when a mighty despot like Suphis (Cheops) went forth, surrounded by the most venerable of the priests of Isis, to worship in either of these the "Temples of the Egyptian Trinity," for such the Pyramids almost seem to have been, and may hereafter prove.*

Having gratified our curiosity about the Pyramids, we proceeded to examine some of the numerous tumuli and sepulchral grottoes which lie scattered about in the valley of the Sphinx, and are to be seen, half buried in the sand, to the north and east, even to the borders of the "great river." They are so numerous, that they have been aptly enough compared to the graves in a church-yard surrounding the church. We are chiefly indebted to Mr. Caviglia for opening them. There is no doubt whatever of their being mausolea; *human mummies* have been found in them, surrounded by all the paraphernalia of death, and attended by some favorite idols.

These receptacles of the dead are for the most part of an oblong form; they are flat-roofed, and constructed of large masses of stone; they are very little ornamented, and the light is imperfectly admitted. The internal walls are either of fine, soft limestone, or covered with stucco; they are embellished with paintings of great antiquity—yet I do not believe them to be so old as the Pyramids. I conceive that the ancient

* There are three principal Pyramids. May not the first have been dedicated to *Isis*, the second to *Osiris*, and the third to Typhon? There is a fourth also distinguished, though much smaller than the other three. May not this have been dedicated to the boy *Horus?* The facts to which I have briefly alluded, seem to justify the idea. Any speculation on such points, in the present state of our knowledge, if founded on correct reasoning, analogy and history, may ultimately lead to good. The most important discoveries in Science have sometimes originated in the merest trifles, to wit,—the falling of an apple from a tree, or the innocent prattle of an infant, which has puzzled many a *philosopher*.

Egyptians were as anxious to be buried in the shadow of the Pyramids, as the ancient Hebrews were, and the Jews still are, to be buried in the valley of Jehoshaphat, near the tomb of Zechariah, and in the shadow of the temple of Solomon; and I regard this spot as, in fact, *the cemetery of the inhabitants of* "*On.*" Memphis may, in after ages, have extended it, but I am of opinion that many of these grottoes date their origin to a much earlier period, if they were not coeval with the Pyramids themselves.* The apartments in some of them are very beautiful, being covered with bas-reliefs, and variously coloured delineations of the prevailing customs of the time in which the proprietors of the tombs lived; and it is probable, that if they could *all* be explored, these chambers would afford connecting links in the chain of Egyptian history. We see there, representations of animals grazing; men employed in the various departments of agriculture, pressing grapes, filling skins with oil, depositing grain in magazines, ploughing, &c., preparing various articles of furniture, and employed with boats; we see also a representation of a feast, at which the tawny faces of the "almeh" (dancing girls) are conspicuous; the musicians are playing on the harp, flute, pipe, or clarionet, tambour, and other instruments. The colours are generally very fresh; and the whole are surrounded by hieroglyphics, which, I am sorry to say, have, in parts, been much injured. Mr. Salt considered these to be, *without exception, the most ancient galleries of Art extant in*

* This idea is confirmed by the fact that, at Heliopolis, or "On," no remains of tombs are to be seen, although there is reason to believe that the city extended nearly, if not quite, to the Nile, a canal or branch of which river, the Scriptures tell us, passed through it. The inhabitants probably preferred building their habitations a short distance from the Nile, to avoid the inundations; yet, in conformity with their religious notions, buried their dead *in the west*, as did also the Thebans. See Chapter XI.; also Vol. I. Chap. XIII.

the known world. The Egyptian drawings of the human figure, here, as in many other places, though spirited, are generally out of proportion; and they are all profiles:—there is no attempt at shading; except it be in the representations of the animals, which are superior to the other figures, both in outline and effect. Some of the forms here set forth, are, nevertheless, very elegant, and the manner in which they are executed, is allowed by competent judges, to indicate considerable talent. The grouping of the figures, as in most other specimens of Egyptian painting, is bad; and the objects are huddled together sometimes in the most grotesque manner; however, they preserve their character, and impress us with a favourable idea of the progress which the Egyptians had made in science and the arts; but what is of far higher importance, they make us acquainted with their domestic practices, their religious ceremonies, and sundry political events, concerning which we must otherwise have remained in perfect ignorance. They cannot fail then to be regarded by the man of letters, as a most valuable record; and whoever has explored the ruins of Pompeii, will understand the enthusiasm of those who have visited the temples of Egypt, and wandered among the silent, but eloquent catacombs of the Nile, whose solemn enclosures remind us of the busy scenes of past ages, and tell of those who laughed and sung, nor dreamt of death, but accumulated wealth, built granaries, laid up stores, and,—having run their course, were placed by Time's destroying hand, where we now see them—in the painted, sculptured tomb, hewn out of the rock, or built of massy stones, by their proud ancestors, whose several histories appeared from year to year and from generation to generation, recorded on walls which they

no doubt thought would hand down their actions to the latest posterity. How insignificant is now this catalogue of mighty deeds—the self-humiliating register of human greatness! Behold! their shrivelled forms lie mouldering upon the earth,—certainly within the portals to which, with so much pomp, they were conveyed, but stripped of all their ornaments by a wandering, needy crew, who use the bitumen and costly gums with which their bodies were embalmed, to heal their camels' wounds, or light their fires in the desert; the cere-cloth too, makes famous torches, and *powdered mummy* is employed by European artists as a *pigment!* Robbed of the curiously painted case and intricate wrappings, which the pious relatives designed to preserve the honoured tenements of the departed, until they should return to *claim* them—behold them sacrilegiously cast upon the earth, and sticking in the sand, a group of hideous, black, and mangled corpses, resembling each a bundle of singed rags, or a half-charred, pitchy faggot, such as Nero would have used in Egypt, to burn a Christian,—or, in Rome, to make a *bon-fire*,—just the sort of thing that, people tell us, Christians were wont to employ in England, to *roast a Jew*, or *immortalize a witch!* It may be remembered that the Emperor Nero, not only sacrificed his mother and his wife, the celebrated authors Seneca, Petronius, Lucan, and many other noble and excellent individuals, but he caused the Christians to be tied to a well-tarred stake, and wantonly burnt in the open courts for his amusement, and by way of illumination, on days of public rejoicing; and not content with brutalizing his nature by these most revolting atrocities, he conceived the idea of celebrating the destruction of ancient Troy. He had the city set on fire in several places at once. The

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THE SPHINX.

conflagration soon became general, and continued to rage with unabated fury, for the space of nine days. Nero alone enjoyed the scene. He placed himself on a high tower, secure from harm, although surrounded by falling palaces, in the midst of piercing groans and lamentations, the heart-rending appeal of mothers whose children had perished in the flames;—here, unmoved he sat, and in satanic majesty,

"with harp in hand, surveyed
His flaming Rome, and whilst she burn'd—he play'd!"

Our acquaintance with this extraordinary district is very limited; for it has only been superficially examined, and there are doubtless many tombs, the situation of which we know nothing. Tumuli appear in all directions, and are thought to conceal similar buildings, though to all appearance, irregular masses of drifted sand. In the grottoes which have been excavated, quantities of mummy-cloth have been found, bitumen and human bones, fragments of granite statues, and, in some chamber or other, a deep shaft or well, similar to those seen within the Pyramids, and, as there, invariably conducting by a narrow horizontal passage, to an apartment evidently intended for some sacred purpose.*

But of all Mr. Caviglia's important discoveries, none are thought to equal those to which he was led in uncovering the colossal statue of the Sphinx, couchant with its face towards the east, in front of the Pyramid of "Cephrenes." This is an allegorical figure

* In one of these, opened by Mr. Caviglia, the shaft was 60 feet deep, and in the chamber to which it led, there was a plain, but highly finished sarcophagus, of precisely the same dimensions as that within the *reputed* tomb of "Cheops,"—doubtless appropriated to the same uses. This tends very much to strengthen the idea that the Pyramids were places of interment: though, at the same time, dedicated, like these grottoes, to one or other of the principal deities. Cheops is believed to be identical with Suphis, whose name has been found in the Great Pyramid, during the late researches of Colonel Vyse.

like that represented in the Greek Mythology, having the countenance of a beautiful female, and the body of a lion. Many similar specimens, on a small scale, have been found in front of the larger temples, especially at Luxor, and Karnak, where there is a double avenue of them leading to the chief Propylon. These are, for the most part, composed of highly polished syenite or red granite, from the Cataracts: but the Great Sphinx of "Memphis," if such it may be called, is shaped out of the solid lime-stone rock on which it stands. It is universally admired for its mild and placid expression of countenance, and general symmetry of form. It is not easy to state its precise dimensions; because it is seldom that more than the head and chest of the figure have been visible at one time; but some idea may be formed of its immensity, when it is recollected that its paws extend out beyond the recumbent body, to the distance of fifty feet, and that they enclose between them a granite tablet, fourteen feet high, seven broad, and two thick, an altar, and a temple. The face of this tablet bespeaks its importance: it looks to the eastward, and is highly embellished with sculpture and hieroglyphics. At the top of it, are as usual, the sacred globe and winged serpent; and beneath, are two Sphinxes on pedestals, with priests presenting to them the appointed offerings.*

* There were originally, two others in calcareous stone, similarly carved: and placed one on each side; one of them remains, the other has been thrown down and broken, and the fragments are deposited in the British Museum. The remains of several lions couchant were also strewed about, as if there had formerly been an avenue of them leading to the temple: they were coloured with *red paint*, which in Egypt, as in India, was considered *holy*. In front of the temple, is a granite altar, which has evidently been used for burnt sacrifices, as it bears, says Mr. Caviglia, marks of fire upon its surface. On the side and other parts of the paw, there are various Greek inscriptions, addressed to different deities. Aurora is mentioned, and the Egyptian παχων. Another inscription signed "Arrian," has been elegantly translated by Dr. Young. On

The history of the Sphinx is veiled in the deepest obscurity. Herodotus does not mention it at all. Pliny merely alludes to its existence, and adds, that the natives called it "the tomb of King Amasis:" but this is mere speculation. That the Sphinx was mainly connected with the religious rites of the Egyptians, will not be disputed; and this is all we are justified in saying. Some suppose that it referred to the worship of the sun, as there is a record still in existence, which speaks of the Emperor Nero being present at the celebration of "*the lawful rites*" on the spot, and that he "*worshipped the sun*, the Overseer and Saviour of the world." Perhaps the most reasonable of all the legends which have been related of the Sphinx, is that which associates it with the annual inundation of the Nile, and regards it as a corresponding astronomical symbol; for it is a remarkable fact, that the sun passes out of Leo into Virgo, during the very period at which the river overflows its banks; and I have already stated, that the figure is chiefly composed of the body of a lion, and the head and bust of a woman, a circumstance which, allegorically speaking, is in direct accordance with the combined strength, beauty, and prolific influence of the Nile—formerly and still, the source of every good to the Egyptian. But the overflowing of the Nile is attributed to "Nature," i.e. the Goddess Isis, or perhaps the combined powers of Isis and Athor, *both females;* and accordingly, the countenance of the Sphinx is rendered placid and

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the southern paw, among others, is a flattering inscription in honor of the Emperor Nero, and he is actually denominated *αγαθος δαιμων*, just as we are told, that in Upper Egypt, there is a stone on which Caracalla is called piissimus (the most holy), although the name of his murdered brother Geta has been erased by his own orders.

lovely: it is made to harmonize with the various attributes of "Nature," whose universal aspect is peace and joy; in other words, the blessings of Providence are so widely diffused, that they gladden the heart of all created beings, and the whole earth smiles with prosperity and health.

The Egyptians, therefore, in the poetic ardour of their imagination, selected the portrait of a beautiful and virtuous female, whose cheering influence they knew to be felt and acknowledged in every age: such appeared to be their beau-ideal of sweetness and perfection; and when united with the other characteristic features, namely, the wings and the tail, and the human voice which inspired the whole,—the Sphinx might be supposed to afford a very beautiful allegorical illustration of the "four great kingdoms of animated Nature." In the physiognomy of the head, we recognize the superior beauty and expression of intellect which mark the character of man, and distinguish him above all things else that were created: in the feet and body of a lion, the king of quadrupeds, we trace the strength and sagacity which so pre-eminently exist in the inferior animals: the wings indicate dispatch, and denote the swiftness of the bird: and lastly, we behold in the tail of the serpent, the wily representative of all the scaly tribes. Superadded to these, we have the human voice, or rather, I should say, the voice of a man, and the appendage of a beard, which by some has been thought an anomaly; but it would be curious that in such an allegory as this, the lord of the creation himself should be omitted! Accordingly, we find him fully set forth under these impressive symbols.

It is said that the Sphinx has been too highly praised; if so, an excuse may readily be framed for

the ardour of the narrator. I never met with a person who had seen it, who did not express his delight; and it is difficult, perhaps, to travel in the East, without partaking in some degree, of the warmth of feeling natural to Asiatics, who, even in the ordinary transactions of life, deal largely in figures of speech. In the Old and New Testaments, allegories and parables abound; the writings of the Prophets are full of them; and the *colloquies* set forth in the Bible are also of the same character. Our Saviour was constantly having recourse to them, in order to illustrate some point of doctrine, or impress it more forcibly on the minds of his auditors: and nothing is more common than such a mode of diction in the present day, in Persia and Arabia, where symbolical and complimentary language is, to a certain extent, professed and studied. It is not unlikely that both nations may have acquired this habit by their intercourse with the Egyptians. But to return to the Sphinx:—it is an allegory of the most perfect kind. I have already attempted to explain it; though it may admit of various interpretations, all tending to the same end. Thus, the countenance may be supposed to illustrate the beauty of all created forms, —the breasts, the fecundity of Nature—and the human voice, the essence of the Deity:—the body and feet of a lion, may denote magnanimity and courage; or the intellectual and physical powers:—the wings of a bird, may not only signify dispatch, but they may have a distinct allusion to Mercury, and be intended to refer to the connection which was supposed to exist, and the communication which was believed to be constantly taking place, between the different deities and man, or between Heaven and earth—or as Swiedenborg would say, between "the natural world and the

spiritual world!" Lastly, the serpent's tail may be emblematical of that knowledge which accrued to man in the hour of his fall—the *evil genius* which follows him in his course through life, which tempts him to do wrong, and brings upon his head, sorrow, and disease, and death! * There is something extremely beautiful associated with the conformation of this elegant and pleasing figure: its very position is graceful, and it indicates tranquillity and contentment, such as we conceive of Nature. No one can look at the Sphinx without being struck with its beauty, harmony, and intelligence. Never did I contemplate a piece of sculpture with more pleasure; although the lower part is entirely concealed by the sand, and it is therefore exhibited under great disadvantages.

Whatever is associated with the worship of God—no matter where, or what the form and title, must impress us *all* with a sense of veneration: but setting

* The fable current among the Greeks, was to this effect: In the neighbourhood of Thebes, the celebrated Capital of Bœotia, there was once a terrible monster that was sent by Juno (who persecuted Cadmus, the son of Agenor, a Phœnician King.) It is described as having the head and bust of a woman, the body of a dog, the tail of a serpent, the wings of a bird, the paws of a lion, and a human voice. We are told that it kept the whole country in a state of alarm by its continual depredations:—for that it proposed enigmas to individuals, whom it immediately destroyed if they could not solve them. At length the Oracle announced to the people that the Sphinx would destroy itself if any one could explain one of these enigmas. Upon this, Creon, King of Thebes, promised his crown, and his sister Jocasta in marriage to the person who should thus become the deliverer of his country. Accordingly, several young men came forward to explain the next question that was asked—to wit, "What animal is that which walks on four legs in the morning, two legs at noon, and three legs in the evening?" Œdipus replied, that "Man walks on his hands and feet when young, or in the morning of life: at the noon of life, he walks erect; and in the evening of his days, he supports his infirmities with a stick." The Sphinx no sooner heard this sagacious reply, than she dashed her head against a rock and expired. Some explain this allegory upon the principle, that one of the daughters of Cadmus infested the country by her cruelties, her power, and her cunning; and they suppose that her various evil propensities were set forth by the peculiar compound form of this monster.

aside the more immediate connection of the Sphinx with the idolatrous rites of the Egyptians, and taking into account what appears to have been, at least, the *ostensible* object, viz., the glory of the Creator, a feeling of serious respect steals over us imperceptibly; and every man, whatever be his creed, observes a devout and reverential silence; for it is quite impossible to contemplate this extraordinary monument of Egyptian piety, and not feel the force of the lesson it conveys.

The ancient Egyptians—(barbarians as some may call them)—were still able to admire and adore the works of Providence: they extolled the Almighty, and took delight in tracing his wisdom and beneficence in every, the smallest, the most insignificant atom; they experienced the genial influence of that inexhaustible, generous spirit which invigorates the whole, and they felt inspired with religious awe, when they reflected upon the attributes of a Deity incomprehensible to man, but manifested by the superior excellence of his works. Perceiving that the various elements teemed with created beings alike dependent on the same omnipotent Father, they pronounced His goodness to be unbounded; and being able to discover neither beginning nor end to the scale of His operations, they compared the earth to a ball or circle; and they imagined that a globe and a winged serpent with the tail in his mouth, would form a compound emblem of Eternity and Universal Wisdom. These very characteristic symbols were, therefore, invariably placed by them over the gate or entrance to their sacred buildings. Their fertile imaginations depicted the Deity under a great variety of forms, and these they retained in their houses as well as in their temples. To the same "Great

Spirit," thus symbolically personified, they were accustomed to address their prayers, and make their oblations, according to the prescribed rites. The world was to them a solemn mystery,—their own existence was a mystery; the sun, the moon—the laws which bound them—the revolution of day and night—the seasons—the annual over-flowing of the Nile, always at the same period, and a thousand other things, were equally unintelligible; but the most mysterious of all, was the Creator Himself; they knew not by what name to address Him,—therefore, in their simplicity and zeal, they called upon "*Nature*," identifying Her with a beautiful, all-inspiring female; their senses were ravished with her charms, and they attributed the loveliness of the earth, to the vivifying influence of the sun and moon, which, shining forth in all the brilliancy of a glowing Egyptian climate, each was in like manner—*deified!* "The Universal Principle" was thus worshipped under different types, themselves illustrated by a series of mystical signs—a system of theology which exposed the unwary to the machinations of the crafty, and encouraged idolatry and superstition.

The statue of the Sphinx tells its own story, and betrays no ordinary genius on the part of its contrivers. The countenance which was perfect in the time of Abdállatif, has since been purposely mutilated by Scheikh Mohammed (called the Faster), a furious bigot, who destroyed also the stone lions at the gates of Cairo: but the features appear precisely to correspond with those of the colossal figures at Filoe, and other places where Isis and Athor were more particularly worshipped. In one and all of them, a cheerful smile sits playing upon the lips; there is the same symmetry and sweetness of expression, gentleness, and intelli-

gence; so that we can hardly persuade ourselves that they are not intended to illustrate the same object. The beard is never omitted, and some are represented holding the sacred "Tau" and "Scourge."

There are two errors into which many persons fall respecting the Sphinx. They suppose, because the figure has a beard, that it must be an "Andro-Sphinx;" but I think I have satisfactorily explained this, by referring the subject to allegory. On the walls of the tombs we may see a great variety of allegorical monsters painted; they bear all kinds of grotesque forms, and are not to be reduced to any sort of order. Some persons imagine too, (chiefly on the authority of Denon,*) that the Sphinx represents a Negro. A little reflection will convince us that this is not the case. The statement of Dr. Richardson is the more correct one. He tells us, that "the features are Nubian," and that "the expression is particularly placid and benign." The ancient Egyptian physiognomy partook of a medium caste: it was half Nubian, half Abyssinian; the colour of the skin was reddish brown, not black; and the hair was curly; but neither short, harsh, nor frizzled.

The Arabs call the Sphinx "Aboo-el-Hol" (the father of terrors), or "Aboo-el-Haoun," (the father of the column,) there being a stone tablet between the paws,—and the Sphinx is often represented with a tower on its head, or clasping a Pyramid. No communication has yet been discovered between the Sphinx and either of the Pyramids; though it is not unlikely that something of the kind exists, and it may hereafter prove that its body, or the platform on which it reposes,

* Denon observes, that the expression of the head is "mild, benign, and tranquil: the character African: but the mouth, the lips of which are thick, has a sweetness of expression, and a fineness of execution, truly admirable;—it is flesh and life."

may contain the long-looked-for sarcophagus of Cheops; if so, the statement which has been handed down to us concerning it, "that its tomb was insulated by a canal from the Nile," would be completely made out; for it is more than probable, that it was surrounded by a canal or dyke, so that if it was not *constantly* full of water, it would be at high Nile.*

In uncovering the Sphinx, Mr. Caviglia had to work incessantly, *night and day;* for whatever he cleared at one time, was partly obliterated at another, although he employed as many as sixty and 100 persons daily: the sand is so fine, that it rolls down, and drifts back again as fast as it is removed, notwithstanding planks are put up, and other contrivances are had recourse to. This is very discouraging; but it is only what every one must expect to encounter who goes to Egypt with the intention of excavating. The labour is immense; and no one has a chance of succeeding, who is not blessed with a strong constitution, an ample fortune, and an inexhaustible stock of patience and moral courage.

Although every spot of ground between the Pyramids, has a marked hollow sound, as if there were passages beneath, Mr. St. John fancied he could determine the situation of four or five: but the whole district is composed of sand and rubbish, mixed with huge masses of stone, in some places only partially covered, and leaving intervening cavities or vaults, which may account for such a sound being emitted: for the

* Herodotus was informed, that "ten years were consumed in forming the pavement which led to the Pyramids, in preparing the hill on which they are raised, and in excavating the under-ground chambers." We are also well assured, that the course of the Nile has, in many parts, been turned, so that we may not be able to judge correctly of its original level from present appearances; besides, the Bah'r Youssouff flowed through Memphis.

same may be observed at Alexandria, and in the neighbourhood of almost every ruin in the country. Mr. Caviglia is of opinion that there were secret passages communicating, not only with the temples at Memphis, but also with the Pyramids of Sakh'ara and Dashour—fifteen miles off: he even undertook to explore them, and proceeded some distance: but I fancy he met with no encouragement to continue his labours. There is a very uncertain footing in many parts: agates, and rounded pebbles, fragments of granite, lime-stone, and mortar are strewed about in all directions. We saw a great number of scorpions, gigantic spiders, and lion-ants; and towards night, plenty of bats. A little before sun-set, swallows with beautiful purple breasts, began to appear; nor was there any want of lizards: some of them were very large, for the most part of a brown colour, and very active. It is said that this animal cannot endure the steady gaze of man, and that if we can only fix his eye, (which, by the way, is like a diamond for brightness,) he is *panic-struck*, cannot move, and suffers himself to be taken. He is quite harmless, naturally timid, fleet, and very useful. The Arabs know this, and encourage him to take up his abode in their dwellings: for he destroys the mosquitoes and the scorpions. There is scarcely a house in Egypt without lizards; they conceal themselves among the rafters and beams of the roof, and not unfrequently, we may hear one of them fall to the ground in the night: their presence is always indicated by their peculiar chuckling catch or cry, which is by no means unpleasant. In a word, these little creatures are welcomed wherever they go: no one thinks of chasing them away—i. e. with one exception—the "gecko," which is believed to be poisonous. I have

often tried to rivet a lizard to the spot, by a look—but my powers of "fascination" always failed me.

I am glad to find that Colonel Vyse is persevering in his researches among the Pyramids; he has given proof that he understands the subject; and it is to be hoped that the Authorities will render him all the assistance in their power. I make no doubt, that within a circle of two miles, a great deal of valuable information lies concealed. The Fourth Pyramid has never been entered that we know of; nor have we heard any thing about the three smaller ones to the south-east, near the site of that which was taken down by the French army. The whole district abounds in Pyramids; but there are two at Dashour distinguished above the rest. In common with many others, they have been opened in search of treasures. On their summit the eagles build their nests.* There is also a

* The largest measures about 700 feet square: it is 343 feet high, has 154 steps, and contains three rooms. But it has this peculiarity:—it slopes gradually to 50 feet,—it then contracts suddenly, and closes at an elevation of 300 feet. The other measures 704 feet line of base, on the eastern side, and 691 on the north side; i. e., on a level with the base, at 30 paces distance. Norden and Clarke were of opinion that the Pyramids of Sakhárah and Dashour are much older than those of Ghizeh. This can hardly be the case, I think, if we are correct in believing that the kingdom of On was the most ancient territory in Egypt: and that the catacombs of Ghizeh formed a part of the Great Metropolitan cemetery of On. It seems to be clearly ascertained that, comparing the life of man to a summer's day, the Egyptians, from the earliest period, had their dwellings in the east, and their tombs in the west,—regarding the former as the morning, and the latter as the evening of life: the situation of Ghizeh, therefore, is precisely that which the Sovereigns of On would be likely to select as the most suitable one to the westward:—for the same reason, the situation of Sakhárah and Dashour would best correspond with the locality of Memphis, to which the Government was *subsequently* removed:—moreover, there is nothing in the appearance of the Pyramids themselves that could lead to such a conclusion. Taking all circumstances into account, I think it by no means improbable that the Sphinx may be referred to Suphis, i. e. Cheops—and that his tomb may some day be found beneath it. This brings us back to the fifth dynasty only, viz. 1082 B. C.,—whereas, I believe the Pyramids of Ghizeh to have been built about the time of Abraham—say 2095 B. C.,—i. e. under the "Phales," or "Philites," or "Shepherd Kings." Cheops took the name of "Chemmis," or

small disintegrated Pyramid of unburnt brick, somewhat similar in appearance to those in the Fayoum, and other parts. It is of a dark colour, and may be ranked with several that are to be seen between Dashour and Myt-Rahynèh, and which being broken down, resemble mounds of earth. Myt-Rahynèh is a considerable village, and occupies, unquestionably, a portion of the site of Memphis. We observed the remains of Pyramids, and quantities of fragments variously carved, the ruins of buildings, which appear to have been of consequence. We passed along some beautiful avenues of acacia, tamarisk, and sycamore, on the borders of a lake. Some of the trees were of great age, and near the river there was an extensive stone wall; the sides of a square might be distinctly marked out. Not far off, to the *south* of Fostât, is a village still denominated

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"Shemyss," which means the "Sun," —and the Sphinx, as I have already stated, decidedly refers to that luminary, and looks *due east*. It was the custom in Egypt then, as now in China, for despotic rulers to *awe* the people by assuming the most presumptuous titles — they were in fact, demi-gods. Tradition may in after-ages have mixed up the history of the Pyramids with that of the Sphinx; and hence Herodotus may have recorded the story of the day, and fallen into the popular error, (just as he did when he stated that the second Pyramid contained "no chambers,") for, he adds, that "the Egyptians called their Pyramids "*Philitis*," who at the epoch in question, *fed his cattle in that part of Egypt*. Moreover, pyramidal buildings, in connection with the principles of astronomy, and the mythological doctrine of creation, were known among the great families of the East, centuries before the time of Suphis! The rock on which the Pyramid of "Cheops" (so called) is built, shews itself externally, at the north-eastern angle;—internally, in the main passage, and near the mouth of the well:—the highest projection of the rock into the body of the Pyramid, being about 80 feet from the level of its external base. A calculation has been made, that the solid contents of this Pyramid exceed 85,000,000 of cubic feet. What is called the "King's chamber," measures 35½ feet by 17¼, and it is 18¾ high. It forms therefore, $\frac{1}{1\,0\,0\,2}$ part of the whole: so that, leaving the contents of every second chamber solid, by way of separation, there might be 3,700 chambers equal to the "King's chamber" within the Pyramid! It was once proposed to erect a public mausoleum on similar principles, in England. The plan is at least, practicable. See Chapter X.

"Memf," or "Memfi"—to the north of which, say the Arabs, was the city called "Ain Shemyss," once the favorite abode of "Ferûûn," (Pharaoh.) When I was on the Red Sea, I was shewn a spot about four hours from Suez, which is also called "the Ferûûn" by the natives, who have a legend that a certain mighty King once perished there in the waters: but they could not give me any particulars—the distance across might be twenty miles. The town formerly distinguished as "The New Babylon," was a part or district of Memphis, retained by the Persians, after Cambyses had conquered Egypt. What may be termed the "Circle of the Pyramids," may therefore be said to mark the boundary of the western suburbs only, as it is evident, that a large portion of the city must have been on the opposite banks of the river. I make no doubt, however, that this area included some most delightful spots; for even now, notwithstanding the encroachments of the desert, there is a great deal of land bordering on the Nile, which admits of high cultivation. We may suppose that Fostât contained the chief public buildings, and that the nobles and wealthier classes resided, or had their gardens, orchards, and villas, for some distance along this side of the stream. The ground between Sakh'arah and Abousir is stony, and covered with small Pyramids—probably of more recent date; many of them are brick, and vary in height from 50 to 100 feet. Abousir itself is a wretched place enough. It is situated at the edge of the desert, about three miles from Ghizeh, near a few other straggling settlements, the favorite resort of the Bedoueen Arabs, who keep up a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants, and occasionally pitch

their tents among them.* Between Abousir and Memphis, there is a continuous chain of plantations, where the acacia, tamarisk, and date, flourish almost spontaneously. We must not forget that formerly, the "Bah'r Youssouff" (the canal or river of Joseph) also flowed through the western suburbs of the city. There is another very remarkable-looking object, called the "False Pyramid:" it is built of brick, and has a rounded form like a tower; it stands on a sand-hill, and is visible at a great distance by reason of its isolated situation: it forms an excellent landmark when descending the Nile towards Cairo. Between it and the Pyramids of Dashour, there are a great many tombs also, and cones of earth. The Pyramid has never been examined. It is supposed to be that of Asychis, a successor of Mycerinus, and who reigned about the year 815, B.C. He is said to have preferred brick Pyramids to stone. As the ancient Egyptians are believed by many, not to have understood the principle of the true arch, it is worthy of inquiry how the roofs of the chambers are here constructed: and this question is rendered still more important by investigations which have lately taken place. Specimens of the arch are to be seen at Abydos; but the most ancient specimens known either in Egypt or any where

* The Pyramids of Abousir are three in number, and very considerable; though not so large as those of Sakhárah or Dashour; but they are surrounded by tumuli and sepulchral grottoes, a circumstance to which I attach great importance: for their Pyramids being situated *westward* of what has evidently been an extensive city, we find not only *tombs* (which we do not find on the eastern side) — but numerous catacombs of mummy-birds, and other sacred animals — furnishing a strong argument, I conceive, in favor of the idea that Pyramids were sometimes erected in honor of the deities, and not merely as tombs; and we may imagine the rich, from motives of piety or ostentation, erecting places of worship, and dedicating them to particular objects, just as in Roman Catholic countries, a Christian might build a church in honor of the Virgin.

else, have been discovered by Mr. Hay, at Thebes: they are of brick, and still retain their plaster covering, bearing the name of Thothmes III. (about 1650 B.C.) The bricks of the ancient Egyptians were nearly as large again as ours: those which have been found among the ruins, correspond with the bricks picked up at Babylon, which are somewhat of a square form, the average size being about a foot, and the thickness varying from two inches and a half, to five inches: they seem to have been formed of black, loamy earth, very friable, and of little tenacity,—mixed therefore with chopped-straw; an allusion to which is made in the Old Testament. Having been only sun-burnt, it is surprising that they should have proved so durable—they bear hieroglyphic impressions, and I have in my museum, some specimens of large kiln-burnt stamps, which have been used apparently, for stamping goods. The modern bricks are smaller, and also bear the Government stamp. Straw is still used by the Chinese instead of hair. Brick-making, and the cutting of dykes, seem always to have been considered by the Egyptians and the neighbouring nations, as most unhealthy and laborious occupations; and they were on that account transferred to captives, slaves, and felons. This is particularly noticed in reference to the Hebrews; and the prophet Nahum, in his denunciation of Nineveh, also alludes to it in the strongest terms.*

It is very difficult to arrive at correct conclusions on the subject of Egyptian chronology: any calculation must be liable to error. Many important records have been lost: and we know that after the fifth dynasty, that is, about the period of the death of Mycerinus, there was a long chasm or gap which wants filling up.

* See Genesis xi.; Exodus v.; and Nahum iii. 14, 15.

It is probable that about this time, human sacrifices were abolished, and that many other important changes took place; and it is by no means unlikely that many valuable and interesting documents connected with the early ages of the world, may still be in the possession of the Chinese. If so, we may hope that ere long, a clue to this highly intellectual and truly fascinating study may be obtained.*

* Consult Cory's "Mythological and Chronological Enquiry" — Cory's "Horapollo," and his "Fragments of Phœnician Literature." See also an excellent little work on the same subject by Mr. Osburn—and "The New Analysis of Ancient Chronology"—Pritchard's "Egyptian Antiquities"—Landseer's "Sabæan Researches"—De Pauw's "Egyptians"—D'Anville "Sur l'Egypte et la Mer Rouge"—Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians"—Crosthwaite's "Synchronology, a Treatise on the History, Mythology, &c. of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Phœnicians"—Ainsworth's "Researches in Assyria, and Chaldæa"—Bryant's "Analysis of Mythology"—and Yeates "On the Antiquity, Origin, and Design of the Pyramids."

CHAPTER IX.

MOHAMMEDAN CEMETERIES — THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD — ARAB CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS — SERPENT-CHARMERS — NECROMANCY AND MAGIC — ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCRIPTURE, ETC.

Whilst re-crossing the plain to the river, our lengthened shadows reminded us, that we had tarried longer in the desert than perhaps was prudent; and as we approached the village of Ghizeh, the shades of night began to appear; however, we met with no molestation. I shall not easily forget the scene which presented itself, as the bright orb of day dipped below the western sky in the rear of the Pyramids. The twilight was of short duration: as I cast my eye along the deep, red, misty lines which marked the course of the horizon in the wilderness, their black, unwieldy sides came forward in all their towering majesty upon us, rendering the desert fearfully grand, and forming a powerful contrast with the light, flitting vapours that now were gathering on their summit; their loneliness appeared complete; the plains in which they stood lay stretched before us, gloomy, and desolate, and bare, and dwindling into murky pencilled streaks, which seemed to denote an indistinct, and undefined region, where neither boundary nor outline is, nor living thing,

—the entrance to eternal space. I fell into a reverie; nor once perceived that my companions one by one had left me. To be alone under such circumstances, was what I could have wished, so peculiarly impressive was the scene: but when I looked around me, so perfect was the silence, so complete the solitude, I could almost have fancied that I only remained of the Creator's works—the last of my species,—and that as the twilight closed, the end of the world drew near. At that instant, every thing earthly was forgotten; and I think, if it had pleased the Author of my existence to have taken me to Himself, I could have met the summons with serenity. It is difficult to convey to others anything like an adequate idea of the influence which the desert has over the human mind at such a time as this; and even now, when my thoughts recur to all I witnessed then, and subsequently in Egypt, I am not surprised that a serious and reflecting people like the ancient Egyptians, should have been impressed as they were, with these truly sublime and awful manifestations of the Divine Power. I had been unconsciously beguiled into a series of, to me, the most grateful associations, such that I will not hesitate to acknowledge, left me more than ever impressed with a sense of my obligation to the Supreme Being. It is on such occasions as these, that man is brought to reflect seriously on the relation in which he stands to his Maker; and if he is insensible to such appeals, it is not likely that he will be open to conviction when he beholds the changes which take place in the busy walks of life; much less will he derive comfort from religion in the hour of trial.

I stood quietly gazing at the Pyramids, unmindful of the fleeting moments, when suddenly, my attention

was awakened by the distant, melancholy howl of a dog; ere long, I heard another, and then a third; the next seemed nearer; yet it came not from the desert. On turning about to discover, if possible, whence these low and mournful accents proceeded, I beheld one of the most heavenly and heart-endearing sights that man could witness—the moon, nearly at the full, rising majestically through a brilliant and cloudless atmosphere, and just emerging from behind some gently waving palm trees, at the skirts of the village near which I stood. Her approach had already been announced by the gradually brightening sides and apex of the larger Pyramid, — the last dim trace of Phœbus' path in the Heavens had become obliterated, and the undulating surfaces which held the Sphinx enchained, were rendered more distinct,—a certain indication that Diana had already taken her seat within her silvery car. It was with considerable reluctance that I withdrew from the spot; but unwilling to detain the rest of our party, who by this time, I concluded must have nearly reached the ferry, and anticipating an attack from the dogs, which, at this hour especially, prowl about in herds, at the skirts of every village, I hurried onwards. Bradford's shrill whistle the next moment caught my ear, which, I instantly returned, and lost no time in groping my way through the midst of huts, heaps of dust, and pigeon-cotes, broken pottery, and crumbling walls, to the water side.* Here I found the whole party assembled, and fairly launched, both man and beast, on board the passage-boat. I told them they had left me to the tender mercies of the "Dibs" (hyænas), and that if I had not found

* Travellers in these countries will do well to carry with them, each, a dog-whistle: they will find it very useful on such occasions.

the road, they might have returned in the morning in search of my bones. They said they did indeed almost begin to think that I had been carried off by the "Ghouls," or the Fairies; but that they had been hunting water-rats and jackals: that one of them had had a great inclination to shoot a heron that was perched upon one leg on a mosque, but that Osman like a *true Mussulmaun* looked *black*, and staid his arm: that they had had enough to do, however, in self-defence, and were more than half devoured by the mosquitoes.

The setting of the sun behind the Pyramids, is rendered still more sublime, perhaps, though it inspires us with less *awe*, when viewed from the opposite side of the river. It is a scene which I have often delighted to contemplate: but it is altogether of a different character, and much more cheering and attractive, on account of the objects which form the fore-ground of the picture: the Pyramids do not appear so large, but most travellers consider that they are seen to greater advantage when contrasted with the richly glittering waters of the Nile, which almost seem to flow about their base, and when brought in comparison with the palm and acacia groves which cast a grateful shade in front of the glowing sands in the distance; especially as the view is enlivened by various picturesque and moving objects. I do not think that we can compare the one with the other: both are equally imposing; but the merits of each are different, and excite different feelings. Such is the exquisite beauty of an Egyptian climate, that it affords an opportunity to all who possess the genius of poetry, to cultivate their taste, and indulge the soarings of the imagination: everything about us is serene, but solemn, dif-

fusing a calmness which peculiarly fits the mind for reflection; and certainly, Egypt is of all lands, the best calculated to enhance the gratification of the astronomer.

When we reached Cairo, the first thing we heard was, that the plague had broken out; but we had been told these things so often, that we ceased to pay any attention to them. In the morning, however, we found the report gaining ground, and we ascertained that from some cause or other, several deaths *had* taken place. I went immediately to the hospital established by Mohammed Ali for his troops, an ill-ventilated, dirty place; but found no plague. I was then taken to visit a man in the adjoining street, who, I was positively assured, was *dying* of the disease. This turned out to be a case of continued fever, and by proper remedies, recovered. The next "*plague*" patient I visited, was certainly in a dangerous state; but *she* was ill of cholera! However, in the course of a few days, I had the happiness to see her about as usual. I was sent for to several others who fancied they were sickening for the plague, and made themselves much worse by anxiety of mind; they nevertheless, escaped the horrors they so much dreaded. At last, I was led down some of the most confined and obscure avenues, into the Jews' quarter, where I was told the small pox was raging furiously; but even this was exaggerated. I did meet with some bad cases, and in one district, the dysentery had been very fatal; but I saw no *plague*. These reports continued to circulate for some time; I was constantly surrounded by the sick, and had occasion to contend with disease in some of its most malignant forms, especially fever, small pox, liver complaints, dysentery, dropsy, ophthalmia, cholera,

and a variety of chronic affections of the skin, of the most appalling and disgusting character,—Oriental leprosy and elephantiasis to wit; yet I met with no plague, although it seldom happened that the natives took any precaution against it. To what then might all this anxiety be referred? We shall see. This was not the first, nor was it the last, panic that such reports had occasioned. The older residents were too much accustomed to the idle tales which people sometimes tell in the East, to believe implicitly all the nonsense which they are compelled to listen to; yet they could not hear the announcement of a calamity which on former occasions, had laid the country waste, and deprived them of their friends and relatives, without uneasiness. The fact is, that commissioners (Messrs. Pariset, D'Arcet, Dumont, and Bosc), had been sent to Egypt to investigate the nature of plague; but unfortunately for science, they came at a time when no plague was to be found. Their arrival produced a great sensation, and everybody was on the "qui vive" in consequence of the enquiries making about Oriental statistics; for there were sundry weighty matters to consider, independently of the ravages likely to be committed by the "hollow-eyed monster." Even the Arabs took fright; they consulted their wise men, went punctually to the mosque, and confessed that it was "time to put their trust in God." A sort of buletin or "carte de santé" was given out daily; and there was a sharp discussion continually going on between the doctors, the merchants, and the Franks, the latter being alarmed, the second provoked, and the former deceived. The merchants were highly incensed that a learned body should assume an air of such profound gravity on the occasion; because it

frightened their families, and was likely to injure commerce by impeding the communication with Europe: for news of this commission having reached England, and other countries, it was confidently reported that the plague was raging in Egypt: the rigour of the quarantine laws at Malta, Marseilles, and other ports, was greatly increased, and everything that came from the Levant, was narrowly watched and inspected. Had there been any real cause for this, the case would have been different, but scientific men cannot be too guarded as to the expressions they employ: they are looked up to with confidence, and a very little want of thought may produce serious evils.*

One of the most interesting spots in or about Cairo, is that in which the Mamlûks are interred. The buildings are of stone: many of them, wholly, or in part, of white marble: they are very magnificent, being surmounted by domes resting on light and graceful columns, neatly carved. This is considered the most splendid cemetery in Egypt: but it has a powerful rival in that of the Khaliphes, which is also bordering

* The ladies were very angry with the commissioners; for wherever they went, the plague was their constant theme: their ardour in the cause has been humorously described by Madame St. Elme, better known as the "Contemporaine," having written her own Memoirs, and the Souvenirs of some of the principal characters who figured in the affairs of the French Republic, the Consulate, and the Empire. We first saw her at Thebes; she pretended to be very brave; but was evidently alarmed about the plague. She called Monsieur Pariset the "vénérable troubadour de la Peste," and declared that "she never would forgive him."* One day, at Cairo, a soldier who had died of the plague (as was thought) in the citadel, was carried, upon a stretcher, without a coffin, through the narrow crowded streets, to be buried out of the town. This was no fault of the commissioners, but it produced considerable excitement among the Franks: however, the disease, whatever it was, did not spread, and even the Arabs who bore the corpse, although they took no precaution, escaped.

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* "La Contemporaine en Egypte," tom. ii. p. 2 and 75. Vide Appendix.

on the eastern desert, about a mile and a half distant. The monuments are not unlike those of the Beys, being, for the most part, square, limestone edifices, and supporting cupolas, and lofty minarets: they are light and elegant, and in the old Saracenic style:—they are in good preservation, and afford the architect some excellent specimens of the art. A few of these sepulchres are inclosed; others are open, and placed beneath a spacious canopy variously painted, gilt, and ornamented. Numerous Arabic inscriptions appear on the exterior, and also within: they are chiefly passages from the Khoran. These ancient depositories of the dead are curiously contrasted with the dreary prison-like buildings of the city, and the parched and arid plains of the desert: their domes and minarets are seen at a great distance, and become objects of attraction to every stranger on his first arrival. They are interesting in every point of view: but whilst we gaze upon the spot which has been held sacred for so many generations, as the resting-place of the Saracenic Monarchs, whose eventful career formed so remarkable an epoch in the history of the world, we are reminded that, not far off, lie entombed some of those very warriors, who, in more modern times, were treacherously sacrificed to the ambition of an usurper:—and lovely as is the marble which has so long been bleaching in the wilderness, we trace upon its fair surface, in the most indelible characters, a tale of blood that will ever disgrace the memory of him by whom the last blow to their power was so unjustifiably struck. These handsome mausolea are not, however, to be compared with similar remains of Moorish magnificence in India: for the predominant feature of their locality is desolation: every thing looks burnt up: there are no trees to

afford a grateful shelter, and I was glad to avail myself of a cup which some pious Scheikh had attached to a neighbouring fountain for the use of the fainting wanderer on his arrival at the "Bab-el-Nass'r (the gate of victory,) contiguous to the great burial-ground of the district, which is overlooked by the D'Gebel Mokattam, and the towering walls of the citadel.* This spot is interesting to every pious Moslem; but it is also held in veneration by the Christian: for it contains the remains of poor "Scheikh Ibrahim," i. e., Burckhardt, than whom, no one ever deserved better of mankind. He possessed all those virtues which are calculated to exalt the human character. He was noble, generous, and talented. We are informed by Mr. Salt, and Dr. Richardson, who knew him well, that he was remarkable for his frankness, cheerfulness, kindness, and evenness of temper, which made him particularly beloved by his more intimate acquaintance, whilst his strong sense of honor and exemplary conduct insured him universal esteem. But if, during his life, his urbanity and amiable disposition secured him the sanction and confidence of his fellow-men, and advanced him to a high place in their regard; now that he is dead, his memory will be cherished and revered by all who wish well to society, and are able to appreciate his merits. It is, therefore, with peculiar feelings

* About half a mile from Calcutta, is an extensive cemetery belonging to the Mussulmaun community, denominated "Cossye Bugaun." The spot includes nearly twenty acres, beautifully shaded by bamboos, lofty and spacious cedars, and other sombre trees. The tombs are spacious, and so constructed, as to admit of a taper being lighted every night by the surviving relatives. There are also tanks for the purposes of ablution. In the villages, the tamarind tree is regarded as the yew-tree in England. In these tombs are deposited the remains of ancient warriors, but there is not a word upon them. The cemeteries at Constantinople are also delightful retreats, overlooking the Bosphorus, and the tombs being distributed among groves of aged cypress.

that we approach the place of his interment. His modest and unpretending tomb is scarcely to be distinguished at first, so thickly is it inclosed by graves which are so much more conspicuous than itself: but there will not be found one that is more universally respected. He was very active in the cause of Science; and after many important journeys, performed under the auspices of the African Society, died of the dysentery, at the age of 33, just as he was about to cross the desert to Tomboctoo. He travelled under the assumed name of "Ibrahim Ibn Abd'allah," but his real name was John Lewis Burckhardt. He was born of a highly respectable family at Basle, though a native of Lausanne, and he was a conscientious member of the Swiss Protestant Church. (See Appendix.)—How various are the feelings associated with this interesting spot of ground! For, stepping past a few graves, we are led to the contemplation of a very different object —the mausoleum of Mohammed Ali! It is a neatly built edifice, and contains several apartments, which are designed to receive the remains of the various members of the Pascha's family. They are furnished in the Turkish style, with windows and green curtains: but no person is admitted to inspect them. Ismael and Toussoun Paschas, and their mother, for whom Mohammed Ali's attachment is known to have been very strong, are interred here. All the tombs are constructed, I believe, of white marble, variously ornamented, and inscribed with letters of gold: but His Highness being of obscure origin, they are necessarily few in number. The mausoleum which he has built for himself, resembles that of his illustrious predecessors, though inferior to them in elegance. It stands in the midst of other monuments, which are simple and beau-

tiful; and many of them grand:—cupolas and columns, courts and arches, surmounted by objects of various elevation, and covered with sculptured ornaments and inscriptions, both Turkish and Arabic,—and not unfrequently, the turban—though since the introduction of the European systems, the Reigning Powers at the Bosphorus, as well as in Egypt, object to this on political principles, as it has reference to the old regime supported by the Mamlûks and Janizaries. Sometimes, a single turban is seen on a plain pillar, and the folds of it are characteristic of some particular individual: in others, they are so arranged, as to indicate the tribe or family, and even a plurality of persons:—but many of them have been mutilated or carried away by order of the Authorities; and there are instances on record, of the Sultan at Constantinople, and Ibrahim Pascha at Cairo, causing the turban to be knocked off the heads of individuals in the public streets, as they passed; in demonstration of their dislike to the old system, and their respect for the uniform of the "Nizam D'gedeed."

Most persons are delighted with a visit to Père la Chaise, in the neighbourhood of Paris. I am not quite sure that the cemeteries of Cairo are inferior to it in interest; although the feelings excited by the aspect of the one, are the very opposite to those produced by the other:—as the abodes of the dead, they are equally solemn; but the associations are different: in the one case, we look towards a scorched wilderness, whilst in the other, the eye is attracted by cultivated lands, partèrres of ever-greens and flowers, and the very graves give forth refreshing odours. It is no uncommon thing to see a camel moving about among the tombs of the great Egyptian cemetery, as it forms a

very convenient halting-place for the caravans which arrive from the eastern desert, and the Arabs are wont to refresh themselves and the dumb companions of their toils at the neighbouring fount, before they pass the gates, and enter the narrow lanes of Cairo. The sagacious animals know it well: and it would almost break their hearts to force them past, without first partaking of the precious draught. Here too, in like manner, have I had occasion to repose beneath the walls, and choosing out some sandy pillow for my head, wrapped in my "Abbas" (Arab cloak,) have passed the night upon the Moslem's grave. To a person naturally of a warm imagination, there is not perhaps a more prolific and engrossing subject for reflection, than an eastern cemetery at midnight—the pale moon shining on the "whited sepulchres" so brilliantly, that they seem to out-rival even the driven snow for whiteness—and where the heavenly host arrayed in so much glory, seems to rob the sun, and makes the imperfect senses grow faint with gazing.

The ceremonies attending the burial of the dead in the East, differ very little in Egypt, Persia, Syria, and Turkey. Of course their nature and duration vary in proportion to the means and the rank of individuals:—but the principal feature is preserved throughout, whether among the rich or among the poor. It is seldom that we pass near the great cemeteries of the "Bab-el-Nass'r," at least towards evening, without beholding a funeral procession:—but it moves not in the quiet, slow, and stately manner that we are accustomed to see in Europe: the corpse is hurried along as fast as possible, upon a board, without a coffin, and generally without a pall! It is frequently decorated with flowers, and perfumed: and the ear is invariably

arrested by the peculiar shrill howl or "ullulu" of the mourning women, who fail not to attend in great numbers: for the "Art of Lamentation" is universally practised in all its varieties, and hundreds get their living by it, as in days of old.*

The notes which are peculiar to these "birds of ill omen," are monotonous, wild, and loud—most particularly unpleasant—except when they are in some degree "wasted on the desert air." But the mourning women, whose demeanour and appearance are admirably feigned for the occasion, and quite in character with the surrounding scene, do not only follow in procession to the grave, they attend at the family residence, where their business is to howl, lament, and shriek: they tear their hair and skin in the most barbarous manner: they daub their faces with mud and paint, put ashes on their head, and, assembling at the door, or courts and porches of the house, disturb the whole neighbourhood with their cries for days, and even weeks. Their wailings may frequently be heard at a considerable distance. At first perhaps, they are continued without intermission for three days: afterwards, they may be renewed, for a certain period, once a-week only; then, once a month—subsequently, every quarter; and so on, until at last, they indulge the district only with a delectable anniversary! They are not satisfied with howling and screeching, but they

* This custom has prevailed from the earliest period, all over the East. In the 5th chapter of Amos, and the 16th verse, we read—"Wailing shall be in all their streets—and they shall call the husbandman to mourning, and *such as are skilful of lamentation* to wailing." The wailing of the present day in Egypt, is not unlike an Irish *waking*, and the expressions are also similar. There are many things which lead us to believe that, if the Irish are not entirely of Phœnician origin, they partake of the Phœnician character. That the Phœnicians established colonies in Ireland and in Wales is matter of history, and the people have many words in common with the natives of Gaza and Askelon!

keep up an eternal tattoo upon pots and wooden boxes, and a species of tambour or drum, not however of the most exquisite structure, but consisting generally of a piece of rude parchment or skin stretched upon a clumsy, wooden case. It would appear from the last chapter of Genesis, that a public mourning took place when Jacob died, and that his funeral was attended by a vast assemblage of persons; not only those of his own family, but of the country where the Patriarch dwelt. We read, that when Joseph went to bury his father, he was attended by servants and Elders and "a *great company*"—and that when they came to the threshing-floor of "Atad," which is beyond Jordan, *they mourned with a great and very sore lamentation; and* Joseph *made a mourning* for his father *seven days.**

Sir John Chardin tells us, that at Ispahan, in 1676, the mistress of the adjoining house died, and the instant she expired, about thirty persons set up such a lamentation as quite alarmed him: and they repeated these wailings at intervals, for forty days!

That this practice was also common among the Jews, we learn from the fact, that many of them came to mourn with Mary and Martha, after the loss of their brother, and they *followed* Mary to the grave, *supposing* that she was going to "*weep* there!"†—Many similar passages of Scripture might be quoted:—that the Israelites used on such occasions, to cut themselves, and tear their hair, beat their breasts, and rend their garments, is also proved. The High Priest

* "And when the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, *saw* the mourning in the floor of 'Atad,' they said, 'This is a grievous mourning to the Egyptians:' *wherefore*, the name of it was called 'Abel-Mizraim,' which is beyond Jordan."—Genesis l. 10, 11.

† John xi. 31; Psalm lvi. 8; Gen. xlv. 2; Ezek. xxiv. 17.

Caiaphas rent his garment, moreover, in token of rage, and in testimony of his indignation and contempt.* In the 1st verse of the 14th chapter of Deuteronomy, the people are strictly forbidden either to "cut themselves" or "make any baldness between their eyes for the dead."—Jeremiah also alludes to the same thing in very plain terms.† When the Israelites were smitten at "Ai," Joshua "rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face, before the Ark of the Lord, until the eventide,—he and the elders of Israel; and put *dust* upon their heads." In testimony of humiliation and grief, when Job's friends came to comfort him, "they lifted up their voice and wept, and they *rent* every one his mantle, and sprinkled *dust* on their *heads* towards Heaven." When the destruction of the city was announced by the Prophet to the King of Nineveh, "he arose from his throne, laid aside his robes, covered himself with *sack-cloth*, and *sat in ashes*."‡ Now precisely the same practices are adopted in the present day, by the Syrians, Arabs, and Persians, who give vent to their grief after the most approved forms;—tearing out their hair by the roots, and pulling their clothes to pieces, if they are really sorry; otherwise, they contrive ingeniously to rip open their garments at the *seams;* and it is no uncommon thing for them to keep a suit of mourning (i. e. cast-off apparel) by them, so that, as it becomes old and rotten, they may

* Matthew xxvi. 65; Luke xviii. 13; xxiii. 48; Job i. 20.

† "Both the great and the small shall die in this land: they shall not be buried, neither shall men *lament for* them, nor *cut* themselves, nor make themselves *bald* for them: Neither shall men tear themselves for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead: neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother."—Jeremiah xvi. 6, 7; Ib. ix. 17, 18; see also Lev. xix. 28; and 1 Kings xviii. 28.

‡ Joshua vii. 6; Job ii. 12; and Jonah iii. 5, 6.

display their grief with better *effect!* The sack-cloth of the Scriptures was identical with the "haik" of the Bedoueen Arabs, who still accustom themselves to wear it next the skin as a sign of mourning. We have the authority of Virgil and Homer, for believing that the ancient Greeks and Romans observed similar forms; and according to Hume, and other of our own historians, sack-cloth and ashes were once had recourse to in this country, not only by the penitent, but by those who wished to note the intensity of their grief. Some orders of monks do so still; and many other extravagant acts are committed by them at such times. But surely there is neither form nor ceremony, sign nor profession, however vehement, zealous, or pathetic, that is so beautifully expressive of the resignation of man to the will of God, as that simple, but pious emanation of the soul—"Father, thy will be done on earth, as it is in Heaven!" and that such *will be* acceptable above every other, at the throne of Grace, we are assured by the Divine Being Himself!

The method of laying out a body in the East, does not differ in any material point, from that adopted in Europe; except that care is always taken to place the corpse with its feet in the direction of the "Kebleh."* The mouth is first sponged, and various perfumes introduced; the body is then washed and fumigated, the great toes are tied together, and a handkerchief is bound neatly under the chin, and over the top of the head. This done, the room is cleared, and put in order; various gums and scented substances are strewed about or burned, and the apartment is decorated with flowers:—the different members of the family then assemble around the corpse, and pronounce

* The Holy City.

in a loud and solemn voice, the "Shehâdeh"* or profession of Faith—a ceremony of the first importance, as it is supposed to procure for the deceased, absolution of his sins, and reconcile him to the Prophet: and they are the more particular, as they are anxious to prove to the world, that they are themselves true Mussulmauns. The *lamentations* then begin:—Every one present joins in them, putting on the most doleful looks that she can, and giving vent to the most melancholy *out-pourings* of the spirit, each sentiment being echoed by a deep *groan*, after the manner of "Auld Maude"†—or a hollow, death-like shriek, which is variously modulated and sustained, according to the supposed feeling of the moment. Each person utters what she likes; but there is generally some aged Sibyl more wrinkled and haggard than the rest, who takes the lead. She pitches the key, regulates the cadences, and determines the degree of vehemence *proper* to be displayed in all their gestures! True grief may be variously evinced, according to the physical constitution of the body: but even in uncivilized lands, those whose heart is full, retire rather to lament in secret,—and "unheard to weep,"—remote from the eye of man. The deepest sorrow has sometimes not a tear to shed!

The sound of these *lamentations* is a signal to the Ulemah to ascend the minarets or get upon the housetops, and chant in their usual monotonous tone, select passages from the Khoran; and for which they expect a present: for as there are no bells to toll, it is only through *their* means that the death of a true believer is announced to the inhabitants. The wailing then becomes general; the noise increases both with-

* In Persia it is called "Kelemeh." † See Scott's "Old Mortality."

in and without; the females of the family retiring to a separate apartment, where they still continue to call in the most frantic manner upon the deceased; and going about with naked feet and bare heads, they would let it appear that their grief is so intense that they are *in despair*, that they are even regardless of decorum, and indifferent to life itself. Sometimes they tear their hair, put ashes on their head, rub their face with onions, and not unfrequently, cover their whole form with a long black shawl: and after a violent paroxysm of grief, squat down *suddenly* in a corner, and there sit for hours in sullen silence, disconsolate for the loss they have sustained, refusing to eat or drink, and turning a deaf ear to the proffered sympathy of their friends. Many strangers collect in the streets to hear the Khoran read, and the neighbours obtrude themselves as comforters, making all sorts of unmeaning professions to the family. Such overtures of friendship are often a pretext for indulging their curiosity, or ingratiating themselves with particular parties from interested motives; various set phrases are uttered, forms are punctiliously observed, and the whole proceeding is the result of much study; though perhaps if we look *at home*, we may discover that some of our own observances on such occasions, are equally absurd and hypocritical.

The body having been washed and anointed with much ceremony, according to the means of the parties, it is now wrapped in a winding-sheet and carried away upon a bier to the grave, the crowd increasing as the procession moves along; for it is considered a blessing to officiate at the funeral of a true believer: and in this there is, it must be confessed, a solemn and re-

ligious feeling which is very beautiful.* When the funeral procession arrives at the place of burial, a simple prayer is repeated by a priest, and the chief mourner assists in placing the body in the earth, but without a coffin. The twelve Imauns are then invoked, and various prayers are read; after which the grave is filled up. The "Fatheh," i. e. the 1st chap. of the Khoran, is repeated by the whole company, and after water has been sprinkled over the grave, to keep off the "Ghouls," they disperse, and seek every one his home.† The friends and relatives return, as they came, to the dwelling of the deceased; but the mourning women continue howling over the grave for some time; and one of the Ulemah, for the most part, remains to pray, i. e. if the friends are able to pay him for his trouble. The friends are entertained at the chief mourner's expense, and he usually invites them to his house again when the prescribed term of the mourning expires.‡

When the first term of the mourning is over, the priests come and sew up the rents in the clothes, the women visit the tomb, and in Persia and Turkey, strew flowers. The ancient Egyptians used to put some grass on the tomb, and the Bedoueens do so still: for grass being to them the most valuable of their possessions, they conceived it would be the most acceptable offer-

* The washers of the dead generally employ lime, salt, camphor, and a variety of perfumes; many rich preparations are in vogue also among the rich, for anointing the body; and those who can afford it, parade the corpse about, supported beneath an awning or canopy, decorated with black flags and shawls.

† In Persia, the "Talki" is read at the beginning and at the ending.

‡ This may be three, five, or seven days, or longer, as circumstances direct, and feasting is going on during the whole time. Sometimes a Mollah is paid to offer prayers at the tomb, or at a mosque, every day, or at stated periods, as long as the mourning may last; loose sheets of the Khoran are distributed among the relatives and friends, and the poor receive sweetmeats and bread.

ing they could make. After the mourning, the widow is conducted to the bath, where the females take off her "weeds" and their own, make a change in their dress, dye their nails with "hh'ennah," and having completed the funeral obsequies, gradually mix again with the world.

The Arabs, like most Orientals, are very superstitious; they have many bigoted notions; and in these they are encouraged by their religion, which teaches that there is an intermediate state between Heaven and earth, and that the Spirits of darkness have the power to let themselves be seen or not, and to assume any form at pleasure, for evil purposes; that it is necessary to propitiate these, and that certain things have been appointed by Allah as charms, talismans, and antidotes. It is with this view that they pour water on the grave; for they believe that it is the peculiar province of Ghouls to haunt all burial-grounds, and to feed upon dead bodies. If a black cat should cross the path when a procession is on its way to the cemetery, it would be regarded as a bad omen; dogs also, and birds of prey are particularly shunned at such times. The women burn herbs and alum, and sprinkle salt on the floors of their houses to keep off the "Evil Eye," and to counteract the pernicious influence of the Fairies, uttering at the same time, the appropriate words. But nothing is considered so efficacious in this respect, as writing up on the lintels of the door or above the entrance, certain passages from the Khoran.

The "Ghins," or Genii, are supposed to reside chiefly among the mountains of "Kaf," which are thought to encircle the earth: but it is believed, that there is no spot from which they are excluded. Different objects are said to have different "Ghins"—

individuals also, — and so in regard to rivers, castles, and the districts of towns; and, what is very singular, —the modern Egyptians believe that the "Good Genius," or *guardian angel* of a community, ought to be represented by a *serpent.* Malicious Spirits are often to be found, they say, in deserted and ruined buildings; and always in the whirlwinds of the desert. They have faith also in "Efree'ts," or ghosts, which, they conceive, never repose quietly, if the ceremonies of the dead have not been duly solemnized; or if the deceased parties had either committed violence or been the subjects of it themselves,—and, what seems very contradictory,—in some parts of Cairo, the people bury the dead beneath the flooring of their houses! One would have supposed that if they had no regard for their own health, their superstitious feelings would at least have taught them better. This horrible practice is a very common cause of fever, and I have sometimes, when visiting patients, found the dwellings intolerable. On the same occasions too, I have seen wretched maniacs or idiots, in a state of nudity, both male and female, variously diseased, groping about the open courts, without regard to decency, because they were reputed *saints.* Persons who are so *possessed,* are thought to be peculiar favorites in Heaven; in proof whereof, that their spirit or intellectual part is associating with Angels in Paradise, despising a mortal state, and that their corrupt and grosser part only is visible to us:— that they are therefore to be "envied and revered." Any obscenities which they may commit are sanctioned on the principle, that the soul being absorbed with heavenly things, there is nothing to control the passions! On this account it is, that impostors spring up: and taking advantage of the credulous and simple, indulge

in excesses of the most brutish kind. There is another class of beings in Egypt, revered by the people on account of their austerities and supposed communion with the Deity—viz. the "Wall'ees," who are nothing more or less, than ascetics who retire to deserted buildings and lonely spots, to pray: some of them are crafty, designing characters; others are fanatics:—they impose upon themselves penances and punishments, like the Devotees and Fakeers of India: they live on charity, and are often made use of by Government as spies, and political agents, and not unfrequently, they are employed by individuals as agents of intrigue, and of the worst of crimes. These Wall'ees of course, perform *miracles*, and contrive means to ingratiate themselves with the inhabitants, who bring them out articles of food, and money, as offerings, and it will easily be understood, that it is in their power to inspire terror, and keep a whole district in subjection. Their influence does not even terminate after death; for their shrine is visited with religious awe, and thither the people repair to make their vows. The "Saadee'yeh," an Order of Deerwee'shes, founded by the Scheikh Saa'd-ed-Deen El-Giba'wee, pretend to have the power of handling, with impunity, venomous, living serpents, and scorpions: and in Lower Egypt, once a year, there is a fanatical exhibition, when these people profess, in token of their religious zeal, to *devour* these animals.* This is not strictly the case; but, it is quite true that after working themselves up to a pitch of frantic excitement, during which they have the most

* On the festival of the birth of the Prophet, the Scheikh of this Sect rides on horseback over the bodies of religious devotees who arrange themselves in a row upon the ground for this purpose, and all profess not to suffer the slightest inconvenience from it. This ceremony is called the "Do'seh."

deadly species of snakes coiled about their necks,—they suddenly thrust the reptiles' heads into their mouths, and biting off the hood and parts adjacent, undoubtedly, chew and swallow them voraciously! It is hardly necessary to add, that the fangs have been previously extracted, and that the scorpions have also had their poison removed! This leads me to speak of the practice so common in eastern countries, of "serpent-charming." The subject has been so often treated before, that I shall be very brief; for having nothing new to state, I merely wish to record my opinion. There can be no question of the whole affair being an imposture,—inasmuch as the serpents are prepared for the occasion. Whether it be the effect of education or an antipathy implanted in us by Nature, it is evident that a greater degree of enmity has always existed between the serpent and the human race than other animals. This is not easily overcome; and it is therefore, that many persons are unwilling to believe the accounts which travellers give of the "Howi," or "Snake-charmers" of Egypt—the "Samp-Wallah" of India—men who are to be found in all large towns, and who travel about the country, not only to exhibit their skill and prowess as "charmers," but to rid the habitations of their dangerous *crawling* visitors: for there are very few houses without them: they get behind the rafters in the roof, and coil themselves up in any corner for warmth. Like most other animals, they will generally make their escape when they can, and they are easily alarmed; but on that account, they require little provocation to *strike*. The "Howi" pride themselves on belonging to the noble race of the Prophet; and therefore, claim the privilege of wearing the green turban, which, of course, entitles them to an extra

share of *confidence!* They parade about the streets with huge serpents, as various in colour as in kind, but all venomous by nature, and yet they handle them with impunity :—the reason is obvious : they have been deprived of their sting, and become tame. These men usually carry with them a basket full of the most deadly varieties, which they exhibit ; and they profess to declare, when they enter a room, whether there is a serpent concealed or not ; and if there is, to entice him from his hiding place by their influence. There is a great deal of trickery in all this : for, as in England rat-catchers are known to leave some rats behind them, so have the "Howi" the happy knack of privately insinuating a tame snake or two on the premises before they commence operations. The animals having been familiarized with such performances, come forth at the sound of music, raise themselves into the erect posture, expand their hood, hiss, eject the tongue, and shew signs of great excitement : the snake-catcher then suddenly seizes them by the head, with apparent adroitness, and deposits them in a basket which has been prepared for the purpose. Sometimes the creatures coil themselves about his body. It is a frightful exhibition to those who are not in the secret ; and they expect every moment, that the man will receive a mortal wound. The instrument employed is a kind of pipe or tabor, which emits an unharmonious murmuring sound. The manœuvres may be varied according to the expectations of the performer, and the rank of the spectators. Now and then, the man excites the snake so highly, that it makes an effort to bite ; and although it has previously had its fangs taken out, the blood flows freely from the wound. From this it appears, that the snakes do occasionally

become vicious; and accidents not unfrequently happen. Instances are recorded of officers in India being instructed in the art of "charming," and serious consequences have ensued; for the "Samp-Wallah" has been known to drug the serpent with opium, the effect of which lasts a fortnight or three weeks, during which period, the reptile remains quiet and harmless, but afterwards returns to its original state. The Oriental Herald related an instance of this. "Lieutenant Hutton, who bought a serpent of one of these men, found it very tractable at first, but after three weeks, it flew at him, and nearly strangled him."* Before the snake-charmers commence their performances, they offer a prayer to "Sivah," the goddess of destruction, and assert with great gravity, that none but their own caste can possibly escape death!

This practice of *charming serpents* is of great antiquity; many allusions are made to it in the sacred writings. David says, speaking of the wicked, "their

* Men often die in this way; even the snake-charmers themselves. A hale athletic man of the "Paun" caste, came to the town of Dantoon: he played a rude pipe with his left hand, and at the same time, tempted the animals to spring at him;—he had three of them loose together: one of them did so, and in two minutes, the Indian grew faint and sick, and was led with difficulty to a tree, where he died in less than fifty minutes, in strong convulsions. Many similar instances are related. Those who suffer from the bites of serpents are generally affected with symptoms of hydrophobia: they experience great thirst, and die at last, asphyxiated; and when bitten by the "Cobra di Capella," the body even undergoes putrefaction before death. It is a mistake to suppose that snakes hurt only with their *teeth*;—some snakes have *no teeth*, but hard gums; and others only attack with their *tongue*;—the same end is attained in either case, by the insertion of the poison: a burning sensation is immediately produced, the limb rapidly swells, and the pain is intense. Major Napier, in his "Scenes and Sports in Foreign Lands," speaks of a "snake-stone," which the natives apply to the wound with great efficacy:—it adheres to the part, he says, (somewhat on the principle of a cupping-glass,) and in a short time, *removes all inconvenience*. It is a pebble resembling a French bean. There is only one animal proof against the bite of the Cobra, viz. the "Mongoose," a small species of Weazel; it is the deadly enemy of the serpent tribe; it seizes its victim by the first vertebra of the neck, and paralyses it.

poison is like the poison of a serpent: they are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear, which will not hearken to the voice of charmers—charming never so wisely." In another place, we are commanded to be "as wise as serpents, and as harmless as doves." The cunning of the serpent has always been proverbial; and the Arabs in the present day, alluding to the piercing, *fiery* expression of the serpent's eye, say of a man who is remarkable for his shrewdness, that he is "as sharp-sighted as an Asp." The same subject is referred to in the 8th chapter of Deuteronomy, where the term "*fiery* serpents" is employed; and it is supposed to illustrate also, the burning heat occasioned by the bite of these animals. In the 5th chapter of Amos, we read this passage—"as if a man went into the house, and *leaned his hand on the wall*, and a serpent bit him." This is easily understood, if we bear in mind that in Judæa, many of the houses are built of unburnt brick, which from the dry state of the atmosphere, soon powders and cracks, leaving deep rents, into which the snakes and scorpions creep; and it is a dangerous thing to lean incautiously against such walls. I was disturbed one night at Jaffa, by my servant, who, reclining with his hand over the back of his head, felt something gliding along his bare arm. Suddenly starting up, a snake about six feet in length, raised his head, and hissing menacingly, darted rapidly away. I took my sword, and went into the apartment; I searched every where, but in vain:—the windows were closed, and how the creature made his exit, or concealed himself, I have not the remotest idea, except it were among the rafters or in some such cavity as I have been describing. Serpents are very fond of milk, and will expose themselves to any risk to obtain

it. When crossing the desert, it is dangerous to encamp too near a plantation, or a bush; and it is always as well to throw the rind of a water-melon to a distance, or it may attract a serpent to the spot, for the sake of the moisture. Serpents bury themselves in the sand also, and they are very destructive to poultry. Many of these remarks apply to scorpions: they are of great size in Egypt, highly venomous, and most prolific.

A very curious and interesting volume might be written on the superstitions of Oriental nations. I have barely been able to glance at the subject. Concerning the "Evil Eye," which is so much dreaded, especially by women in reference to their children, I must content myself with remarking, that to admire, is thought to imply *envy*, the pernicious effects of which must be counteracted, lest some evil befal the infant; and there are various methods of doing this. If a person says "how pretty!" or "what a pretty darling!" she ought to add, "Ma'sh'allah!" or some other pious ejaculation, expressive of submission to the will of the Prophet. No ill effects are then to be apprehended: but if this is omitted, the mother should cut off a piece of the skirt of the child's dress, and burn it; afterwards sprinkling the child with the ashes, or fumigating it with the smoke:—or she may prick on a paper with a needle, an outline supposed to represent the eye of the offender, and burn that:—or, which is still more efficacious, she may place a lump of alum on the fire: it will soon melt down into a substance which the fancy may compare with a human figure, (resembling *of course*, that of the envious person); this is to be powdered, and being mixed with food, should be given to a black dog to eat:—but whilst

either of these processes is going on, the first chapter of the Khoran must be carefully repeated, and the ceremony must be performed a little before sun-set. The over-anxious mother sometimes sews a piece of alum up in one corner of her child's cap, or forms it into an ornamental tassel with small glass beads; or works a number of "cowries" into a tassel, which is to be suspended from the cap:—a similar plan is also adopted by the Arabs in reference to a horse or a camel; for the terrors of the "Evil Eye" are not confined to children; many a valuable animal has stumbled and broken his knees, just at the very moment that an envious passer-by was *admiring* him! It is always advisable therefore, to guard against such a misfortune, by attaching a metallic plate to the forehead, with some commendatory passages from the Khoran engraved upon it!* During the first ten days of the month "Mohhar'ram," certain individuals prepare, and dispense with great gravity, a mixture called the "Mey'ah Mooba'rakah" (the blessed

* In like manner, every scimitar bears an appropriate extract from the Khoran, and warriors attach a similar talisman to their cap. I have often observed an aloe-plant suspended without earth, over the gate-way of a house. This is to insure prosperity and length of days:—it is believed that the Prophet, watching over such a dwelling, will preserve the aloe several years, and that it requires no nourishment. The custom of placing sacred inscriptions on the lintels of the doors, is universal; and they are not unfrequently written on the rim or legs of a table:—this is intended to remind man that he is *immortal*. There are charms innumerable against sickness, and particular charms for each complaint, barrenness, &c., for example—a cup of water from "Zem'zem," the sacred well; or a draught of water out of a metallic cup which has certain quotations and mystical signs upon it—words from the Khoran, written by some holy man on a piece of paper, and applied to the affected part:—words from the Khoran may also be written on the inside of a cup; water being added, it should be stirred until the words disappear, and then drank. The Arabs have great faith in numbers and lucky days; and they believe that frequently reading the ninety-nine titles of Mohammed, will keep off illness, especially if a list of them be also worn about the person,—and moreover, if suspended in any part of the house, that it will avert all kinds of misfortune, sorcery, and enchantment.

storax). The superstitious conceive that it is in the power of these people to confer blessings upon them, and in this way to protect them from all harm during the rest of the year. This never-failing talisman is a mixture of storax, coriander seed, and seed of the fennel-flower, some "sheehh," (a species of wormwood,) and dust of "liba'n," (frankincense). It is usually placed on some coloured paper; and round it, a small heap of yellow, blue, and red salt alternately: —a little is taken from each, and mixed together, by the charm-vender, who mutters a long spell, the words of which are very mysterious; but nobody is so impious as to *doubt* their efficacy! Some of this precious compound is kept in the house by the women, to be used as occasion requires, a little of it being burned in a chafing-dish, and the fumes which ascend being allowed to settle on the injured party.

The dark Sciences,—alchemy, astrology, and magic, are still professed and studied in Egypt; and if we are to believe all the stories that are told, the country contains Sorcerers and Conjurers equal to any that lived in the days of Belshazzar and Daniel. But there is one Sect of Magicians which I cannot pass over in silence; for certainly they do show us some most extraordinary things; and we must candidly confess that we are quite at a loss to understand how they contrive to succeed in their performances as they do. Most persons have heard of the experiment called "the magic mirror of ink," which with some others, is denominated the "Durb-el-Men'del." It consists in causing a child to describe in an artificial mirror, any objects you please, either living or dead, which he has neither seen nor heard of. When I was at Cairo, I had an opportunity of witnessing the skill of the Scheikh

Abd-El-Cka'dir El-Mugh'reb'ee, one of the most celebrated Professors of the Cabalistic Art. He was a tall man, rather stout, venerable in his appearance, with a long beard, and a green turban. A boy of about eight years of age, that happened to be passing at the time, was brought into the house; not knowing what we meant to do with him, the child became so frightened that the Scheikh could make nothing of him; and another was found, about the same age. In the mean time, the Magician prepared some charms—passages from the Khoran written on slips of paper. When all was ready, a pan of live charcoal was introduced, into which he threw some object which burned with a crackling noise, and emitted smoke and odour. What is generally used, is, I believe, a mixture of frankincense, benzoin, and coriander seed. He then poured some black ink into the child's hand, and over it, some water, so as to form a mirror, into which he desired him to gaze *stedfastly*, kneeling upon his knees: the incantation then began. The Scheikh muttering something to himself, which nobody present understood, he threw one of the charms into the fire, then some of the powder, then another charm, and then some more powder, to which he added a white substance very like alum or salt: he continued muttering as before, and gradually filled the room with smoke; he now laid hold of the boy's hand, and pressing it in *his*, asked him several questions concerning what he saw in the mirror: at first I thought they were such as would naturally lead to the answers desired; but as we afterwards called for individuals of whom neither the boy nor the Scheikh could possibly know anything —we were not a little astonished at the correctness of the description given. It is very difficult to reconcile

these matters, and impossible to offer any satisfactory explanation of them: perhaps the fumes of the charcoal and the aromatic substances consumed, may conjure up before the child's eyes certain visionary forms, which the fancy of the spectators may associate with those of the parties they had named. It must not be supposed that the boy is a confederate, or that he sees anything in the mirror, except his own face,—I believe him to be so bewildered that he does not even see that: I conceive that he is very much in the condition of one who is under the influence of opium, and that fear and an over-excited imagination, aided by the fancy of the by-standers, does the rest. The Magician is the mere agent; and of course, a charlatan; and none but the Arabs attribute to him any occult power.

In Persia, and other parts of the East, these men are employed by the credulous to discover where any suspected treasure lies concealed; and in Egypt, they often do good by detecting roguery and imposture. There is nothing surprising in this; their manner and appearance are very impressive; and their experience gives them a knowledge of character; the ignorant and superstitious are awed by their presence, believing them to possess supernatural power, and to be in communion with the Spirits of darkness, and a guilty conscience often betrays the culprit. In the Upper Country, one day, the Reis of our cand'gia, suspecting that he had been robbed by the crew, applied to one of the Magi of the Nile, who professed to point out the thief. He came on board, and having procured a chafing-dish, proceeded in precisely the same way as the Scheikh did, only that he attached a talisman to the turban of each man as he appeared before him; and instead of forming a mirror in the hand, he used a plate. He

burned his charms and muttered his spells, for nearly an hour, smoking us out with incense; and at last, being unable to succeed, he was glad of an excuse to get away. Perceiving that I was making a sketch of him, he suddenly rose up, telling the Reis that the spell was broken, and that he should do no good, because there was a Christian taking his portrait, and that the "Evil Eye" was upon him! They went ashore together to a coffee house; but soon returned, and the crew were so incensed that we expected they would abandon the Reis to the crocodiles. The Wizard, it seems, was not so well versed in necromancy, as some of his Sect, who are known to have puzzled a great many with their chicanery; for, although their experiments do not always succeed, they are calculated, like those of animal magnetism, and certain other tricks of the day, to deceive the unwary, and entangle the simple-minded in the meshes of sophistry. *

* The limits of this work do not allow me to enlarge upon these subjects; and I am the less inclined to do so, because Mr. Lane, whose intimate acquaintance with everything appertaining to the *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, is well known, has written a very *full* account, every word of which may be depended on: to this I would particularly refer; and also to his translation of the "Arabian Nights,"—"Sir John Chardin's Travels,"—and to a very amusing little volume, translated from the original, by James Atkinson, Esq., entitled "Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia, and their Domestic Superstitions."

CHAPTER X.

NEGRO SLAVERY — ASCENT OF THE NILE TO KHENNEH — MEMPHIS — THE FAYOUM — LAKE MŒRIS, AND THE LABYRINTH — THE BIRD-MOUNTAINS — THE CAVERNS OF BENI-HASSAN — ANTINOË — CROCODILE MUMMY PITS — ES-SIOUT — D'GEBEL HEREDI — D'GIRGEH — ABYDOS, ETC.

One of the greatest blessings to be anticipated from the changes which are at present taking place in the Levant, is the civilization of the Interior of Africa. How lavish have we been of the blood of our countrymen, by holding out inducements to them to explore that ill-fated region! How many have proceeded to Tomboctoo, and the Niger — but how few have been permitted to return! And is it to be wondered at that a people who are so cruelly oppressed by their neighbours, should avail themselves of opportunities to get rid of those whom they are taught to regard as the source of all their miseries? We have melancholy proofs that the time has not yet arrived for sending missionaries, or men of Science into Central Africa. It is perfectly well ascertained that the native Mohammedan and Jewish merchants who are settled on distant parts of the coast, do not find it their interest to encourage Europeans either to trade with, or instruct

D'Wolf Yates del. *Printed by C. Hullmandel.*

AN ARAB SLAVE DEALER AND NUBIANS.

the Negroes; because they know that as soon as they become enlightened, they will resist the impositions to which they are now compelled to submit; therefore they try to persuade them that *all white* men are their enemies. They have succeeded, alas! too well; and if the traveller escapes the severity of the climate, he seldom eludes the wrath of the inhabitants: in many parts, the *white* men *are* the source of their calamities: for a considerable traffic in slaves is carried on by private speculators; and Mohammed Ali makes war with the people of Abyssinia, Cordofan, and Dafoûr, for no other reason, than to gratify his avarice and ambition.* The different tribes are also incited to war, because, instead of destroying their prisoners as formerly, they have been taught that it is more profitable to *sell* them

* It was mentioned by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, in March 1839, that the Pascha of Egypt had, *with his accustomed vigour*, succeeded in putting down the abominable practice of the "Garzouah," or negro-hunting. "Hitherto," said he, "war has continually been made *for the purpose of supporting it*. Men were pursued like beasts of chase, and *they were used worse than beasts!* So extensive was the trade, that 12,000 slaves were annually sold in the markets of the *Levant*!" This account of the Pascha's magnanimity seems to have been founded on the report then in circulation—His Highness having, with a view to conciliate the natives of the country, discharged a number of prisoners which his troops had taken, during his recent expedition to the gold-mines of "Fazogloo." A letter from Alexandria in May, and another in November, of the same year, set forth that "the Slave-trade formed too productive a branch of the revenue to be so readily suppressed; and that several black regiments had just been formed;—at no former period were the bazaars of Alexandria and Cairo known to be so encumbered with slaves as at that moment." The following is the statement published by the Pascha's own adherents. "The levy of Negroes ordered by Achmet Pascha, the Governor-General of the Soudan, to complete the regiments in those countries, has excited general discontent, and several tribes which had already become friends to the Egyptians, and had even furnished labourers to collect the auriferous sand of Fazogloo, have left their habitations, and fled into countries unknown to the Commander of the Forces. A general rising is expected in consequence, some of the tribes having commenced open war with the Egyptians, and having driven back the officers sent to collect the taxes. The Governor-General has therefore, been unhappily obliged to permit the 'Garzouah,' which the Viceroy abolished when he was at Kartoum, in hopes that this custom might give place to the introduction of a much more humane system!" Vide p. 132, and Appendix.

to the slave-dealer. In this way, children are suddenly torn from their parents, and parents are separated from their families—manacled, and carried off into Egypt; many do not survive the journey, and others die of a broken heart; for the African is known to possess a very sensitive organization, and to be capable of the strongest and most virtuous attachments. This practice is therefore the means of depopulating the country. Several caravans arrive at Cairo, every year; —their principal halting-places are Es-Souan, and Ghéneh, for those who come from Abyssinia, and Cordofan—and D'girgeh for those who are natives of Dafoûr: they are driven across the desert linked together by the neck, and arriving at the Nile, are then forwarded by water. I have passed many such cargoes, men, women, and children, perfectly naked, emaciated, and disconsolate, all huddled up together, like pigs or sheep, and swarming with vermin. Sometimes they change hands *en route*, the various dealers bartering with one another, and each putting his mark upon his *stock* with a hot iron, that in the event of one being missed, he may swear to him before the Cadi! The Waka'leh or Khan which constitutes the slave-market at Cairo, is a filthy, wretched court, surrounded by arched vaults or dungeons, having an upper floor for the females, of which I generally saw a good supply. Any person is at liberty to inspect them—just as he would cattle: they invariably look ill, and except when a purchaser draws near, *dejected;* for they are compelled by the "D'gellab," their master, on such occasions, to smile and appear happy, that they may fetch a good price: but it is easy to see that their apparent good humour is *forced*, owing to the D'gellab's presence; and those who carry on this debasing traffick,

are not generally men of the most *tender hearts!* I saw there a great number of slaves from all parts, of both sexes, and various ages, squatting in groups upon a piece of ragged mat, or upon the bare earth. The women were naked to the loins, around which was bound the "raht," or apron, made of strips of untanned buffalo's hide, ornamented with shells; their bodies were thickly anointed with grease, and some of them wore glass beads, and brass rings or armlets. The Abyssinians are much better-looking than any of the rest; their features are more regular and spirituelle:—I saw one very beautiful girl who was to be sold for sixty dollars (about 15*l.*), and many others who were well-formed, and wanting neither intelligence nor expression: they were modest and well behaved, and rejoiced at the idea that their toils were nearly at an end; for when sold, they are better provided for, fed, and clothed, and for the most part well treated. It is said that "where you buy your slave, you buy your *whip*" —but it has been justly remarked that "there you buy also a tamarind *conserve*,"—and many other nice things! The fact is, that the Turks and Arabs are generally kind to their slaves; and could the unfortunate exiles forget their homes and relatives, they might be, and many doubtless are, much happier than thousands of the Fellahs who, having to shift for themselves, are suffering from disease and want, and oppression of the severest kind.* But supposing that slaves

* Still, instances to the contrary do happen. When I was in Anatolia, a poor black woman presented herself before me, declaring with tears in her eyes, that she was the property of a cruel man who had lived with her twenty years, although, according to the Turkish law, he ought to have given her her freedom at the expiration of ten years:—that he ill-treated her, and had murdered the son which she had borne him:—but that, once in Smyrna or Stamboul, she flattered herself she should be able to obtain justice! See Appendix to Vol. I. —also p. 88. Vol. II.

are so much better off, and that a few may even hold high offices, and ultimately enrich themselves: this can be no argument in the present enlightened age, in support of a system which, to say the least, is selfish, barbarous, unjust, and impious! As soon as a man becomes a *slave*, he is rated as an *inferior* being whom every one thinks he has a right to spurn: he is despised as a menial; his spirit is broken; and however he may be insulted, he dares not resent the injury. A slave may be the son of a Prince; yet he is sold for a few dollars to minister to the caprices of a licentious tyrant! Those who do advocate the present system, argue that Negroes are better off as slaves than they could possibly be roaming about among the dreary wilds of Africa; but they forget that this very *roaming about* implies *freedom*, and that nothing is so highly-prized by the Ethiopian as freedom:—they forget that he possesses a frame which is inured to privation, and that his wants are few:—they forget that the wilderness as the land of his fathers, has attractions and associations for which *nothing* on a foreign shore can compensate. The desert, with all its terrors, has charms for the Negro:—it is dear to him as his home, the place of his birth, and the hallowed spot where his kindred lie interred; and all other realms seem drear and desolate. In the desert he has been planted by a wise and good Providence; he has a nature suited to the climate, and he is happy: for—*he is free!*

Liberty is sweet to all! Who then shall pronounce that in Egyptian *bondage*, the African is better off! Oh! but the Negro, we are told, has another conformation of head; he is stupid—insensible! If this applies to the natives of the Gold Coast, and some other parts, it certainly does not to those of Cordofan

and Darfoûr: for they are remarkable for their warmth of feeling, and in no respect, deficient in ability.* The inhabitants of the great Sahara desert, are described by every traveller, as a well-made, intelligent, and noble people, with some exceptions, good-looking, and as having, at all events, nothing disgusting in their appearance;—they are to be distinguished from the Moors, properly so called, who are a race peculiar to themselves, and as remarkable for their talent as their ferocity, form, and demeanour.† Those who profess antipathy to the *Blacks*, are generally persons who have not been thrown much in communication with them, and who have seen them only in a degraded capacity; but if their intercourse with them had been more extended, they would probably have discovered that the features which they disliked, are not universal —that they possess many excellent qualities, and that they are quite able to appreciate the moral virtues. If some of them are deficient in intelligence, it is in a great degree, because they have been denied those blessings which have been showered down upon us: but exertions are now making to better the condition

* Many of the poor African and Nubian slaves which have been forced by Mohammed Ali from the interior, are known to have become sick, pined away, and died, because their hearts were desolate: and on a certain occasion in France, a Negro accidentally seeing a palm-tree in a hot-house, burst into tears, and for a long time, could not be prevailed on to quit it.

† "The contrast between the Moorish and Negro characters is as great as that between the nature of their respective countries; or between their form and complexion. The Moors appear to possess the vices of the Arabs without their virtues: and to avail themselves of an intolerant religion to oppress strangers: while the Negroes, and especially the Mandingoes, unable to comprehend a doctrine that substitutes opinion or belief for the social duties, are content to remain in their humble state of ignorance." At another time, Mr. Park writes, "During the whole Fast of Rhámadh'an which now took place, the Negroes behaved themselves with great meekness and humility, forming a striking contrast with the savage intolerance and brutal bigotry which, at this period, characterize the Moors." See Park's Travels, p. 322, and Appendix, p. xcii.

of the rising generation. I could mention signal instances of talent in those who have come under my own knowledge; and I never met with a case in which a Negro child had been removed *sufficiently early*, from scenes of wickedness and vice, and in which the seeds of Christianity were sown, before he was old enough to have imbibed bad principles, that did not turn out well. But some persons cannot bring their minds to believe this; for it is difficult for them to root out early impressions; and those who are most secluded from the world, generally have the strongest prejudices:—again; popular notions, however absurd, often influence the judgment without our knowledge, and we are guided by the opinions of others rather than our own: we may even become bigoted:—there are few that have courage to resist ridicule; and pride, which is one of the greatest enemies of man, often makes us blush to do good. We cannot then wonder at the feelings which exist among uncivilized tribes. Torn from their families, and doomed to the most abject misery, the poor untutored Africans demand our warmest sympathy:—they are known to be as ardent in their affections as ourselves; and experience teaches that, if well treated, they are grateful and true to their benefactors. But it is not the torments inflicted on the *body* only which degrade the Negro—it is the darkness which overshadows the *soul*—a state of enthralment which is infinitely more dreadful to contemplate, than any physical suffering; and this it should be the province of the Christian to remove:—for, that one man should possess a property in the person of another, and buy or sell his neighbour, who is equally an object of his Maker's care, and of the proffered blessings of redemption, is utterly incon-

sistent with the unalienable rights of the human race, and with the immutable decrees of God.

All slave-dealers are not equally ferocious and hardened to the sufferings of those who are the means of enriching them; and I am happy to allude to an instance in the person of a Slatee or free black merchant, called Karfa, to whom Mr. Park was indebted for great compassion and kindness. He presented our traveller with an English Prayer-book, to his no little astonishment,—"to the perusal of which," said he, "and *to the benevolent simple manners of the Negroes*, I chiefly attribute my restoration to a state of convalescence." Such instances are, however, rare; and Mr. Park has more frequently occasion to speak of the sufferings of the poor Negroes from their treatment. It happened that one of the slaves belonging to the "coffle," or caravan, had travelled with great difficulty for the last three days, and being unable to proceed any further, his master proposed to exchange him for a young slave girl belonging to a resident of Jallacoka, a settlement on the Falemè river, a branch of the Senegal. The poor girl was ignorant of her fate until the bundles were all tied up in the morning, and the coffle was ready to depart; when, coming with some other young women to see the coffle set out, her master took her by the hand, and delivered her to his customer. Never was a face of serenity more suddenly changed into one of the deepest distress: the terror she manifested on having the load put upon her head, and the rope fastened round her neck, and the sorrow with which she bade adieu to her companions, were truly affecting. This anecdote, whilst it illustrates the sufferings of the Blacks, shews also that there *can* exist happiness in the desert, and that we have no right

to take for granted, that their joy would be enhanced by their being brought away.*

When I was at Thebes, wishing one day to cross the Nile to Luxor, I proceeded to the ferry. I found there, a number of black pilgrims waiting the arrival of some pious Moslem, who should take them across, as they had no money. I therefore engaged the boat, and carried them over. When we pushed off, one of the poor fellows being faint and sick from fatigue, was left behind, unobserved, except by his friend, who, without saying a word, was in the act of jumping overboard, in order to remain with his companion. I immediately stopped him, and told the boatman to put back, which gave me, in the estimation of the whole party, an additional claim to their gratitude. They made no professions; but when we reached the opposite shore, they began to pray for me. I offered one of them some money for his sandals, which he parted with reluctantly, although I explained to him that he could get others which would answer his purpose, at Luxor. He hesitated, apparently because the sandals reminded him of his *home:* they are very simple in their construction:—the sole consists of a piece of untanned buffalo's hide, adapted to the shape and size

* When Mr. Park quitted Karfa, he writes:—"Although I was now approaching the end of my tedious and toilsome journey, and expected in another day, to meet with countrymen and friends, I could not part for the last time, with my unfortunate fellow travellers, doomed, as I knew most of them to be, to a life of captivity and slavery, in a foreign land, without great emotion. During a wearisome peregrination of nearly 500 British miles, exposed to the burning rays of a tropical sun, these poor slaves, amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings, would commiserate mine, and frequently of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirst, and leaves to prepare me a bed in the wilderness. We parted with reciprocal expressions of regret and benediction. My good wishes and prayers were all I could bestow upon them, and it afforded me some consolation to be told, that they were sensible that I had no more to give." p. 356. And yet these are the people that are called savages, and put on a level with the brutes!

of the foot: to this is attached a narrow slip of the same material, which passes round the great toe, and once over the instep, to join another which is placed behind the heel. These poor fellows had been *nine months* travelling in the desert from their native place to the banks of the Nile, and were on their way to Mekkah: they seemed much worn, and very feeble. Such pilgrims carry no money, and solicit none; but rely upon the charity of those they meet with in the villages through which they pass: they can all write, and are acquainted with the Khoran: they are instigated only by religious fervour. Having remained some time at the Tomb of the Prophet, they return home as they came: should one of them sink down exhausted and die, an heap of stones would be erected to his memory, and his lonely tomb would be revered by all future pilgrims, as the resting-place of an holy man who had passed into the realms of bliss, and who was in the full participation of the joys prepared for all true believers. The wandering tribes offer them no molestation; but regarding them as saints, share with them every thing they possess, and in return, seek a blessing at their hands, and consult them when sick. Their faith is of the purest and simplest kind: they consider that if it pleases Allah to afflict his people with disease, it is their duty to bow with submission to his will, and that any attempt to counteract His designs would be impious. Their plan is then to say a prayer over the sick man, and having suspended a piece of paper or a leaf with a passage from the sacred volume written upon it, as near to the seat of pain as possible, they once more appeal to the goodness and power of Allah, and take their leave with a blessing to the patient, whom they generally inspire with hope

and consolation, and not unfrequently restore to health —so great is the impression made upon the nervous system! These simple-minded and sincere men, are usually laden with rice, lintels, and fruit, when they go away, sufficient to last them to the next encampment, where they are sure to be received with hospitality: they go forth on their pious errand, trusting implicitly on Him who alone is able to defend them from harm: they take with them "neither scrip nor purse,"—nor think "where they shall eat or drink;" and, except for the desert, "provide no provender for the way,"—but they carry with them a broad, flat tablet of wood, on which they write their charms! There seemed to exist throughout this little party, the greatest harmony and brotherly love. I was both pleased and instructed, and I regard my sandals as a valuable relic. On sharing a trifle with them at parting, they were sensibly affected, and commenced praying for me with one accord, calling down upon me the blessings of Allah and the Prophet. I quitted them with no ordinary feelings, for my heart was with them; and who shall say that the pious aspirations of these zealous, guileless people shall not ascend to the throne of Grace? I believe it would be difficult to find, in happier and more civilized lands, an example of more sincere and unsophisticated worship than that of the Black Pilgrims of the Nile; and I would remark of them, as Mr. Park did of the Feloops, a tribe of the Gambia—"how greatly is it to be wished, that the minds of a people so determined and faithful, could be softened and civilized by the mild and benevolent spirit of Christianity!" According to the observations of this enterprizing traveller, the slaves constitute three-fourths of the African population; and the sources of slavery he

considers to be war, *famine*, inclemency, and the commission of crimes for which it is awarded.*

Taking into account their present unenlightened condition, it is obvious, that great judgment and discrimination are necessary, to insure the success of any missionary efforts. Unless we convince the understanding, we cannot improve the heart: one great mean therefore, is the influence of *good example:* not the formal distribution of cold doctrines, but the *exer-*

* Famine is a natural consequence of the feuds which exist between the Negro Princes; for the conqueror invariably carries off, not only as many captives as he can, but also the flocks and herds, which he considers his peculiar right. The sufferings of the vanquished then become so great, that having parted with all they have, and being reduced to the greatest extremity, the cravings of hunger, and the keenest mental suffering, the poor parent, in an agony of despair, has been known to part with one of her children to a D'gellab, that she might obtain the means of support for the rest, whom she has watched and fondled with so much solicitude. When Mr. Park was at Sibidooloo, an instance of this kind actually occurred:—there being a great scarcity, he saw a poor woman *sell her child*, a fine boy of about five years of age, for forty days' provisions for herself, and the rest of her family. No one can sit at home in England, and enter into the feelings of the African mother at such a time as this; and it would be an act of gross injustice to suppose, that in tenderness and affection for her offspring, she is at all inferior to the fair European. I have not been so far as Mr. Park, but I have had, nevertheless, opportunities of observing the conduct of the female Negroes. Many a time, I have stood with delight, to see with what joy and tenderness the enraptured parent has pressed and fondled her little infant in her bosom. I have witnessed too with indescribable pleasure, the glistening tear, ready to start upon her cheek, as she has watched the little innocent sleeping by her side, or played and trifled with him at her feet. These people are the children of Nature: they are bound by no laws, and shackled by no customs, which render it necessary for them to stifle and subdue the emotions of the soul. Those feelings which God has given them, they do not blush to demonstrate. They have none of that affected pride and pretended sensibility which induce some to shrink from the gaze of others, and even to transfer to the care of a stranger, those offices which are the duty of the parent alone. Mr. Park asserts, that in all his wanderings and wretchedness, he found the women uniformly kind and compassionate; and he adds, "I can truly say, as my predecessor Mr. Ledyard has eloquently said before me,—' to a woman, I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. If I was hungry or thirsty, wet or sick, they did not hesitate, like the men, to perform a generous action. In so free, and in so kind a manner, did they contribute to my relief, that if I was dry, I drank the sweetest draught, and if hungry, I ate the coarsest morsel with a double relish.' "—See Park's Travels, p. 263.

cise of the social virtues:—it is not the forms, but the *spirit* of religion that we would inculcate: for then we may hope that good works will follow. Religious enthusiasts ought never to be sent to our colonies: I am convinced they often do a great deal of harm, and mar the cause in which, with the best intentions, they may engage: they seem to forget that it is possible to teach by *example* as well as precept, and that before we sow the seed, we must prepare the soil. It is madness to begin, as some of them do, by obtruding new doctrines upon men whose untutored minds are filled with prejudice, fanaticism, and superstition.

All great changes require *time*, and I am of opinion, that far more is to be done by instructing the young, than by attempting to convert the old; or if we do attempt it, surely it appears more rational to begin by acts of philanthropy, such as were practised by our Saviour who "went about doing good," that he might open the soul to the influence of Christian love, and inculcate the principles of universal peace. I conceive that by reason of our commercial intercourse, it is in our power to do much towards enlightening the minds of the Africans. Several attempts have been made lately by the Landers and others, and failed from the causes which I have assigned; and until the animosity which is purposely roused against the white men, by wicked and mercenary beings, is assuaged, the missionary will do well to *reflect* before he trusts himself among the tribes of the interior. The death of poor Davison affords a melancholy instance of the treachery of the Moorish merchants, whose object it is, as I have stated, to keep the Negroes in a state of intellectual darkness; and I have endeavoured to shew, that a similar feeling is excited and kept alive by the emis-

saries of the Pascha of Egypt, who carry on an illicit trade, and destroy the peace of thousands for their own barbarous gratification.

The African Kings look upon Mohammed Ali (the Melêk Gebir) as the Great Leviathan of the North; they fear him as an enemy, yet dare not be his friends; for they have felt his power, and have the good sense to perceive, that his overtures are founded on the basest intrigue and cunning. No wonder then, if, as soon as a *white man* (or as they would say, a *yellow* man) appears among them, he should be narrowly watched and suspected, and regarded as a *spy*. As long as such a system prevails, it is obvious that the best efforts of missionaries would be frustrated, and their lives endangered. This is very sad, because the English are preferred by the Feloops and many other tribes, who, during the war, even took up arms to defend our property against the attacks of the French; and on such occasions, uniformly manifested strict integrity. We are not so well known to those which are more remote; but I doubt not that, if all ill-grounded prejudices could be done away, by the discontinuance of these nefarious practices, there are few, if any, who would not cheerfully trade with us, as well as with the Egyptians, and by degrees, become useful members of society, and good citizens. They already understand the arts of weaving, dyeing, and sewing, and the tanning and dressing of leather; they manufacture knives and other instruments, and trade with their neighbours; they can smelt gold and iron, and draw it into wire: they make soap from ground nuts; and beautiful hats and baskets from rushes and woven cane, and stain them of various colours: in some parts, they manufacture gunpowder, obtaining their nitre from

cattle ponds, and their sulphur from the Moors: salt and charcoal they prepare in the desert. On the Gambia, the Negroes practise vaccination, cupping, and bone-setting; they are tolerable carpenters, gardeners, and builders, and they are fast improving in their intellectual and moral condition; that is, in those districts where there is anybody to teach them. It may justly be said that they owe these blessings to their intercourse with Europeans; and I do hope that as much will, ere long, be done, for the tribes of the south and east.*

Having obtained, through the politeness of the British Consul, a very strongly worded firmaun from the Pascha, and made all other necessary arrangements, we embarked for the Upper Country, at Boolak, on the evening of Thursday the eleventh of

* Many of those in the west are acquainted with the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Book of Isaiah, from Arabic versions; the Old Testament being respected by the Moslems, who have many things in common with the Christians. Mr. Park (who travelled chiefly in the Mandingo country), states that his surprise was not greater on hearing accounts of the early Fathers from the lips of the Negroes, than theirs on finding that *he* was acquainted with them; for "although the Negroes in general have a very great idea of the wealth and power of Europeans, I am afraid," said he, "that the Mohammedan converts among them, think but very *lightly* of our superior attainments in *religious* knowledge. The white traders in the maritime districts take no pains to counteract this unhappy prejudice; always performing their own devotions in secret, and *seldom condescending to converse with the Negroes in a friendly and instructive manner.*" The intentions of the Missionary Society are good: and of late years, great exertions have been made; but not with the beneficial results that might have been anticipated; and the object of these remarks is, to point out the *cause*, in the sanguine hope that those who have the power, may exert themselves to remedy the evil. I trust that no apology is necessary for having dwelt so long on this highly important subject: I would not that it should be said, that whilst we are anxious to draw from obscurity, the opinions and records of antiquity, and the beauties of Arabian and Asiatic Literature, we are indifferent about the welfare of our suffering and benighted fellow-creatures. It is too often the case, that the *Aborigines* of a country are disregarded,—if attempts be not even made to scatter or exterminate them; whereas, it is obviously the *true* interest of intelligent settlers, to conciliate and befriend them. The Egyptian traveller is continually meeting with Negro caravans on their way to the great city: the

March, Mr. Bradford and myself, with Mohammed and Hassan, in one cand'gia, Messrs. Robinson and Maltass, and their drogueman in another. It was a lovely night: the atmosphere was clear and serene; the moon and planets shone forth invitingly, and the wind was fair: nevertheless, we did not loose from our moorings until day-break; for it was necessary to look around, and see that nothing had been omitted. On setting out on such a journey, it is always difficult to get the crew together: they naturally linger until the last moment, with their families, and it is very important to ascertain that the Reis clearly understands his instructions.

The quay of Boolak is at all times, a bustling, noisy place, strewed with bales of goods, wheat, barley, and beans, the custom-house being close at hand: there is, of course, a cabaret or house of accommodation for the Arab sailors, and gossips of the district: the other buildings consist of the Mosque of Es-Shalámán-heeyeh, a printing and lithographic establishment, some warehouses, a depôt for soldiers, Ismael Pascha's Palace, and not far off, that of the notorious Defterdar Bey, the late son-in-law of Mohammed Ali.* Formerly, the arsenal was at Boolak, but it has been transferred to the citadel. The Pascha's officers are always on the watch, ready to intercept any

unfortunate beings are full of anxiety concerning the fate which may there await them; and their appearance, even after they have reposed a few days at one of the accustomed halting-places, is truly distressing, and cannot but call forth the commiseration of the beholder. Reposing at one's ease in a comfortable cand'gia, surrounded by every luxury, a mind unruffled by the enormities of oppressors, and in the enjoyment of health and the benefits of education, one has time and opportunity for undisturbed reflection. Who then can allow his attention to be arrested, even for a few moments, by a passing slave-boat, without expressing his sympathy for the sorrows of its unhappy passengers?

* See Vol. I. Chap. iv.

cargoes that may be destined either for the Upper Country, or for Alexandria, and they seldom find it difficult to frame an excuse for detaining them: their meddling propensities and shameless extortion have filled the merchants with disgust. We were disturbed at a very early hour, by the chattering of unknown tongues, and being hemmed in by the numerous d'germs, and smaller craft, which collect about the port, we found our position, as on former occasions, any thing but agreeable, and we were very glad to hear from our Reis, that all was ready, and that he only waited orders to depart. The sun was already up, and the vapours of the morning were fast dissipating: our hearts were light; and full of expectation, we set sail with a gentle north-westerly breeze. When we reached the middle of the stream, we obtained a view of the village of Embábeh on the one side, and several beautiful kiosks and summer houses on the other, near the entrance to the "Kháleeg," or canal, which on a certain day, during the inundation, is opened with great rejoicings, to admit the waters of the Nile into the Imperial City. This is therefore the most healthy and agreeable part of Cairo. Passing near the residences of Ismael Pascha, Mahmoud, and Halim Bey, we stood over to the Island of Er-Rhóuddah, where we obtained a full view of Ibrahim Pascha's Palace, a very extensive stone building with several abutments, and projecting wings, rendered light and ornamental, by numerous windows. It stands in a very commanding situation, in the midst of gardens, bounded by a terrace, and a spacious landing-place; and it is not a little singular, that it marks as nearly as may be, the spot which we suppose formed a part of the royal domain in the days of the Pharaohs. Ibrahim Pascha

has displayed considerable taste in all his arrangements at this princely edifice, and caused the whole of the island opposite to be laid out in gardens and shrubberies, under the superintendence of Mr. Traill, an English horticulturist of experience and talent. He has an extensive collection of exotics and European plants,—orange and citron groves, the aloe, the myrtle, the sweet-scented mimosa, rose-trees, and cassia, together with avenues of stately trees—the sycamore, the fig, the cedar, the tamarisk, the palm, the banana, and many others, affording a most luxurious and refreshing shade. The whole island belongs to him; and if he is spared, he will doubtless, restore it to its former fertility and beauty. I have already mentioned that His Highness has evinced a great predilection for the Arts, and a fondness for the pleasures of domestic life, notwithstanding that he has been called upon to absent himself from his home, and to engage in the more active duties of a soldier. He is compelled to obey his father's injunctions; but he has laid the foundation of a public library and museum, and renders every encouragement in his power to men of Science. On the island of Er-Rhóuddah, is the "Mikyás," or Nilometer of the Ancient Egyptians; it is inclosed in what has formerly been converted into a mosque, and near it, are the Government powder works. As we approached Old Cairo, the scene became very animated; numbers of rough-looking men appeared upon the banks, variously occupied; and women, dressed in the long blue chemise peculiar to their station, were talking in pairs, or fetching water from the river, on the surface of which, numbers of picturesque, white sails were softly skimming in the sun. We encountered also several enormous rafts made up of "Bar-

daks," and "Balaas," i. e. the Khenneh water jugs, and pitchers, lashed together at the handles, and protected by long strips of wood. These were being floated down the stream (like timber on the Rhine, or the great American rivers) to the markets of Cairo, and other large towns: upon most of them was erected a species of rude awning, consisting of an old carpet supported by four poles, and each was attended by two or three men, and generally a female and a *cat*. As we drew near to Ghizeh, we saw the remains of the French fortifications, the residence and kiosk of the Mamoor or Governor, and the spot where the distinguished Murad Bey once lived, and in the vicinity of which, the Viceroy has since erected a school for his cavalry officers.* On the other side, is Fostât before mentioned, distinguished by its ancient aqueduct,† and the lofty Tower of Babylon, now the residence of the Greek Patriarch, and near which, is the Coptic church, where, it is pretended, on the faith of Saint Sergius, that the infant Saviour rested with His parents.‡

A great deal has been said relative to the precise situation of Memphis; some persons fixing on one point, some on another; but I am inclined to think,

* The word Ghizeh signifies "Ferry." It is now, as I have stated, a miserable village; but during the time of the Saracens, it contained several important buildings, lofty palaces, a market, and a college. There were also "a considerable number of Pyramids, which were pulled down by a Greek, named Kara-Kûsh, one of the principal Emirs under Salah-ed-Din, who, being superintendent of the public works, adopted this method of procuring materials."

† According to Mr. Hay, the aqueduct was erected by the Sultan-el-Ghooree, about A.H. 909 (A.D. 1503.) It is sixty-eight feet high, and has 300 arches: it leads partly through the ruins of the Old City, and partly through the cemetery to the "Bab-el-Karáfeh," a branch running southwards to the "Imam-esh-Shâfe'ee," and the ancient gardens of "El-Besa'teen." The building contains seven water wheels turned by oxen; hence it is called "Es-seba-Sawa'kee."

‡ Besides these, there are two Latin Convents at Cairo, one termed the "Terra Santa," the other belonging to the "Propaganda," and there is also an Armenian Bishop.

that nearly all are correct, inasmuch as they take too limited a view. According to Diodorus Siculus, Memphis was 150 furlongs, or nearly nineteen miles, in circumference; and Strabo asserts that the Pyramids were placed on an eminence, at a distance of forty furlongs, or five miles, from the city, — Pliny says *six* miles: moreover, the whole of the plain which extends between Ghizeh and Lake Mœris, is strewed with sepulchral grottoes, as if it had been the cemetery of many ages. Herodotus also states, that people during the inundation, did not proceed from Naucratis * to Memphis, by the river, because the current was so strong; but that, the country being flooded, they sailed under the Libyan mountains, and by the side of the Pyramids, over the plain to the *back* of the city. He adds, that walls or ramparts were also built, to "prevent the river swallowing up the city," which, he continues, was built "in the straits, or narrowest part of Egypt," precisely answering to that by Fostât and Ghizeh. Now, just such walls have been found; and in like manner, there is a massy stone wall extending about 800 yards along the western shore of the Island of Er-Rhóuddah, where there is also a tower of Roman construction; and on the authority of Strabo, we believe that there was a bridge of boats connecting the island with the main land on both sides. Lastly, numerous fragments of colossal statues belonging to the temples of Vulcan, Osiris, Pthah, Athor the Egyptian Venus, and the "Serapium" or temple of Serapis, (the supposed entrance to the secret passages leading to the Pyramids), all of which were overthrown by Bokht-Nass'r (Nebuchadnezzar) and finally broken to pieces by the Khaliph Omar,—have been found at

* A town on the Canopic branch of the Nile, near Alexandria.

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ruins to be seen in the Fayoum; and even now, that district is perhaps the most fertile in Egypt:—it has always been famous for its roses; and the olive and the vine still flourish: but the dykes and canals having been neglected, it is not above a third of its original size. Arsinoë, like the Oasis in the wilderness, once contained a thriving population, and was remarkable for its pagan ceremonies, and the richness of its soil. Opposite Beni-Soueff, is a very wild plain, extending up between the mountain ridges, to the monasteries of the D'gebel Kolsoum: it is called the Valley of Arba, or the Chariots, and was rendered famous by the fierce conduct of its former inhabitants, who, though professedly Christians, were freebooters, levying contributions on all who came within their power. The heights above abound in grottoes, some of which were the habitations of monks. The desert has encroached here to such an extent, that several villages have been entombed; and in traversing the shelving grounds towards the cultivated slip which skirts the river, we walk over the tops of the buried habitations of man. Behneseh, near the Bah'r Youssouff, marks the site of the once famous "Oxyrinchus," also a Christian colony; but now overwhelmed by the *Libyan* desert. A few marble columns, I believe, still remain above ground. The Arabian side of the Nile preserves its wild and gloomy aspect; and about half-way between Beni-Soueff and Minieh, the next town of any importance, are situated what are termed the "Bird-Mountains," whose rugged

depended on the evidence of others; in this instance, however, he had an opportunity of judging for himself, and he tells us that he *saw* the lake, and was conducted through one-half of the Labyrinth! We are told that there was a chain of lakes in the neighbourhood: now it would not have been difficult for Mœris to have united two or three of these during the inundation, or by letting in the Nile, after having built the Pyramids in the midst of them.

cliffs and precipices afford a safe retreat to cormorants and black Arabian eagles, which descend at intervals, into the plains, to feed upon the smaller birds, wild-ducks, jackals, water-rats, and fish. Minieh is a considerable place, about 140 miles from Cairo, and nearly half-way to D'girgeh, and is supposed to be identical with the Ancient "Cynopolis:" it has several mosques, clean streets, coffee-houses, and bazaars: the markets are well supplied. This being rather a populous town, we were not surprised at a visit from the "Gha'wa'zee, who went through the intricacies of their amorous exhibition, with the most scrupulous minuteness, surrounded by a motley group, which had collected at the sound of the tambour and lyre. Minieh is famous for its bread, and milk—I certainly never tasted better in my life. We laid in a stock sufficient to last four people two days, for two piastres; and we provided a good supply of wheat-flour, and eggs, of which latter we received three dozen for a piastre.* The river is here generally divided into two or three channels, by sand accumulations, and the tide runs very strong: so that the aspect of the stream changes at different seasons. The moon rose at 10 P.M., but was somewhat obscured, the wind being south-east; and the atmo-

* There are *four* methods of baking in the East. The oven referred to in the Scriptures as being infested with frogs, was merely a hole in the earth, into which it was usual to insert a cylindrical or conical vessel with a lid: a charcoal fire being made at the bottom, the bread was then introduced. The same plan is still adopted. Sometimes a fire is made in an earthen jar or a stone pitcher, and the dough laid over the jar and baked. Some bake their bread in a flat vessel like a frying-pan, or on a simple plate of iron; but a very common method is, to make a corner of the hearth quite clean; then placing upon it a lump of kneaded paste which is ready for baking, to cover it with hot ashes, turning it in ten minutes, or a quarter of an hour. I have often seen the Bedoueen Arabs bake bread in this way, in the desert, using either a flat plate of iron, or the bare rock. See Exod. viii. 2, et seq.; Lev. ii. 4, et seq.; Gen. xviii. 6, &c. Milk forms one of the chief articles of diet among Oriental nations. See Judges iv. 19; Prov. xxvii. 27; xxx. 33.

sphere being very close, we did not feel disposed to quit the river. The next day, we made an excursion to the very interesting caverns of Beni-Hassan, cut out of the face of the rocks on the Arabian side: they are a short distance from the river, and approached by a long and rugged terrace, more or less obstructed by masses of stone and loose rubbish, which renders them difficult of access: but they are well worth the trouble. Some of them are very spacious, measuring from thirty to fifty feet in length, from twenty to thirty-five feet in height, and about twenty-five feet in width. The walls are covered with curious paintings, for the most part, scenes from domestic life, similar to those which appear in the sepulchral grottoes about the Pyramids, the excavated caverns at Q'hournah, and other places. The figures are well executed, but have been purposely defaced by religious fanatics. Some of the rooms are quite square; and the roof is in several instances, supported by columns, in imitation of the stem of the palm.

The old town has a very singular appearance, being almost buried in the sand, and the traveller walks over the roofs of the dwellings: the modern village lies across a deep, spiny ravine, a desolate-looking place in the midst of overhanging precipices and broken crags. About eight miles to the S.E. is "Scheikh Ababdè," contiguous to "Antinoë," or "Antinoopolis," a Roman settlement, founded by the Emperor Hadrian, in honour of his favourite Antinous, a beautiful youth, who was drowned in the Nile; but very little of it is now to be seen, although, previous to the Saracen invasion, it was the *metropolis* of Upper Egypt! The ruins are different from those in other parts, being decidedly Roman: the city has been walled, and there

are traces of Corinthian pillars, a triumphal arch, and a theatre: the streets were spacious, and an avenue of granite columns once led from the river to the principal entrance, similar to those which are to be seen at "Soli." The Fellahs of this district still carry a long hh'andgiar or knife in their girdle; and in Norden's time, it was extremely dangerous for strangers to land without a strong party.*

We approached Mellawi in the forenoon of Thursday the 18th, and were surprised to find persons waiting on the banks to receive us, with an official message from the Kiascheff, begging our acceptance of a couple of sheep—the meaning of which was, that he expected a visit, and *of course* a suitable present in return. I thought immediately of the robberies committed by these sharks upon the poor Fellahs—but there was no alternative; and see him we must!† Mellawi is a very considerable town, about a mile and a half in-land; it contains a manufactory for strong thick cloth: the situation is good, and the district fertile. Donkeys were procured, and we set forth provided with the *tribute* which *honour* compelled us to pay! The meeting was very insipid, as all such meetings are: the worst of it was, it led to a *visitation* in return, and

* About two hours to the S.W. is the site of *Hermopolis Magna*, "the City of Thoth." A magnificent portico is all that remains of its former greatness; but several granite columns lie scattered about:—the modern village is called "Shmoun." In this neighbourhood, some years ago, a Mr. Brine carried on the sugar refining to a considerable extent; but the Mohammedans discovering that he used bullocks' blood instead of milk and eggs, became highly incensed, and threw every obstacle in his way. The works were then superintended by an Italian; but in Egypt, the same parties are seldom in favour long together:—there are three different qualities of sugar produced; and latterly, a distillery of very fair rum has been established. The principal sugar plantations are at "Tarût-es-Shereeff," a district bordering on the "Bah'r Youssouff," where it branches off from the Nile. A great deal of coarse sugar is manufactured on the spot, and afterwards brought down to be refined.—See note, p. 388.

† Vide p. 8.

detained us at a place where there was nothing particular to see. It appeared that His Worship had been taking his morning ride on the banks of the river, and seeing a cand'gia with the British Union Jack flying, dispatched his officers to make a tender of his services —or rather, to *secure the expected booty*.

Fortunately, a stiff breeze arose from the N.E., and we made up for lost time, arriving at Manfalout the same evening. The approach to this city is one of the finest which we had yet seen: the western banks present a rich carpet of the "bersim" or clover, cotton, hemp, wheat, Indian corn, and sugar-cane: the river is bold, and rolls its waters at the bases of projecting rocks, whilst in other parts, the mountains stretch far away into the depths of the Arabian wilderness, varying in form, and resembling pinnacles, terraces, and turrets, picturesque ruins, and extensive forts. After sun-set, the wind abated, and the atmosphere resumed its wonted serenity: the stars shone bright, and the pale blue rays of the moon were reflected on the minarets and the faces of the distant cliffs: white, yielding sails moved gently on the surface of the sparkling waters, as they journeyed onwards to the sea; and the occasional mournful cry of the jackal, mixed up with the half-suppressed baying of the dogs, and the dull and lengthened notes of the Mueddin's voice, all combined to awaken in the mind the most lively interest. There are few, if any, so insensible that they cannot be moved to ecstacy when they contemplate the beauty of such a scene; but however enthusiastic a man may be, it is impossible he can convey to others, an adequate idea of the exquisite character of an Egyptian climate, and the influence which it exerts over the thoughts and feelings. Egyptian

scenery must be viewed *at night;* we must behold the dark masses of shadow contrasted with the pale white fronts of the sacred edifices, and give it the full benefit of the associations with which they are connected: we must suffer ourselves to be carried away in imagination like the poet Milton or the painter Martin, by all that fancy can create, and we must forget that we have been bred in the lap of luxury, and in a region where the beauties of Nature are in part concealed from view.

Manfalout, like most of the towns on the western banks, is surrounded by plantations and cultivated fields; it was once a place of great trade, and was very productive of fruits and vegetables: its population has been of late, considerably reduced: nevertheless, it has a good bazaar and clean streets, and may be considered one of the pleasantest settlements in Egypt. The boundary line coming, as nearly as possible, between it and Mellawi, we here enter upon the Thebaid, and may begin to look out for the "Timpsah" (crocodiles). The "Bah'r Youssouff" flows at the back of the town, and is now better known as the "Moyè Souhadj." From this point, the Nile varies in width for some miles, becoming very tortuous, and the numerous sand islands seeming to meet, it has very much the appearance of a large lake. It then makes a sudden bend to the eastward, and the valley narrows considerably, the Libyan mountains inclining in the same direction: they also become higher and more pointed, giving quite a new character to the scenery. There are not so many date trees as before, but the Egyptian thorn, i. e. the acacia, grows more luxuriantly than ever. Those who are fond of adventure, may visit the Crystal Mountains in the vicinity of

Mahabdie, about six miles distant from the Coptic convent on the opposite shore. Here are to be seen the celebrated crocodile mummy pits. Ascending the mountain to the summit, by a circuitous rugged path, and climbing over large masses of crystal, a wild ravine leads to a very extensive cavern, in which are galleries and winding passages, so intricate, that once in, it is almost impossible to find the way out: guides are of no use; there is neither light nor ventilation, and the air is so impure, that the candles are scarcely able to burn: indeed, instances are recorded of persons being suffocated. I am not aware that the place has ever been properly explored: mummies of crocodiles have been found there, and it is possible that there are many yet undiscovered: but it is, by all account, a most *nauseous* place, and we were quite satisfied with Sir Frederick Henniker's description of it, without entering in.

Es-Siout, the Capital of Upper Egypt, is a very considerable town, pleasantly situated in a fertile plain, about a mile and a half from the river, and flanked by the Libyan mountains, which have here a very picturesque outline. The buildings are poor, being formed of sun-burnt brick, which has very much the appearance of mud; the streets are irregular, and in parts, obstructed by mounds of crumbling ruins. The whole is inclosed by a dilapidated wall, and a few towers, formerly set up by the Saracens. Es-Siout is important as a place of business: it is the great entrepôt between Cairo, Darfour, and Sennaar, and one of the chief halting-places for slaves. It is also interesting to the antiquarian, as the supposed site of "Lycopolis," where the Egyptians worshipped the jackal; and on account of the neighbouring sepulchral

grottoes, which, in point of *splendour*, surpass all others that have been discovered. Many of them are referred to the period of the Ptolomies; consequently are not so old as those to be seen elsewhere; but the decorations are very rich; the walls still glitter with gold, and the hieroglyphics are so numerous, that it would require years to copy them: the paintings relate to the history of the original proprietors and their families, for many generations, and who, in spite of all their care, have long since crumbled into dust. The mountain side has been perforated in all directions; some of the tombs have never been opened; but others have been broken into, and the mummies stripped and hacked to pieces for treasure, the mutilated remains of which, lie strewed about, presenting a further illustration of the folly of all human solicitude, when it is based on vain glory and self-aggrandizement. Some of the chambers are only to be reached by climbing up the faces of the rock; others are entered by curiously contrived passages, more or less obstructed by sand and fragments of stone. There is one part of the mountain in which seven remarkable openings appear in one line, called by the Arabs "the Chambers of the Virgins," who are supposed once to have inhabited them. Es-Siout is the see of a Coptic Bishop; and extensive quarries contiguous to the tombs, abound in cells, which in subsequent ages, became the abode of Christian anchorites, particularly Copts.

The mountains on both sides of the valley now diverge, leaving a fine, open, and richly cultivated plain, celebrated, near Tahtah, for the exquisite quality of its wheat: a great deal of gum-arabic is obtained in this district, and charcoal is prepared from the

acacia. Some scattered fragments, undermined by the Nile, show themselves at a village called "Gau-el-Gebir," supposed to mark the site of "Antæopolis." The Arabian mountains are still the highest; and we next approach that portion of the Thebaic range which has received the title of "D'gebel Heredi," a Mohammedan Fakeer who dwelt there, having been transformed at his death (as they say) into a *huge serpent*. This is a very romantic spot; the ascent is steep, and is made by a path which winds among projecting buttresses of the rock, and the rents made by the heavy rains, which, though at very long intervals, do from time to time, occur. The summit is hollowed out like a crater, and displays to view large globular and amorphous masses of crystal: the ground is also strewed with smaller fragments, which glitter in the mid-day sun, so that this remarkable spot brings to our recollection the adventures of "Sinbad the Sailor, the *Rock*-bird, and the Valley of Diamonds," of nursery lore, especially as it is hardly possible to approach the lofty parapets of the "D'gebel-es-Scheikh," without disturbing one, if not two, enormous eagles."* At the base of the mountain was a colossal figure in a sitting posture, and the "Cnuphis" worshipped at Thebes under the form of the serpent, is believed also to have been worshipped here.

Diodorus Siculus states that the Nile has "no violent surges or tempestuous waves," but it is not easy to reconcile the assertion with what most travellers find to be the case in the present day. Herodotus represents that "the valley of the Nile is an arm of the sea," and that "no breeze *springs from* the Nile." He asserts also, that people were "great *fish eaters*"

* There is also a species of vulture, called the "*Rockham*."

in his time. These statements puzzle us not a little: and we can only suppose that the climate of Egypt has undergone very important changes. This is likely to have been the case, and may thus account for the awful visitations of Providence, exemplified in the overwhelming of cities, the drying up of lakes and rivers, and the extension of pestilential diseases, the evidence of all which arrests our senses at every step. We may traverse districts which are known to have been once fertile and lovely, but where not a blade of grass can now glean an hour's moisture, ere it is swept away and withered in the blast, and where none but venomous reptiles, the enemies of man, can gather sustenance. Cities too, that have held the world in awe, are buried in oblivion; their site is scarcely known, and nothing remains to mark their greatness but the *name*. How literally has everything been fulfilled! Even in the days of Herodotus, the fisheries of *Lake Mœris* alone "paid one talent of silver (225*l*.) to the crown, every day for six months, during the decrease of the waters, and twenty minas (75*l*.) for the remaining six months, during their increase; yielding an annual revenue of 54,000*l*."

But it was declared by Isaiah, that "the waters *should fail* from the sea, and the river be wasted and dried up:" that "the rivers should be *turned away*, and the brooks be emptied,"—that "the reeds and the flags, and the *paper*-reeds (papyrus) should wither, and be no more:"—again, that "the fishers should mourn," and that "all they that worked in fine flax, and made sluices and ponds for fish, should be confounded, and broken in the purposes thereof!" Destruction has been brought upon the whole land, and, behold, there is not "one stone upon another, *from*

Syene down to the sea, that has not been brought low"—that is literally, *humbled in the dust;* the habitations of the mighty have fallen, and their glory has departed from them. When Herodotus visited Egypt, (fifty years only after the Persian invasion) a period, as we know, when the nobles of the land still flourished, and idolatry was in full swing, it is possible that the climate was very different,—that the atmosphere was serene and calm, refreshed with Etesian gales as now, but that the raging "typhoon" was unknown, and that the bounds of the wilderness were *set*. The Egyptians had a fore-taste of the plagues which have since been brought upon them, when the Jewish Law-giver at the Divine command, let the judgments of the Almighty be declared and seen, — when the east wind came and brought the "locusts and the flies, and the pestilence"—"boils breaking forth with blains upon man and upon beast," and "small dust in all the land of Egypt"—and when the "fish that was in the ponds, and in the river died, and the people loathed to drink of the waters:" for then was there "lamentation and mourning in every house, because of the dead;" and the Passover feast was established in commemoration of the wonderful deliverance worked for the Children of Israel (2513 A.M.) from the hand of the Destroying Angel, the influence of whose power is believed by the Arabs to have been felt in the country ever since. (See p. 89.) It may justly enough be said that the plagues which were then brought upon the Egyptians, have never been entirely removed, and that the evils which were denounced against them for their idolatries, have gradually been drawing towards their completion; moreover, we are assured that the time will arrive, when "the wilderness and solitary

place shall rejoice; when waters shall break forth in the desert, and the parched ground shall become a pool, bringing forth grass with reeds and rushes." This is even now coming to pass: for during the last twelve years, a plentiful supply of water has been obtained by *boring*, in many places where there was none before; and the same Almighty Power which bade "the west wind rise and carry away the locusts into the sea," is equally able to remove the sand from the surface of the soil,—a great deal of which, if examined, will be found to be fat and rich, but parched and unproductive, for want of water; and it is very remarkable that in proportion as Christianity extends, so are the labours of the agriculturist facilitated by fresh discoveries in Science, and by the congenial character of the seasons —the north winds being stronger, and of much longer duration than formerly. There can be no question, I think, that the extensive sandy plains which stretch between the Oases, the Ouadi Dakhel, and the Valley of the Nile, were once richly cultivated; they abound in important ruins, plainly marking the habitations of man; they must therefore have been furnished with water and other necessaries. We now see the high lands only, the rest is obliterated by the drifting sand: but I believe that the time is drawing near, when the efforts of man will be permitted to succeed; when, all other things being ready, by the blessing of God, a great deal of soil will be restored; and when, as has been so beautifully foretold, "the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, and the Lord of Hosts shall be known and magnified." It is no less singular than true, that so fine a river as the Nile should produce so little fish that is good. The representations on the walls of the tombs continually remind us that the mar-

kets of the ancients were abundantly supplied with fish; and we have the authority of Herodotus and Strabo, that the people consumed a great deal. After the inundation, especially in November, there is plenty brought to Cairo from the lakes and ponds, as well as from the river. It is large; but with one exception, not worth eating, and very unwholesome.* Then, as regards the winds—for ten months of the year, a healthy breeze continues blowing with little intermission, from the North and N.N.W.: there is generally a calm about sun-set, and sometimes the atmosphere is still and serene the whole night through: a gentle undulation in the air is felt about the period of the "false dawn,"—this gradually swells into a breeze, which increases as the sun rises; and it not unfrequently blows hard during the day, particularly about 4 o'clock, after which, it lulls and moderates as the sun declines towards the horizon. The waters are often troubled; sudden squalls overturn d'germs with valuable cargoes; and I have repeatedly seen the masts of cand'gias sticking up in the stream, with not a portion of the hull in sight. I have already spoken of the "Simoon," or east wind of the Scriptures, which renders the atmosphere close, hot, and dry: it is relaxing

* Naturalists are not agreed concerning the fish called "*Oxyrinchus*," which plays so conspicuous a part in Egyptian antiquities. D'Anville supposes it to be identical with the species now called "*Kescher*," a variety of the "Perca Luth," (Lot's Perch.) The other kinds of fish are chiefly the following: the "*Bûlti*," or "Labrus Niloticus," which resembles the white trout, and sometimes weighs as much as 50*lbs.*—the "*Nefâsh*," or salmon of the Nile, which is also caught in the upper part of Lake Menzaleh; it occurs of a large size, but like the preceding, has no flavour, and is indigestible. Then, there are the "*Farhôn*," and the "*Charamût*," (a round fish of about eight inches long, and believed by the natives to be poisonous:) the "*Kelb-el-Bah'r*," the "River Dog,"—and the "*Taban-el-Bah'r*," the "Muræna Anguilla," or "River Eel," which, with the "*Burra*," or Red Mullet (c[illegible] Damietta, on the coast,) is the only fish that may be called good.

to the body, and predisposes to dysentery, ophthalmia, and fever. But the winds most to be feared, are the Q'hramseen, or Zamiel winds, which blow at a season when the sands of the desert are at the hottest; and their effects are terrible, exciting the most malignant diseases, and generating swarms of insects. They may truly be called *poisonous:* for no constitution can withstand their influence: they blow from various quarters of the desert; but in Egypt, the most violent are the S.S.W., as these have the longest stretch of burning sand to traverse.* I have only farther to remark concerning them, that the approach of an Egyptian "typhoon," or sand-storm (one of the most awful things that a man can witness, and which has overwhelmed thousands in the wilderness,) is indicated by the peculiar livid and dense purple aspect of the horizon, which gradually becomes shrouded in masses of rising clouds, rendered more terrific by a colouring of deep blood-red—such that if an artist were to depict it *faithfully*, it would not be understood—at least in Europe: though something like it may be seen at sea, after a violent storm, in volcanic districts. During the prevalence of these Sirocco hurricanes, the waters of the Nile are "tempest-tossed," and resemble the great lakes in Scotland during a gale: it is impossible to make head against them, and there is no alternative but to lower all sail, and moor to the banks, until they are over.

The Nile varies in width considerably, according to the season of the year; but it never exceeds a third of a mile, I think, at its broadest part: it is always muddy, even in April and May, when it may be considered the clearest: during high Nile the water is of a dirty red,

* See Vol. I. p. 50, and 296.

or brown colour, being highly charged with fine, black, alluvial matter which has been washed down by the torrents from the table lands of Abyssinia, and is then deposited on the shelving shores of Egypt: it is very rich and unctuous, and needs no manure; it cracks when exposed to the sun, and deep fissures are formed. The Nile water is proverbially nutritious, sweet, and excellent, and is universally recommended for invalids: but of course it requires filtering, or, what is quite sufficient, to be allowed to settle.*

The people in the vicinity of Es-Siout are disposed to be very industrious; it is therefore the more painful to observe the manner in which they are goaded on by a merciless unprincipled crew, who are ever ready to avail themselves of a little brief authority, to fill their own coffers at the expense of the treasury, and the degraded Fellah, who has no alternative but to revolt, or submit to his hard fate. We were particularly struck with the industry of the women: they were to be seen, of all ages, fetching water, grinding corn, tending cattle at the Persian wheels for irrigating the land, and variously engaged in the fields, just as in Lower Egypt.† Large quantities of fine flax, sugar-

* I omitted to state that on leaving Cairo, we fixed a very large jar of porous clay (prepared in Egypt, and kept by families for this purpose,) at the stern of our cand'gia: we replenished it every morning; and as evaporation was continually going on through the sides, on the principle of the wine-coolers in England, we were never without a refreshing, clear, and delicious draught; for, although the water was quite thick when introduced, in the course of an hour, it became as bright as crystal. However thirsty we might be, we seldom desired any other beverage: we had no inclination for wine or spirits; but if unusually fatigued, we either made lemonade, or added a small quantity of cream of tartar, or perhaps a very little "araki," a wholesome spirit, distilled from the skins of grapes, and flavored with angelica and mastich. The Egyptians make also fermented liquors from rice, maize, barley, and dates; but they do not keep well in hot weather. Their ordinary sherbet is prepared with figs, currants, honey, or lemons. See Vol. I. p. 207.

† See Vol. I. p. 214.

cane, and wheat, are cultivated in this part of the country, and here the Thebaic or "Doum palm" begins to appear. It differs from the ordinary palm, the stem being smooth, not so tall, and branched towards the upper part, like most other trees, which the common date is not: the fruit hangs in clusters, not unlike a knot of potatoes, and when it has been steeped in water, it tastes like gingerbread. At Aboutj, soon after leaving Es-Siout, we first fell in with the crocodiles: there were two about ten feet in length, basking in the sun on a sand island, in the middle of the stream: at first, we did not recognize them, for they were quite motionless, and looked like logs of wood; but as we drew near, we observed them rise slowly, and slink down into the river, which was disturbed for a few seconds, and then concealed them effectually from view. These animals are not afraid of a man, but they do not like the cand'gia, and never suffer one to come within gunshot. After leaving "Scheikh Heredi," we paid a visit to Achmim, a place of some note, as the "Panopolis" of the ancients: it is still a considerable town, and contains a Roman Catholic convent, and a great number of Copts. There was once a fine triumphal arch, erected by Nero, and dedicated "ΠΑΝΙ ΘΕΩ," * but Achmim is chiefly interesting now, as a place of business. Being in the midst of a corn country, its poultry are better fed than in other parts, and there is also a manufactory of coarse cotton cloth: the town is situated about a mile and a half from the river, near some palm-groves, under the brow of the Arabian mountains, which now assume a more imposing appearance, becoming lofty, and sending out turretted

* According to Denon, there is a temple here completely buried in the sand.

crags, which terminate towards the Nile, in accumulations of shelving sand. This kind of scenery continues for some miles; there is not a sign of vegetation, except now and then, a stunted doum; nor do we discover caverns, as about Achmim. On the opposite side of the stream, is Souhadj, (according to some, the ancient "Crocodilopolis,") distinguished by its three mosques in the midst of date plantations; and a little further, after a sudden bend of the river, is *Menshieh*, or Moonshiet, the "Ptolemais Hermii," of which nothing now remains: but there are the ruins of an old quay, and the town may be known by its mosque, which has a single minaret, and by its numerous pigeon-houses: there is also a Coptic convent, and a neat Mohammedan cemetery, the whole being surrounded by plantations of tamarisk, mimosa, and date; and in the vicinity, are several inlets and creeks; the buildings are elevated above the stream; and, as at Achmim, and most other large towns, they are now more or less inclosed by fortifications.*

D'Girgeh, so called from an old monastery dedicated to St. George, was formerly the Capital of Upper Egypt. It stands in the midst of a fertile country, fifteen miles beyond Menshieh, and has a spacious quay, well covered with merchandise, where, although there is no harbour, boat-building is carried on with much activity. The town is considerable: we counted seven minarets besides cupolas: the buildings extend to the water's edge, and are in danger of being washed away; for the river is not only very broad, but it makes a sudden turn, and being hemmed in by the cliffs on the other side, the whole force of the stream is directed

* Menshieh has acquired a name amo[ng] almost called "neideh," and there is generally a quay. quay.

against the walls: and this, during high Nile, must be very great. Here we passed Sunday, and had a visit from one of the friars of the Latin Convent, which is the most ancient of the four in Upper Egypt.*

We now entered upon the rich Province of *Farshoot*, so famous for the cultivation of the sugar-cane.† The whole country between D'Girgeh and Dendera is highly productive, and requires very little interference on the part of man. It is well irrigated; for it is here that the "Moyé Souhadj" joins the Nile, and streamlets traverse the land in all directions, giving a cheering freshness to the scene, which, contrasted with the parched aspect of the Arabian shores, is very grateful. The surface presents an extensive variegated carpet: there are fields of clover, various kinds of fruit and grain, Indian corn, beans, rice, flax, sugar-cane, the castor-oil plant, the eringo, and cactus, and a great variety of beautiful flowers, growing spontaneously, besides shrubs, and shady groves of banana, acacia, mimosa, and date. It would appear that this portion of the Thebaïd was always distinguished for its gardens, and the beauty of its scenery. In the early ages, it arrested the attention of the Great and Powerful. Here, according to Strabo, upon the brow of a hill, about four leagues from the river, Osymandias, Ismendes, or Memnon, one of the most heroic of the Theban Monarchs, had a magnificent palace, and held his Court. He is supposed to have flourished about

* The other three are at Achmim, Farshoot, and Tahtah. The old Convent of St. George is still to be seen; but there are no Egyptian antiquities. See Jowett's Christian Researches.

† This plant is propagated by slips; it is calculated that an acre and a-half ought to produce about cwt. of sugar. The same ground is not generally planted every year. The cane having been cut and pressed, a sweet fluid exudes, which is boiled, and the sugar, in an impure state, obtained. It is then refined, and cast into small loaves.

2276 years B.C., and to have made "Abydos" or "*This*" the Capital of his dominions.* It is known to the moderns as "El Arabat Madfounah," i. e. "Arabat beneath the sands,"—a very significant title: for this splendid and stupendous edifice long formed the nucleus of a range of mounds; and until it was uncovered by Mr. Banks in 1818, was literally *buried*. It is justly an object of attraction to all travellers: some proceed to it direct from D'Girgeh, because the river becomes tortuous, and makes a very considerable bend to the eastward: but there is nothing gained by this; and it is much better to land at the village of Belianèh, where donkeys are always to be procured, and we have then a pleasant excursion along the banks of the canal, through a richly cultivated district, to the confines of Libya. We reached the modern village in about three hours, including the time spent with the doves and pigeons, some of which we shot. They were countless, and very tame, being seldom disturbed by the natives. The site of ancient "Abydos" is marked by heaps of rubbish, and fragments of stone and pottery. The palace of Memnon is thought to be one of the most ancient structures in Egypt: it is built of enormous blocks of stone, and the roof, which measures about 350 ft. by 150, is supported by a great number of beautiful columns, a single stone extending between each, having the centre hewn out in the form of an arch. There appeared to be two principal chambers, and several smaller ones; but as they were quite dark, and nearly filled with sand, it was impossible to exa-

* There were *four* great Kingdoms in Egypt—Heliopolis, Memphis, Thebes, and This. The history of them all is involved in obscurity, and greatly mixed with fables: but Queen Nitocris, who dwelt at Memphis about 2326 A.M., joined the Kingdoms of Thebes and This to her own territory, it is believed, in the seventh year of her reign.

mine them. It has been imagined that, at this very early period, the construction of the true arch was not understood. I have already stated that in the cemeteries of Abydos, some brick arches are to be seen; and that at Thebes, Mr. Hay discovered similar specimens, and like these, done over with stucco. The former have been referred to the time of the Greeks, merely from this circumstance, which I do not think is a legitimate conclusion, since the *latter* bore the early date of Thothmes III.—(see p. 311.) it does not follow because the ancient Egyptians might adopt the principle of the key-stone in their brick buildings, that they would do the same when working with such gigantic materials as we know they were wont to employ in all their religious edifices. But, whatever might be their ideas on the subject, the discovery of Mr. Hay proves that they *did understand* the principle. The mummy pits at Abydos are numerous, and as much as forty and fifty feet deep; but they have been awfully ransacked by adventurers in quest of papyri. They now present a hideous spectacle; layers of human bodies are to be seen, one above the other, protruding from the sand, and others are strewed about in all directions, with fragments of bitumen and rolls of cere-cloth, which are carried away, from time to time, by the Arabs, for lighting their fires and healing their camels' wounds. There is also a tomb containing hieroglyphics, from which Signore Drovetti removed a sculptured sarcophagus, and otherwise enriched the royal museum at Turin. I was myself sacrilegious enough to bring away a couple of embalmed heads in tolerably good preservation; and I might have selected many more. Near at hand, are the ruins of two temples, the chambers of which are covered with symbolical figures, well

executed. The paintings on the walls of the palace are also very beautiful, and the colours (chiefly red, blue, green, and yellow) are still perfect, although believed to have been laid on, 2000 years before the time of Titian. The subjects refer to Isis and Osiris: —in one place, there is a procession in which the "Hawk-headed Deity," *Aroeris*, is introduced, also the "Bird-headed Staff," and the "Flagellum:" in another, Isis and Osiris are seated on thrones, and an individual appears to be offering to them. Isis is represented with the head of a lioness or panther, surmounted by the usual emblems, the globe and serpent, and not as generally, with the globe and lunette only, with the serpent encircling them. Osiris is painted with a kind of bushell or mitre on his head, as in other places: but these splendid halls were also choked up with sand.

We returned to the cand'gia much delighted with our trip; for although the remains of "This" do not differ in detail from those of other Egyptian buildings, and in point of grandeur, are inferior to many we afterwards explored, they left a very pleasing and lasting impression upon our minds, being the first of the kind which we had seen; the paintings are very beautiful, the sides of the doors, the cornices, friezes, and architraves, are covered with hieroglyphics, and many of the devices are executed in "*intaglio relevato*."* On approaching Haon, the "Diospolis Parva" or Lesser Thebes, the scenery became very grand. At

* The term "Memnon" or "Mai-Amûn," *the beloved of Ammon*, may properly be regarded as an adjunct or title, conferred on various renowned Heroes, and does not refer to any one in particular. In like manner, "Ismendes" means the *son of Mendes*; and according to Strabo, Ismendes, S'mendes, and Osymandias are one and the same person, who being very rich and powerful, was believed by his subjects, to be *in high favor with the gods!*

an abrupt, and very considerable angle of the river, an extensive view of the gradually retiring mountains suddenly opened upon us; the sun declining in the far west, was reflected brilliantly from their rugged, and truly picturesque gothic heights, marking the course of the caravan route between Khenneh and the Red Sea. In the fore ground, was stretched a richly wooded landscape, where the mimosa, doum, and date trees were intermixed with patches of green pasture land; and in the centre of the stream, the waters being low, left a very considerable sand island, on which lay two enormous crocodiles, measuring I should think, not less than eighteen or twenty feet. They became alarmed as we drew near, and we had barely time with all our caution, to seize our guns and fire before they disappeared. But we were not the only persons who gazed upon the distant mountain tops, effulgent still, and glowing in the sun's departing rays; the sailors watched with evident impatience, the varying tints, from golden to orange, crimson, lake and purple. It was Rhámad'han; they had been rowing and tracking alternately, and eaten nothing since the morning, and I was pleased to find that a breeze sprang up to help us on our way; in fact, they had scarcely finished their evening's repast, than it began to freshen, and before we reached Ghenneh, we had rather more than we wanted, but we arrived without accident.

CHAPTER XI.

DENDERA — THE PASS OF THE GHAUT MOUNTAINS — COSSEIR — THE PLAINS OF THEBES — THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS — JOURNEY FROM KHENNEH TO ESSOUAN AND THE CATARACTS — ELEPHANTINA — TRAVELS IN NUBIA — OUADI HALFA — ANCIENT REMAINS, ETC.

KHENNEH is a bustling place for the interior; and we found several large d'germs moored to the banks, laden with Bardâks, and various kinds of merchandise, owing to the intercourse which is constantly going on between the Red Sea and the Nile. The town is not large, but being the emporium for all goods which enter Egypt from the East, there is a considerable traffic, and the bazaar is well stocked with necessaries. Indian articles may also be met with occasionally, and a great variety of beads and beautiful shells, brought by the caravans from the shores of Araby. But what renders Khenneh particularly cheerful and amusing, is, the number and variety of strangers which here congregate on arriving from and departing for Cosseir — not only pilgrims who are on their way to Mekkah, but British officers who make what is termed the "overland journey to India." Many prefer this route to that of Suez, as it affords them an opportunity of

seeing something of the Nile, and of visiting Thebes, which is distant only a day's journey.

Our repose was disturbed at a very early hour, by the firing of cannon, announcing the Bairam, as there happened to be some military *recruiting* in the neighbourhood, a piece of intelligence which was not to be disregarded; and we took care to let the Union-Jack be unfurled, that the Pascha's myrmidons might have no excuse for kidnapping our sailors, or at least, for extorting money from the Reis, and giving us any unnecessary trouble. The wind continued in the same quarter, and was somewhat tempered by the sun. Accordingly, soon after day-break, we set sail, and retracing our steps a little, crossed the stream to Dendera, or Tentyra, which is delightfully situated upon a gently rising ground, in the midst of a fertile district, surrounded by plantations, and groves of the doum palm. Here again, we saw great quantities of pigeons, doves, and birds of prey, viz., hawks and vultures—indeed it is from the latter that the term Tentyra is derived.

Our approach to these highly interesting ruins, was marked, as usual, by mounds of earth, broken pottery, and wretched hovels of unburned brick and straw. The modern village, consisting of mud huts, lay nearly buried among the trees, a short distance to the right of a beaten track, which leads to a rugged spot, like the approach to mines or quarries which have long been worked. Winding our way through shapeless masses of earth and sand, fragments of stone, parched dust, pottery, weeds, and stunted trees, the majestic ruins of the Temple of Athor, the Egyptian Venus, suddenly came in view. It is the most perfect, and perhaps the most beautiful, though not the most extensive of the

ancient Egyptian monuments; and it is much to be regretted that any portion of it should have been removed. Immediately before us, rose an elegant and lofty tower, the propylon of the temple, and a little to the right, but considerably in advance, in the midst of embankments which mark the excavations made by the Arabs in search of treasure, a square stone building with four columns, the object of which is not understood. In the centre of the cornice, above the gate-way of the propylon, is the usual beautiful emblem, the globe and winged serpent, supposed to represent the sun suspended in vacant space, and regulated in its course and functions, by *eternal wisdom*. The front and sides are richly sculptured with hieroglyphics and symbolic figures; and under the doorway, is a very mysterious one, resembling the Greek "*Sigma Tau*," which has been denominated the "Key of the Nile," and is supposed to be that alluded to in the ninth chapter of Ezekiel, as the "sign of life and salvation to those who received it"—or as the Egyptians would say, the mark of "Divinity." About 100 paces further, is the entrance to the temple itself. The intervening space is open at the sides, and obstructed by rubbish; it is that termed by architectural writers, the "Dromos," a quadrangle which was bounded generally by beautiful piazzas and columns. It formed the outer court of a temple, and to it the people had free access, and were there permitted to see the sacred cow led forth for exercise and adoration. The facing of the temple of Dendera is covered with exquisitely carved devices, and on either side of the door, are three columns, bearing a capital of Isis *quadrifrons*, that is, the visage of a placidly smiling female, four times repeated, and bearing a coiffure or tur-

ban elegantly arranged across the forehead, and behind the ears, so as to fall in deep folds over the neck: and the space above the capital, represents the ornamented front of a heathen temple. On the cornice above, the globe and winged serpent again appear; and all other parts, the shafts of the pillars, the frieze, the intercolumnary spaces, and walls, are thickly studded with hieroglyphics and allegorical representations. The "*Pronaos*," or second court of an Egyptian temple, was always inclosed and roofed, and contained avenues of columns, so contrived, that (in many instances at least) the light might be admitted from above. The Pronaos at Dendera was exceedingly beautiful. There was a broad centre aisle, the ceiling of which was ornamented with transverse carvings of the globe and winged serpent, alternating with the royal vulture, which, being sacred to Isis or Juno, was adopted as the *guardian genius* of the Egyptian Kings, and was here represented with expanded wings, and bearing a sceptre in each claw. There were in all, twenty-one of these figures. Then, on either side, were three rows of columns with Isis *quadrifrons* for capitals, and richly ornamented shafts—three in each row, making eighteen columns, and subdividing the roof into six compartments, each forming a very beautiful tablet; but these the French savans supposed to represent a zodiac, and therefore conveyed them away to Paris, mutilating the building, without enriching themselves; for, when viewed four thousand miles off, as isolated objects, the association is destroyed, and all interest lost; especially as they have since been proved to have no reference whatever to astronomy, but to be merely a catalogue of symbols connected with the Egyptian mythology. However, it would appear, that what the

ancients left undemolished, the Saracens and French were designed to accomplish—so literally were the traces of idolatrous worship to be obliterated. Passing from the Pronaos, we entered the chambers presumed to have been devoted to the mysterious rites of Paganism. The first contained three pillars similar to those already described: the second and third had none, though both were richly decorated with painted figures, stars, and hieroglyphics. The latter is a species of vestibule, from which issue passages leading to smaller apartments, possibly the residence of the officiating priests: and from one of the passages, a handsome staircase, (the angle of inclination corresponding with that observed in the Pyramids,) communicates with the roof. But directly before us, was the entrance to the "Adytum," or Sanctuary, the Holy of Holies, where, it should seem, the offerings were poured out, and (there is reason to believe,) many licentious and presumptuous sacrifices were made. We found it nearly choked up with rubbish; but the gateway itself is one of the most elegant specimens of Egyptian architecture: the whole front stands forward like a propylon; it is an entire mass of hieroglyphics, and is encased in double beading. On the cornice over the door, are the globe and winged serpent, exquisitely carved, and the frieze surmounting the whole, is divided into three compartments, each containing a shield or coat of arms, consisting of a globe supported on either side, by a vulture with one wing folded, the other expanded, and touching a pair of wings spread out above, like a crest; and to each vulture is attached the head of a serpent, beneath. On the left of the door, is a representation of two figures at an altar; on the other side, a figure with the head of a dog, seated on a throne, bearing a

staff or sceptre, and holding communication with a man with a mitre upon his head. In both pictures, the vulture with expanded wings hovers over all. Every other part is crowded with hieroglyphics. The upper chamber is equal in beauty to any of those below; the carving on the ceiling was somewhat similar to that in the Pronaos, and having been, in like manner, mistaken for a zodiac, was also *carried off*.*

All the chambers must have been lighted artificially, as there are no windows: the air within was very close and oppressive: the walls were disfigured with bats' dung, and the terrace or roof formed the foundation of an Arab colony. The staircase, walls, columns, friezes, mouldings,—every portion of this extraordinary pile, has been elaborately carved, and decorated with paintings and hieroglyphics. Many of the representations refer to the amours of Isis and Osiris, and cannot be particularized. There are numerous processions, and these Divinities appear on thrones receiving the offerings of the priests—each taking precedence of the other alternately. The Goddess is also represented suckling the boy Horus, and there is a full delineation of the procreative power of Athor, the Mother of the World and all things in it. There are, besides, crescents, globes, altars, serpents, hawks, ibisses, and various other animals, bearing on their heads the mitre of the Divinity that each personates. Even the outer walls which connect the various parts of the building, are sculptured;—the subjects refer, as within, to the history of Isis and Osiris, Horus, and a disgusting looking object called "Typhon," i. e. the

* It is described by Dr. Richardson as a mythological tablet supported by four female figures with out-spread arms, and by several human beings having hawks' heads, turned face to face, and in a half kneeling posture.—See Denon's Plates.

Evil Spirit. The figures are here upon a larger scale, but equally well executed as those of the interior. There is, moreover, a smaller temple dedicated to Typhon, as it would seem, from the prominent part he performs in the symbolic illustrations upon the walls, which in other respects, do not differ much from those of the Great Temple. This structure appears to have been designed to form one side of the Dromos, and a little to the north, there is another sacred edifice, peculiarly devoted to Isis, Osiris, and the god with a human body and a hawk's head. The temples of Dendera furnish a group of the most interesting of the Egyptian remains: the workmanship is of the highest character, and the design indicates most extraordinary talent. The conceptions of the artist have been most vivid; and although he sometimes outsteps the bounds of decency, we cannot help admiring the skill with which he has embodied the allegorical delineations of the Egyptian Pantheon. The walls are powerfully eloquent, and teem with life. Wherever we turn our eyes, some object arrests the attention which has a history of its own, distinct from that of which it forms a part; and it is certainly a convincing proof of the talent displayed, that men of refined minds in the present intellectual age, (much as they abhor idolatry and superstition, and the gross sensualities of a depraved and presumptuous race,) should still be able to speak of them in terms of wonder and applause, and to *regret* that such extraordinary works of Art should ever have been destroyed: but so it is! These ruins are about a mile long, and two miles and a-half in circumference: they stand on a terrace which is fifteen feet above the bed of the Nile, *now*—a sufficient proof, it is said, if other arguments were wanting, that

they are not so ancient as those of Thebes, the annual deposits from the river having brought the latter to its own level.* In the course of our rambles back to the Cand'gia, we were beset by the natives, who urged us to purchase sundry bits of *coloured glass*, tear-bottles, and Roman and Grecian lamps, made of earthenware, scarabæi, strings of beads taken from the necks of mummies, and other similar objects, which had been dug up at various times, together with a variety of copper coins of little interest or value. On our return to Khenneh, the ancient "Cœnopolis," we found the quay and its vicinity enlivened by the assembling of a party of Europeans and others, who were about to cross the desert to Cosseir. Camels and dromedaries were reclining on the ground, quietly chewing the cud: some which were being laden, occasionally looked round, emitting a gurgling and peculiarly expressive sound, as the bands were tightened, or as a fresh bale was added to the load. The instinct of these animals is remarkable: they can be very eloquent, and their language is never disregarded by the Arabs. I have often seen the drivers unload them, and arrange the pack differently, so as to make it sit more easily; and it is delightful to observe the attachment which exists between them and their swarthy owners.† A great

* Two other circumstances particularly combine to illustrate the same thing:—1, there are no battle-pieces represented on the walls,—and 2, there are hieroglyphic inscriptions containing the names of Tiberius and Augustus, and referring to the years 23 and 34 (A.D.) Add to these, that the Propylon and Dromos have never been completed.

† When crossing the desert, the camel is not to be urged forward by kicks and blows, but he may be encouraged by Arab song: he feeds on rosemary bushes and prickly herbs, can do with little fluid, and is the only animal that *ruminates* his drink as he walks. He seldom strays, and does not require to be picketted. It is necessary to be very cautious in mounting a camel, and to lay firmly hold of the cross beams or spike in front of the saddle, because the animal is always made to lie down with his legs doubled under him, that you may take

variety of packages were strewed about—merchandise, leathern portmanteaus, cooking utensils, carpets, provision-baskets, and water-skins, which the Arabs were filling at the banks. Near at hand, was a motley group of lookers-on, curiously mixed up with donkies, dogs, and blind beggars, venders of sweetmeats and water melons, large quantities of which were piled up on the quay, ready for shipping,—girls with bare feet, were returning from the Nile with jugs upon their heads, and women with naked urchins sitting cross-legged on their shoulders, mixed in the crowd, stealing sidelong glances at the Franks from behind their half-drawn "tar'hhah" or head-veil, and seeming not a little curious about their whimsical appearance—as in those days it was seldom they beheld *tight clothes*:—the Franks, on the other hand, were equally entertained with the performances of some dancing-girls, who, when we reached the spot, were in full operation, having, as usual, their face and neck dyed of a reddish brown or deep orange colour, and being tattooed, painted, and ornamented to the waist, the flimsy garments of both being purposely deranged, and allowed to fall extravagantly about their person, whilst a profusion of black tresses, adorned with bits of coins and beads, hung negligently over the shoulders. An ugly old crone was standing near, attended by a Negress as black as jet, and by another (both gaily attired *damsels*) who aided the enchantment, one with her

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your seat; and when he rises, he gets upon his hind legs first, which movement throws you *forward* with a violent jerk, if taken unawares, and the next moment, raising his fore-legs, the creature impels you as violently *backwards*; and a fall from a camel is a very serious thing; notwithstanding the Arabs gravely assert that it "*never hurts*."—Perhaps they apply the observation to *true believers* only, and not to infidels! See Vol. I. p. 263.

voice, the other with a species of lyre.* There were, as usual, several pilgrims waiting to avail themselves of the first escort to Mekkah—chiefly Mugh'rebyns enveloped in the loose white robes of Western Africa:†—we saw, too, a number of the Ababdéh Arabs from the eastern desert, distinguished by their dark eyes, white teeth, and piercing looks; but still more by an enormous quantity of black hair *soaked in grease*. These people seldom possess money; but they visit the larger towns, and barter charcoal for the necessaries of life: they live in tents, and wander from one spot to another, never remaining longer than they can obtain water, and pasturage for their cattle.

The distance from Khénèh to Cosseir, is about 120 miles, which is generally traversed in four days; the route lies through a beautifully romantic pass, the interest of which is increased by the exquisite loveliness of the climate. There are several ruined forts and watch towers, and wells at four different places nearly equi-distant from each other. The first of these is El-Egheita, the second is the well of Hammamat, at the foot of the Ghaut mountains. The watering-place is of considerable width, and is descended by 136 steps, over which a neat stone building with a light cupola has been erected; but there is no caravanserai, and the traveller will do well to be

* See Vol. I. p. 215.

† I once sailed from Suez to Tor on the Peninsula of Sinai, on board a heavily laden craft, literally groaning under Mohammedan fanatics. The Reis at first refused to take me or my companion because we were Christians; so we had the man up before the Agah, who would have given him the Koorbasch to please us, but we were satisfied by his compelling him to take us, and by his arranging what we were to pay. We had a rough sort of journey; and more than once, expected that if we escaped the fury of the elements, it was not impossible that we might share the fate of Jonas. We had neither chart nor compass on board, but steered by the *stars*.

provided with a tent. This spot is about half way; then there are the springs of Moilah, and those of Beder, besides a well of rather warm water of good quality called "the Bir Inglese." Cosseir is an inconsiderable town of unburnt brick, situated at the end of a sandy valley, fronting the sea, and flanked by mountains; but it is rendered cheerful by the Kiosks, and the arrival of strangers; and it is salubrious in consequence of its contiguity to the Red Sea. At Khénèh we paid a visit to an Armenian merchant on whom we had a letter of credit; we were politely received, but remarked a coldness of manner which we should not have experienced from an Arab; however, having laid in a fresh stock of the needful, and a supply of fresh provisions, tobacco, coffee, melons, and a couple of sheep, we once more embarked, and had the advantage of a gentle north-westerly breeze for a few miles; but a little before sunset, the wind dropped, and as the day closed, perceiving a small cand'gia moored to the right bank, near the ancient Koptos, having made about twenty miles, we were glad in like manner, to bring to for the night. This circumstance first made us acquainted with my excellent friend Bonomi, to whom we had letters, and who, like ourselves, was weather-bound on his way to Thebes, after an excursion to Khénèh. This rencontre was very agreeable to all parties; we afterwards passed much of our time together, and I look back to that evening with considerable satisfaction.

A little further south is Kous, or "Apollinopolis Parva" once a powerful city: some faint traces of its former grandeur still remain, though both it and Koptos are now wretched settlements, and only interesting as the rendezvous of the caravans which pro-

ceed to Mekkah, either by Cosseir or the old port of Berenice, to which some openings in the neighbouring mountains lead. Nearly opposite, is the town of Negadêh, the site of "Maximianopolis," which, with the villages just named, constituted a powerful colony of Coptic Christians.* The dew fell heavily during the night; and the next day being calm, we made but little progress; the water reflected every object like a mirror; we passed several sand islands, and shot a large heron, but saw no crocodiles. The mountains here run nearly parallel, but the bed of the river being low, we had an indifferent view of the banks. After some distance, the stream makes a sudden turn to the south, and from this point, it is probable that the lofty towers of Thebes might formerly have been seen; but not a vestige of a building can now be descried. A little before sunset, Mr. Bonomi, who had already volunteered his services as a guide, steered his cand'-gia to the left banks, taking for his beacon, a solitary tree, a fine old sycamore; we did the same, and were surprised to learn that we had reached Thebes,—the

* The Copts number about 30,000, in Egypt, and are supposed to be descended from the ancient inhabitants. They are, for the most part, of a grave and melancholic temperament; they are prudent, industrious, and plodding; they are employed chiefly as accountants and interpreters; in which capacity some of them are shrewd and cunning. Their own language is nearly extinct; even their prayers are in Arabic; nevertheless, many Coptic MSS exist: according to Browne, they are attached to the Eutychian Heresy: their creed is Monothelite: they believe in the Divinity of Christ, and that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone; they embrace the doctrines of transubstantiation, and assimilate both with Romanists and Moslems, appealing to the Saints, yet prostrating themselves frequently during prayer, performing their ablutions, and refraining from wine. Their priests are very ignorant, prejudiced, and rigid: but are quiet, and do neither good nor harm. In personal appearance, the Copts resemble the colossal statues in the temples; they have large features, brownish complexions, dark eyes, and curly, but not frizzly hair, and they are well portrayed on the walls at Thebes. The Coptic women have good figures; they are taller than the Egyptians, and have large black eyes, and an interesting expression of countenance.

mighty Thebes!—*Amunei*, the city of Ammon!—even Diospolis, the hallowed abode of Gods and Heroes who once kept the world in awe! We saw before us the bed of a fine river, and an extensive plain, but no buildings, nor was there the distant hum of human beings; the only sounds that reached the ear were the gently rippling current of the waters, and the hoarse croaking of the bull-frogs now in full chorus. At last, the top of a lofty propylon was pointed out, marking the situation of Karnak, and we could just catch a glimpse of the ruins of Luxor. Mr. Bonomi, pointing to the heights of Qh'oornah, informed us that he had taken up his residence there among the tombs, one of which he had swept and purified, and by putting up a door, and making other necessary arrangements, had converted it into a very commodious, dry, and comfortable dwelling. Here he had resided several years, devoting himself to the study of Egyptian antiquities. Like Robison Crusoe, he kept his boat, his cat, his dog, his goats, and—not a parrot, but an ostrich, which took her flights into the desert, and regularly came to be fed; he had fowls also, which supplied him with eggs; and from time to time, he laid in a stock of provisions from Kheneh. Engaged in intellectual pursuits, his wants were few, the climate suited his constitution; he enjoyed the best of health, and the habits of the people were agreeable to his taste. He was acquainted with the language, and by continued acts of kindness and philanthropy, had secured the friendly auspices of the natives, who called him "Aboo Nom," sometimes "Aboo Youssouff Nom," his own name being Joseph; and as he often acted the part of the good Samaritan, they would add "El Hhakkim Inglese," regarding him

as the "favored of Allah," and applying to him on all occasions for advice. His appearance was venerable; and having adopted their costume, they seemed to forget that he was a Christian; they occasionally interchanged presents, and lived on terms of the greatest harmony; for whatever disputes arose, no one offered to molest Aboo Nom. His days rolled pleasantly on, but the arrival of an European traveller was nevertheless a joyous event. It may be said with truth, that he was the friend of all. I never saw his temper ruffled, and his heart and his purse were invariably open to the unfortunate. I could mention many things which redound to his honor, and of which I myself have been witness. He took me to see a poor girl who had just been shot, and as a matter of course, brought to *El Hh'akkim*. The ball had lodged superficially under the chin, and although unacquainted with surgery, our friend did not hesitate to remove it with a pen-knife. I told him, he had left nothing for me to do; the part was suppurating a little, but the wound had a healthy appearance, and required very little treatment. I had a great deal of difficulty, however, in prevailing on the girl to remove her veil, but by degrees I overcame her prejudices, and she was very grateful. She had been attacked by eight men when tending a cow, which they wanted to steal, and when she called for help, one of them fired at her as he ran away. The Scheikh el Belad, believing that they came from Erment, pursued them thither, with twenty armed men, in order to plunder their village if necessary. The Scheikh is descended from a people who came originally from Tunis. They crossed the Libyan desert in pursuit of a beautiful girl who married a man of a different tribe; they followed the parties to the Nile, and were nearly

giving up the search, when they discovered their retreat. They were so exasperated, that they killed them both, and being pleased with the fertility of the district, preferred settling there, to returning to their own country, thus establishing a new colony; they are a very fine race of men, and most likely of Phœnician origin.

Mr. Bonomi advised us not to delay our journey to Nubia, because the Nile was now getting so low that we might have a difficulty in passing the cataracts. We determined therefore, to start in a couple of days, and to inspect the ruins of Thebes and the intervening places on our return. He passed the evening with us, and kindly tendered his services, which we were too ready to accept. We had scarcely landed, than our attention was roused by a violent affray between our noble captain and the reis of another cand'gia which we found here, the latter being married to a discarded wife of the former, and whose jealousy was excited, because the two *old friends*, meeting unexpectedly, ventured to speak.* The travellers to whom the other cand'gia belonged, were Messieurs de Breuverie and Cadelvène, two French gentlemen, who, having already sojourned some days at Thebes, were about to continue their route, and it was arranged that we should join company. Whilst revolving these things, our attention was suddenly arrested by a distant murmuring noise. It is wonderful with what rapidity sound travels in Oriental climates, especially in the vicinity of a large river like the Nile. The Arabs threw themselves on the ground to listen, with their ears applied to the water's edge, and immediately reported the approach of another cand'gia in the direc-

* See Vol. I. p. 228.

tion of Khéneh, and that the men were rowing. There was no moon, but the evening was serene, not a cloud in any direction: the murmuring increased, and by degrees, something like human voices might be distinguished: it was clear that a large cand'gia was approaching, and that the men were pulling very hard, keeping time to the oars, by their customary songs, and their now familiar "Hay-lay-eessah!—Hay-la-lujah!—Hamesha'mah!" &c., and it was agreed, that, from the rapidity of their progress, it must be some person of consequence, some one connected with the Government perhaps,—possibly the Viceroy himself. Our curiosity was excited to the full, when presently a very large cand'gia drew near, and moored near to our own, when, what was our surprise to learn that our imaginary grandee was no less a person than *La Contemporaine*, the friend of Suleyman Bey, (Colonel Selves, afterwards created Pascha,) and who, it seems, had lent the lady his cand'gia. As we had signified our intention of paying our devoirs, the following morning she caused her carpets and cushions to be spread under the great tree, and there received us *in State*. She was about fifty-two years of age, decidedly talented, and had been handsome; she had met Mr. Robinson and his friend Maltass when at Smyrna, and was now disposed to be very *communicative;* but her mirth was checked by two things; one of the Pascha's officers, who happened to be near, unceremoniously sat down upon her carpet, at which she was very indignant, forgetting for the moment that the individual had probably not been in France—that she herself was not *then* in France, and moreover, that she was attired *en homme*. She did not forget the affront until her attention was diverted by the casual announcement, to

her infinite sorrow, that a *malignant fever* was raging fearfully between Erment and Edfou, a neighbouring district; she then began to speak in terms of invective against the French Plague-Commission and Dr. Pariset, who, she said, "was the cause of it *all!*" We tried to console her; but she turned to her friend "Leopold," a tall young man, under whose protection she had placed herself, and declared she would not go a step further.*

After taking a general survey of the Plains of Thebes, a party was made to visit the "Biban-el-Molook," the Tombs of the Kings. The village of "Err'bek," "Kas'r el Gh'oornoo," or "Qh'ournah," is situated about a quarter of a mile from the river, in the midst of a fertile plain; the houses are built chiefly of unburnt brick, and nearly concealed by palm-trees; a few huts are also scattered about the shelving limestone rock which leads to the neighbouring heights, a portion of the Libyan range which bounds the valley, running parallel with the Nile, for two miles. In these heights we behold the Necropolis of ancient Thebes; the entire ridge, and the rocky valleys formed by its extremities, as they plunge into the recesses of the mountains, are hollowed out into chambers and galleries of the most astonishing description: they are remarkable for their beauty, their number, and extent: no catacombs in the world are to be compared with them, and they afford abundant proof of the talents and resources of the extraordinary people by whom they were designed and excavated. The walls are covered with spirited pictures and hieroglyphics, like the celebrated sepulchral grottoes of Eilithyias, and although they have been painted about

* See p. 318.

three thousand years, they are, many of them, in a state of good preservation, and the colours appear to have suffered very little. The representations are of the most interesting character, and refer to the arts of life, agricultural pursuits, and in fact, every subject we can think of, forming a complete and perfect record of the habits and occupations of the early Egyptians.* The following may suffice as a specimen. In a tomb near that occupied by Mr. Bonomi, we see a representation of people going to a banquet in a chariot: then, the interior of the building is delineated, and we behold the guests feasting, and the "Almèh" dancing before them to the sound of harp, viol, and tambourine, as in the present day; the latter instrument is in shape a parallelogram, a simple frame with a skin of parchment stretched over it. Next, we observe a variety of trades—the fabrication of jewellery, chariots, earthen pots, wooden ornaments; a sphinx and other figures connected with religion; various sculptures, the painting of vases, and of a temple with rows of trees before it, and people carrying papyri: also the weighing and polishing of gold rings, &c. Adjoining it, there is another tomb which seems to have belonged to a rich grazier; for the walls are covered with appropriate delineations which it is needless to particularize. Others illustrate the arts of spinning and weaving, cabinet making, the roasting of ores, glass-blowing,

* To describe them would require volumes, and as they have already been so ably illustrated by Rosellini, Wilkinson, and others, I must again throw myself on the indulgence of the reader; for in a work of this kind, it is impossible to do more than direct the attention to the most interesting points connected with Egyptian literature; each subject is inexhaustible. To those who may not feel inclined to purchase the larger works, I would particularly recommend Dr. W. C. Taylor's "Illustrations of the Bible." It is an elegant little volume, and gives a very good general idea of the ancient Egyptian paintings: also Mr. Osburn's little book "On the Antiquities of Egypt."

boat-building, wine-pressing, tanning, and so forth; in others again, musical instruments are depicted; and very often, the sports of the field, each subject being accompanied with descriptive hieroglyphics: and in one, I noticed a representation of the boatmen *tracking*, just as in the present day.

A little to the north-east of the modern village, to the right of where the road turns off to the "Valley of the Kings," is a very extensive range of excavations, between which and the Nile, are plantations of d'hourra (*holcus sorghum*) and cotton. These chambers penetrate to a considerable distance; and evidently belonged to persons of note. They have never been fully explored. I measured one which was forty-eight paces long, without the court: the first apartment had five ante-rooms on either side, each fifteen paces by twenty-one; then there was a room having four columns; and lastly, another with a niche for an idol, and two more ante-rooms adjoining. This tomb had also an arched approach or alcove cut out of the rock; the hieroglyphics and symbolical figures must once have been very beautiful: they are painted blue and red, on a buff ground, on a surface of cement: but they have been much injured, and in many parts, entirely destroyed. The court has a piazza of two columns on the right, and two on the left, all cut out of the *lime-stone*, as also various small rooms: the entrance is narrow, like that of a propylon. On each side of the tomb, I observed a square tablet of hieroglyphics: these are both defaced, and one is cut through into a chamber adjacent. I entered another tomb of a similar description, consisting of two apartments; the hieroglyphics and paintings being also blue, buff, and red: there is a delineation on the

walls, of wool-dressing and spinning, and also of a smoking party, &c. In one of the rooms, are five or six columns, each pedestal of which, bears the head of a man with an ass's ears; and on the walls, is the figure of a man having the head of a jackal. Another of these tombs is forty-eight paces long, and consists of three chambers, the second containing four columns, and the third a niche for idols, and on each side, a passage; one of the latter is so long that I could not throw a stone to the end of it: here too, the hieroglyphics and figures have been done in the same colours: there are various ante-rooms. The court has a piazza on two sides, and smaller chambers, all cut out of the solid rock, which is limestone. Why these tombs should wear the same livery, it is difficult to guess. The whole of the rocky flat in the vicinity of the mountains, not only here, but in the direction of Medinet Haboo, at the back of the "Ramseion" the supposed *Memnonium*, and bounding the entire valley of the "Assasseef" to the westward, is full of similar excavations. They are many of them so arranged as to form three sides of a square; they resemble a sort of a half temple, half tomb, and are in shape like an *inverted* ⊥, each having a long gallery leading to a niche, and sometimes recesses for mummies.

It is believed that the ancient Egyptians used to deposit the embalmed remains of their relatives in a portion of their habitations; and it is possible that such a gallery may have been the appointed place: it is just such as Belzoni describes. He explored several of the innermost recesses, although half choked and suffocated by the dust and bad air. Some of these passages, he says, were "200 and 300 yards in length, and the painted mummy cases were placed vertically,

only to the reptile and the beast of prey, and the wretched, persecuted wanderer, who, strange to tell, is glad to return to the very dwellings which the founder of this proud city converted into *tombs!* — even Thebes, that remained for centuries *unrivalled*, the wonder of all the nations of the earth!—"Thebes with her hundred gates,"* and which, according to the ancient geographer, Diodorus Siculus, was "*thirty miles in circumference*, covering the whole valley on both sides of the majestic Nile, and resting on each chain of mountains!"—of that same Thebes, of which, although she had long materially declined from her original splendour, the same writer declares—"until the invasion of Cambyses, the sun had never shone on so magnificent a city!" Nothing now remains of it but the shattered, dismantled piles of sacred edifices, whose altars have been destroyed, or profaned and mutilated: — enormous stones, cornices, richly cut mouldings, friezes, and broken shafts, with Isis and Lotus capitals, lie scattered about in the midst of tottering walls, colossal figures, sphinxes, and obelisques, more or less obscured by spontaneous vegetation, and the annual deposits from the Nile:—avenues of gigantic columns still denote the courts which led to the now roofless sanctuaries of Pagan worship, wherein are to be seen the *vacant* niches of idol monsters, fragments of which may here and there be distinguished among the mounds of earth, and dust and weeds, which everywhere obstruct the way, whilst the heathen deities, whose lineaments are depicted on the walls, and the

* It is surmised that when Homer used this expression, he alluded to the Propyli or gates of the *Temples*. Pococke considers that *walled* towns were not common in Egypt. I saw no remains of walls myself but such as were the work of the moderns: though Browne fancied he could distinguish some at Luxor, and even imagined he could make out three of the gates.

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COLOSSAL STATUES IN THE PLAINS OF THEBES.
The Nile & Luxor in the distance.

emblems which the zealous votaries of superstition held most sacred, are sullied with the dung of bats, or blackened with charcoal fumes! Then, as if in mockery of the heroic demi-gods of the day, we see upon the outer walls, representations of their temporary triumphs, and the homage of their self-enslaved and degraded vassals, and if, stepping on a few paces, we mount to the summit of one of the huge propyli, and contemplate this scene of organized confusion, we see a magnificent river flowing majestically onwards as heretofore, through a fertile but semi-cultivated plain, bounded by an amphitheatre of hills, and inclosing an area of from thirty to forty miles. A more eligible site for a metropolis it is impossible to conceive; and in the days of Egypt's glory, it seems to have been fully appreciated: but the Persian Conqueror, led by avarice and ambition, though pretended piety, pillaged its temples, carried away their gold and silver ornaments, and laid the city waste,—since which, it has been rapidly falling into its present state of desolation. To say nothing of the extensive valleys of the tombs, which wind among the mountains to the west, the plains of Thebes may now be divided into four principal districts, designated according to the situation of the most prominent ruins. The course of the Nile is as nearly as possible, from S.W. to N.E. It varies considerably in width at different seasons, leaving sand islands; but at its widest part, it is said to measure about 1300 ft. On its right bank, are the extensive ruins of "Karnâk" in the north, and "El-Aksor," or "Luxor" in the south;—and on the opposite side, rather more in-land, are the ancient remains of "Qh'ournah" and "Medinet Haboo,"—nearly midway between which, is the supposed "Memnonium,"

where lying, as it fell, behold, in quartzy fragments, the gigantic statue of Osymandias! and some distance in the advance, sitting in solitary grandeur—two other granite figures fifty-two feet in height and forty feet apart.* They are looking towards the east, and are supposed to have formed a portion of an avenue which led to this celebrated temple. If anything were wanting to complete the picture of desolation, which is everywhere presented to view, when traversing these eventful plains, we have it in these truly remarkable figures:—the effect which they produce on the mind is most striking; and their isolated position increases that effect—especially when they are viewed by moonlight, under the impressive stillness of evening:—the long deep shadows which they cast over the rugged soil behind them, when contrasted with the pallid deadly whiteness which illumines their mutilated visage, the sparkling waters of the Nile, and the more distant towers of Luxor, render the scene one of the most imposing that can be imagined: the feelings are excited to the highest pitch by the associations which crowd upon the understanding: the recollection of their past history unfolds to us the horrors of Paganism, and the debasing influence of Idolatry and Superstition; the thoughts instinctively recur to the important changes which are continually going on in the scale of nations: the blessings experienced daily by the unpretending worshipper of the Christian's God, are gratefully acknowledged; and we are more than ever impressed with the awful manifestations of the Divine Power. It is impossible for any man to contemplate the "sitting statues" in the plains of Thebes by

* The throne on which they rest is thirty feet long, eighteen feet broad, and about eight feet high.

moonlight, without reverting to his own condition, and afterwards meditating on the attributes of the Deity: for in no country in the world has idolatry been carried to a greater extent than in Egypt, and in no country has it been more signally visited for the enormities which it taught and practised. When we think of our own great metropolis, renowned as she is for her wisdom, her commerce, her talents, and her laws, and reflect that Thebes, in her day, was equally famous, for the times in which she flourished—that her warriors were as brave, her power as great, her people as numerous, and her acquaintance with the Arts and Sciences unrivalled—that she was accustomed to dictate to other nations—that the soil was even more fertile—and in a word, that, consistently with her position, her advantages were quite equal to our own,—we must perceive that she was as favoured of the Almighty as we are; and that there was a time, when the choicest blessings were *lavished* upon her:—it makes one shudder, then, to look upon the now deserted plains which mark the site of this distinguished Capital,—where luxury and pomp once reigned triumphant, but where the hyæna now roams unmolested! It makes one shudder to think of what the Thebans formerly were, and we are not much consoled by the contemplation of what they now are. I have already intimated that the inhabitants of Qh'ournah are descended from Phœnician settlers: they are allowed to be some of the most independent, cunning, and deceitful of the native tribes; they live among the ruins, and in holes and caves: they tend goats and sheep, and cultivate the shelving ground between the village and the Nile: but, for a long period, finding that there was such a demand for antiques, they preferred digging

for mummies, and seeking after hidden treasure,—which they supposed was the motive that induced Europeans to visit Egypt. This system was carried to a considerable extent when I was in the country, until at last, an order was issued, that nothing should be removed, under any pretence, either by Franks or Natives.

The *sacred valley* of the "Biban el Molook" or Tombs of the Kings, is approached by a narrow gorge of perpendicular limestone rocks, in the immediate vicinity of Qh'ournah: the road is obstructed with quartz and sandy pebbles, and detached masses of the mountains' sides, which, at the distance of about three miles from the village, diverge, forming two parched and gloomy avenues, one gradually winding to the eastward, the other due south, where it divides into two circuitous channels: that to the left leading to the Royal Valley; that to the right marking the direction of the Libyan wilderness. Not a tree or a blade of grass is to be seen in either, and the sand is continually drifting down from the heights, and accumulating in shelving heaps; the whole forms a dismal, melancholy pass, well suited to the purposes of the dead. At the bases of these calcareous cliffs, at irregular distances, are rounded excavations which terminate in the extraordinary caves in which the Theban Monarchs were interred. The doors are six or eight feet wide, and ten feet high, and surmounted generally by a bas-relief, consisting of an oval, on which is sculptured a scarabæus or beetle, and the form of "Arö̈eris," and on either side, a human figure in a kneeling posture. Within the entrance, is a broad shaft, descending gradually to about 100 feet, and communicating with numerous chambers, some of which are supported

by columns. The ceiling of the shaft is black, but adorned with silvery stars, and the usual emblems of the globe and winged serpent, the beetle, and the royal vulture with outspread wings; the sides of the avenue, and the walls, are every where covered with hieroglyphics, and interesting paintings: the colours are various, generally on a white ground; they are little faded by time, and the subjects are well executed.* From the inner apartments also proceed shafts or galleries, to the distance of 300 and 400 feet; they terminate usually in a large saloon, where there are niches for idols, pits, for water and lotus flowers (as I believe), and in the centre, a large sarcophagus of granite or alabaster, curiously carved, and covered within and without, with symbolic figures and hieroglyphics. Of these there is a beautiful specimen with richly cut *intaglio* devices painted blue, in the collection of the late Sir John Soane, brought within the last few years, from the tomb of *Psammis*, † the son of Pharaoh Necho, which is without exception, the most perfect, and seems to have been the most magnificent mausoleum of the whole district. It was discovered in 1817, by that truly enterprizing traveller, Belzoni, and is pre-eminently conspicuous for the exquisite beauty of the

* Diodorus Siculus states that the priests registered forty-seven of these tombs, only seventeen of which were known in the time of Ptolemy Lagus (about 60 years B. C.) Strabo speaks of forty, and I believe twenty have been entered by the moderns. The delineations refer not only to the Egyptian Mythology, but to matters purely temporal: there are processions of men and animals, public trials, banquets, games, and amusements: there is a great variety of costume, elegant cabinets, couches, musical instruments, vases, chariots, implements of war, and other objects connected with the every-day transactions of life.

† This King was a descendant of Menephthah, and is identical with Osirei the First, who built the Temples of Abydos and Qh'ournah, and the portico of the great temple at Karnak. He reigned B. C. 1366: he carried his arms into Ethiopia, and his father invaded Judea.

design, its extent, and the richness of its sculpture. Although it had previously been opened by the Persians (525 B. C.), it was found to be in a high state of preservation. It is 309 feet long, and contains no fewer than fourteen lofty and spacious chambers, decorated in the most elaborate style, and exhibiting scenes intimately connected with the early Egyptian history. Our astonishment increases as we proceed, and we are at a loss to understand how so much labour and expense should have been lavished upon excavated vaults which were designed only to contain the ashes of the dead: like the Pyramids, it is evident that this was not their only object; but that they were doubtless the scene also of many idolatrous rites. After passing the two first compartments, and puzzling ourselves in vain with the mystical groups depicted on the walls, we descended by a flight of twenty-six steps, to two others, where we found ourselves surrounded by serpents having three heads and human feet, and various other mysterious and horrid-looking monsters. We were also introduced to Isis and Osiris, and we recognized their never failing attendant "Aroëris," the gentleman with a hawk's head. Here we thought we had reached the end of the tomb; for we found a pit or well, which, according to Belzoni, is thirty feet deep, fourteen feet long, and twelve wide; and we saw the remains of a wall which once extended across the corridor, but through which an opening had been forced. We were then ushered into the most beautiful apartment of the kind, which I had ever seen. It was about twenty-five feet square, with four substantial quadrangular columns in the centre. The ceiling was black, and ornamented with celestial symbols; and the walls were covered with ap-

parently, historical and mythological subjects. There was an extensive procession, in which four different nations appeared, and which, from their physiognomy and costumes, were supposed to represent Persians, Ethiopians, Jews, and Egyptians. There were processions also of men carrying serpents; boats were introduced, and mummies reclining on a large couch in the shape of a serpent; and in another place, a sort of hand-barrow was being carried by people, holding a long snake, on the body of which the barrow rested. Opposite the entrance, the King was exhibited offering to Isis and Osiris; and on the faces of the columns, he was paying his devoirs to the gods, one of which had a wolf's head, another a hawk's head, and the third the head of an ibis.

I was much interested with the next chamber, although, except on the columns, (which resembled those of the apartment we had just left), there were no pictures to be seen: the walls were quite white, but the designs of the future paintings were traced with red chalk upon them; and in certain parts, were corrected, (possibly by the chief artist) with black chalk, just as might be done in the present day in Europe; the outline was spirited, but the workmen had been interrupted, probably by the invasion of their enemies, before their task was done. From the beautiful Hall in which we saw the processions of nations, there was a flight of twelve steps leading again into the corridor, where we examined many other beautiful paintings with descriptive hieroglyphics; and this is the only place, I believe, in which the names of "Nichao and Psammuthis" occur,—the Heroes in whose honor it is supposed this tomb was excavated. In this same passage, Isis is represented conferring an *amulet* upon the

King, in token of her protection and favour; and a short distance off, the King is observed seated on a throne, holding a sceptre, whilst the sacred bird hovers over his head. We next entered a very handsome chamber measuring twenty feet by fourteen, in which the Hero is seen offering to Anubis, Isis and Osiris: in another, which is still more magnificent, and contains twelve square columns variously decorated, there is a similar exhibition, besides a procession of captives with their hands tied behind them. Then, in a chamber measuring thirty feet by twenty, and twenty-seven feet in height, (the roof of which is arched and painted black, studded with stars and other devices), we see numerous processions both by land and by water; and in one of the ante-rooms, there are two square columns, with beautifully painted façades: on these the Hero is, or rather *was*, again represented at his devotions; there is also a distinct delineation of a *human* sacrifice: three of the victims appear upon their knees, with their heads already struck off, and behind them, stands the priest or executioner, brandishing his knife in the air, ready to perform his office on three others, which lie bound at his feet. But these highly interesting pillars have been mutilated by one, who, as a real lover of Egyptian antiquities, we might have expected would have spared them.*

* Mr. Bonomi informed me, that going up accidentally one day, to this, the tomb of Psammis, he found M. Champollion busily engaged in cutting down three beautiful tablets from these columns, the colouring of which was the most perfect perhaps to be seen among the Egyptian antiquities. He remonstrated, reminding him at the same time, that the tomb having been opened under the auspices of the English Consul, Mr. Salt, it was considered to be under British protection; he received a sharp reply;—but feeling conscious that he had done wrong, M. Champollion afterwards wrote to Mr. Bonomi, excusing himself by saying that he intended one of the tablets for the Museum at Paris, one for the Museum at Florence, and that out of respect to Belzoni, he should present the third to the English. But on going up to the tomb again, after Champollion's

The largest of all the sepulchral chambers was left unfinished; it measures about forty feet by seventeen, and had a row of four columns in the centre; one of them has been thrown down: there are no paintings. In the principal Hall, underneath the alabaster sarcophagus to which I have referred, Mr. Belzoni discovered a passage six feet high, and four feet wide; he traced it for 300 feet, when he found it

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departure, he found that the *third* tablet had been left on the ground to take its chance! With some difficulty, he contrived to get a box made for it of mummy-cases, to protect it until some English traveller might convey it to England. On my return from Nubia, I was prevented bringing it away, by the Authorities, notwithstanding I had the Pascha's firmaun. I sent an express to Hassan Bey, Governor of Khéneh, about it, but received an equivocal answer, to the effect that I must have an order from *Ibrahim* Pascha, who was then at Alexandria. On my return, I reported this circumstance to the Royal Asiatic Society, and measures were taken to have the tablet removed; but in the mean time, the Egyptian mania for *treasure hunting* relaxed, and an English traveller added it to his own collection. A painting cannot be removed from the walls, without *destroying the hieroglyphics* which surround it, because, the stone splitting in all directions, it is necessary to cut some distance beyond the margin. Now the several antiquities of Egypt form a large historical volume, of which the delineations contained in the tomb of Psammis, formed a most important part, having sustained little or no injury; and it is a mortifying thing to a man of research, to find that the most valuable specimens of Egyptian Art have been injured or destroyed by the very hand which penned the writings which he had consulted concerning them. M. Champollion had confessedly devoted much time to the study of Egyptian Literature, but the higher the Authority on a subject so obscure and speculative, the more scrupulous should we be in receiving as *facts*, statements which are to become the basis of our future reasoning, especially when they cannot be corroborated. Champollion is known to have changed his opinion on many points, and evinced but little delicacy towards the English. In his 22nd letter, he boasts of having carried off this "the most beautiful coloured bas-relief in the royal tomb."—"It is of itself *worth a whole collection*," he adds; "it has caused me much anxiety, and will certainly occasion me a dispute with the English, who claim to be the lawful proprietors of the tomb of Osirei, discovered by Belzoni *at the expense of Mr. Salt*. In spite, however, of this fine pretension, one of two things shall happen; either my bas-relief shall reach Toulon, or it shall go to the bottom of the sea or the bottom of the Nile, rather than fall into the hands of others; my mind is made up on that point." This interesting relic is now in the Museum at Paris; but its value is of course diminished, by reason of its isolated position. It is now only curious as a work of Art; associated with its fellows, it formed an historical record.—See Vol. I. Chap. III. and V.

obstructed by rubbish and bats' dung; from this circumstance, it was believed to communicate with the open air in some distant part. Another, and perhaps still more perfect sarcophagus (inasmuch as the lid was entire), was found in the tomb of Rameses, commonly called the "Harp Tomb" or "Bruce's Tomb." It was of highly polished granite, and was brought away by Mr. Salt.

Several of this, one of the most powerful dynasties of the Theban Kings, are supposed to have been interred here; though in modern times, no traces of human remains have been discovered. The names of Rameses the *Third*, and of his father and grandfather, are to be seen among the hieroglyphics: but the family of this King had two tombs at Thebes. The Labyrinth, the splendid palace at Medinet Haboo, two or three of the temples at Karnak, and other important buildings are attributed to him; and according to Herodotus and Diodorus, he was the same with Mœris: he was a great warrior, and an imitator of Rameses the *Second*—i. e. Sesostris, Osymandias, Ismendes—who invaded Syria and Asia Minor, and who is described in the Iliad as Memnon—one of the famous Heroes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (B.C.) who, according to Hesiod, "were *distinct from other men;* a Divine race, who lived by the care of Jupiter!" If we may judge from the works which now remain, Rameses the Second was the greatest of all the Egyptian Rulers; and under his auspices, the Arts arrived at their greatest perfection. According to the best Authorities, it was he who built the temples of Aboo Simbal, Sebooa, Dehr, Ghyrshe, and the small temple of Kalabshieh in Nubia—also the Memnonium at Thebes: he erected the beautiful obelisques

at Luxor, and his name holds a conspicuous place on almost every temple and statue throughout the land. Having conquered the adjacent countries, he crossed the Ganges, and subdued the whole of India, even to the ocean.* That truly generous and ever-to-be-lamented individual, the late Earl of Munster—whose high character and amiable disposition endeared him to all who knew him, and whose unceasing exertions in the cause of Oriental Literature, gained for him universal admiration and respect—has informed us,

* We learn from the paintings at Medinet Haboo, that Rameses the *Third* carried his arms into Asia; as the prisoners who are being led in triumph, wear the dress of the Persians or Bactrians; and "if" observes Major Felix in his interesting 'Notes on the Hieroglyphics,'—"Rameses the Second be *Sesostris*, this King may very possibly be the Memnon of the Greeks, particularly as his reign would approach the era of the Trojan war, and as the distinguishing prefix '*Me-amon*' might very easily have been changed into '*Memnon*.' 1st. Marsham says, "It is more agreeable to the truth of History, to make Amonoph, who reigned after Sesostris, the Memnon who ruled over Susa and the Phrygians. This King deserves to be numbered amongst the most warlike of the Egyptian Monarchs:—he led his army into Asia, reduced the nations to order, who had been conquered by Sesostris—marched through Phrygia—left monuments in Susa—compelled the rebellious Bactrians to return to their former obedience,—and having quieted Asia, and established the Empire of Sesostris, returned to Egypt in superb triumph. Peregonius, who differs from Marsham in almost every other point, agrees with him in thinking that Memnon lived after Sesostris. Secondly, all the Ancients affirm that Memnon lived at the period of the Trojan war.—Homer says, that "at the siege of Troy, Pyrrhus was the most beautiful after the *Divine Memnon!*"—Pausanias—that Memnon was King of Ethiopia—that passing through Egypt, he penetrated thence to Susa, a city of the Persians, and that he went from Susa to the Trojan war, having conquered all the nations (quæ media sint), even to the river Choaspes. Diodorus, after relating that Memnon was born in Persia, and went from thence to Troy, adds, "but the inhabitants of Ethiopia who join Egypt, affirm that he was born and lived amongst *them*, and that he built palaces which were called "*Memnonia*." Finally, Pliny says "that the King of Egypt, when Troy was taken, was called "*Rameses*."—If Rameses the *third* were Memnon, the palace of Medinet Haboo would be the real Memnonium, or perhaps the building called by Diodorus, "*the tomb of Osymandias*." Rameses the fourth is constantly associated with Rameses the third, and their hieroglyphics are cut in *deep intaglio*, a style peculiar to these two Monarchs. The name of Rameses the *first* is the most ancient that occurs in the Valley of the Kings. He succeeded Bocchoris, the Pharaoh who detained the Israelites, and who was afterwards drowned in the Red Sea, (A.M. 1491,)—but he seems to have reigned only one year.

that among the sculpture in the caves of Ellora, men are to be seen fighting, and that there are also "some figures in cars with two or four wheels, drawn by horses and *monkeys*, who seem in every part, to be principal performers." "This," he adds, "is supposed to allude to the conquest of Ceylon by *Rameses*." Now, precisely the same subjects are painted on the walls of the excavated temple at Aboo Simbal—on the façade of which there is also *a line of monkeys!* The chief proprietors of the "Harper's Tomb," therefore, appear to have been two of Egypt's proudest Monarchs; and it is with no ordinary feelings that we step within its once sacred portals! It is unquestionably one of the most beautiful tombs in the whole valley: the walls are elaborately painted, and exhibit every variety of subject. The colours are still distinct, but not in such good preservation as those in the tomb of Psammis: there are several spacious chambers; and in the last, is a representation of two harpers playing before a deity;—hence the name!* It is curious to observe in the different tombs, how nearly the chairs, cabinets, couches, and vases which are there delineated, resemble those which are most esteemed in the present day, in Europe: I saw many which might have been copied from them, combining apparently, use with ornament.

Among other representations, I particularly noticed the following: — groups separating the grain from the chaff: they throw it up in the air, and depend upon the wind to carry away the latter: there are also cattle treading out the grain, as I have seen in Hungary:† — groups of people gathering figs: also

* See Bruce, vol. i. p. 126.

† See Deut. xxv. 4; Isaiah xxx. 24; Matt. iii. 12; Psalm i. 4.

fig-trees with monkeys eating the fruit: there is a superstitious feeling in the East, that it is *lucky* for monkeys to attack an orchard:—men ploughing: the plough is similar to that still in use (see Plate p. 432.); it is drawn by two oxen abreast; the sowers carry the seed in baskets:*—men pressing grapes: the fruit is put into long, conical baskets, with a loop at each end, through which stakes are passed for the purpose of twisting them forcibly, so as to squeeze out the juice, just as a laundress would wring out clothes; and in a private tomb re-opened by Mr. Hay, men are seen *treading* out the juice with their feet. There are orchards and beautiful gardens: illustrations of hunting, snaring, and fishing; various trades also, and manufactures, statuary and painting, the shaping and carving of columns, and men polishing a colossal sitting figure formed out of a solid block of red granite; and there is a group of individuals dragging a similar statue by means of ropes, towards the door of a temple: one man is employed throwing water on the ground to prevent the sledge from firing by friction:—trucks of this kind drawn by horses, may be seen every day in the streets of Holland. They exhibit to us the process of embalming the dead, the *slaughtering of cattle*, and the casting of metals: the blow-pipe is introduced; and the bellows attached to the blast-furnace, is of a very peculiar construction, being worked by the feet of the operator. At first, one is rather startled to see an ox under the sacrificial knife: but Herodotus informs us that the Egyptians sacrificed "bulls without blemish, and calves;—though the

* See Deut. xxii. 10; Job i. 14, 15; xxiv. 3; and Prov. xx. 4; 1 Sam. xiv. 14; 1 Kings xix. 19.

females, being sacred to Isis, could not be sacrificed;" and Homer tells us that

> "With hasty feasts they sacrifice and pray
> T' avert the dangers of the doubtful day.
> A *steer* of five years' age, large limb'd, and fed,
> To Jove's high altars *Agamemnon* led!"—*The Iliad*, B. ii.

There is a great variety of animals, particularly the lynx, panther, lion, elephant, bear, leopard, and the giraffe,—besides a great many monsters, which were the coinings of the imagination. In one place, a man is represented on a rock, ready to strike a crocodile which is beneath: in another, there is a bull-fight; and we see wild animals with marks upon them, which seems to say that the Egyptians had their menageries as we have, and understood the art of taming wild beasts. We observe the scribe engaged numbering the cattle, whilst his lord and master is standing by with his bowmen, as if setting out to the hunt, or securing booty. A strange people, resembling Jews, are depicted making bricks—and we may see the Egyptian Kings, with their Officers, overlooking the labourers at the harvest. Browne speaks of the Sultans of Dafour doing the same thing when the seed was being put into the ground.* But the most horrible of all exhibitions is that of a human sacrifice. Our historians are agreed that the Egyptians not only offered up their enemies upon the altars of their gods, and particularly *red-haired* men, but that once a-year, a beautiful virgin was sacrificed as an acknowledgment of the blessings derived from the Nile. We read that "*righteous Abel sacrificed of the firstlings of his*

* "The King goes out with his Melĕks (Ministers) and the rest of his train, and while the people are employed in turning up the ground, and sowing the seed, he also makes several holes with his own hand" p. 284. Herodotus alludes to a similar practice of the Egyptian Monarchs.

flock,"—and that one of Noah's first acts after leaving the Ark, was to "*offer a burnt sacrifice to God!*" But how different was the feeling which influenced these holy men, from the notion entertained by the heathens, who brought victims to their idols, to propitiate for their sins, believing that the offering would be the more acceptable in proportion to the innocence and purity of the object, as well as to its intrinsic value; and therefore, not only led such animals to the sacrifice as they knew to be undefiled, but such as were rare, and supposed to be emblems of purity and love!*

In the height of their fanaticism, they even deluged their altars with the blood of their own children; thinking that they ought to be ready, like Abraham, to surrender those gifts, which, of all others, were most dear to them— a *principle* from which truly the most civilized may derive useful *practical* lessons; but the pages of history teem with the recital of cruelties that we shudder to contemplate. There is too much reason to fear that these mysterious subterranean chambers, like the other Egyptian temples, have been devoted to the most atrocious and demoniacal purposes; for there is, I fancy, no extreme to which infuriated zealots will not go; and in every age and country, impious men have always been found, ready to avail themselves of religion as a cloak for the grossest enormities. Our Saviour continually warned his disciples against the errors of superstition; and the writings of the Prophets afford a melancholy picture of the wily and insinuating influence of idolatrous practices.†

* 1 Peter iii. 18; Gen. xxii. 9; Deut. xii. 31; 2 Kings iii. 27; Micah vi. 7.

† Many passages in Scripture are illustrated by the construction of these tombs; and we cannot have a stronger confirmation of the fact to which I have

It is obvious that in a work of this kind, I can give no more than a distant idea of the beauty and magnificence displayed in the formation of any one of these tombs: but I trust I have said enough to emulate my readers to enquire further. I have heard it hinted, that none but a madman is anxious to spend his time among State-mummies and mouldering rags, in the gloomy recesses of the wilderness: for that the Egyptian Mythology abounds in absurdities which it is not worth the trouble to investigate, being a concatenation of profane ceremonies, and unmeaning problems. But it will be found, upon enquiry, that the subject is anything but insipid and profitless; the ancient Egyptians were in possession of many things of which subsequent generations availed themselves with advantage; and we must not forget that it was they who laid the foundation of the knowledge which we at present enjoy. We have reason to believe, that the history of the early ages lies still enclosed within the mountains of the Thebaïd, which is alone sufficient to stimulate us, with our present influence with the Pascha, to take advantage of every opportunity of exploring catacombs yet sealed, and every stone of which, we may depend upon it, has an eloquent tale to tell. Too much cannot be said in praise of Mr. Belzoni: he merits all the fame which his enterprise obtained for him. His discoveries furnished the first

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alluded, than is afforded us in the words of Ezekiel (chap. viii. 8—10.)—"Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall; and when I had digged in the wall, behold a door. And he said unto me, 'Go in, and behold *the wicked abominations that they do there*.' So I went in and saw; and behold every form of creeping thing, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel portrayed upon the wall, round about." This was in reference to the practices of the Jews, after they had been contaminated by their intercourse with the Egyptians. See Isaiah xiv. 18.—xxii. 16.—Ezek. xxx. 13.—Mark v. 2—5.—Gen. l. 3.—Rom. i. 21—23.—Lev. xviii. 3—21—and Rev. xvii. 5.

clue to the grand arcana of Egyptian literature, and encouraged others to labour in the same field: much progress has been made, and although the conclusions on many points are necessarily conjectural, the highest degree of satisfaction results from the investigation.

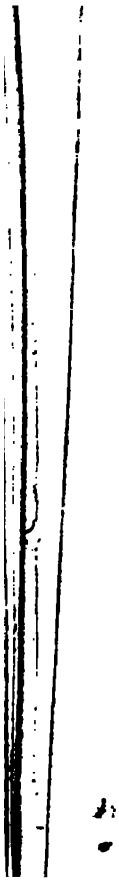
Not far from the tombs of the Kings, in a similar gorge of the mountain, termed by the Arabs the "Bab-el-Hh'adgi Hamed," are the tombs of the Queens and their daughters: they are of great antiquity, and appear to have been intentionally set on fire: originally, they must have been very beautiful. From this spot, a secluded path leads over the rocks to the Valley of "Assaseef," where are numerous other tombs of early date: one of them belonging to the family of Amenophis who lived in the time of Moses (A. M. 1543.) just before the plagues began—i. e. more than fifteen centuries before the birth of our Saviour:—an arch of *unburnt bricks* has been discovered there *entire*, clearly demonstrating the dry nature of the soil. In the same vicinity, are the tombs of the Priests also; and the whole district abounds in mummy pits, large blocks of stone, fragments of statues, tablets and broken shafts. We were continually saluted by bats as we entered these gloomy caverns: the stench also which they occasioned, was intolerable. Traversing the level ground, to the opposite side of the valley,—stepping over the extensive remains above mentioned, we arrive at the "ΣΗΚΟΣ" or sacred inclosure of one of the most ancient temples—that of northern Dair: it is situated immediately under the perpendicular rocks, and was for a long time supposed to communicate with a passage which has been traced half way through the mountain, from the tomb of Psammis: but latterly, this has been proved not to be the case.

Very little now remains; but there are the ruins of a splendid gateway, and several chambers with granite tablets, and a long avenue of broken sphinxes, at either end of which, there were formerly some obelisques. Returning over the heights from behind the tombs of Goornoo, to the shelving rocks which lead to the plain, we observed fragments of other colossal statues, one of which is supposed to have represented Rameses the Second, of whom I have already said so much, and who built the temple adjoining, which now takes the name of "Errebek" after the modern village. It has been called alternately a tomb, a palace, and a temple, and is said to have been dedicated to the father of Sesostris. There seems to be no doubt that it is a building of Osirei; and it forms a pretty object as a ruin; but there is little of it remaining; the propylon is quite gone, and the rest is obstructed by unsightly accumulations, the debris of Arab huts. On each side of the gateway, there is a portico with six round columns, in imitation of lotus-reeds bound together, and having budding lotus capitals: the Pronaos has two similar piazzas of three columns each, and the walls are sculptured and ornamented with handsome bas-reliefs, figures in outline, and hieroglyphics; the apartments are richly carved; there is a representation of Osiris holding a scourge and crook in one hand, and a hatchet in the other: we see the ark also, and the lotus-fruit—the globe and winged serpent—figures offering to the deities, and a figure in the act of filling cups and pouring water. The roof has fallen in. From the frequent appearance of the ram's head among the other symbols, it is supposed that Jupiter Ammon was worshipped here.

It was with some difficulty that we could make up

EL KAB, ESNEH.

The small Temple at Qhoorneh a Building of Osyrei.



our minds to quit even for a short time, these interesting relics; for although they are covered with that hieroglyphic cloud through which we dimly see the allegories they are intended to convey, they are viewed with peculiar feelings; they carry us back to the early days of beings that are mentioned in Holy Writ, and whose names we have been accustomed as children to revere; and I do not envy him who has persuaded himself that they are all fabulous. Let the sceptic visit Thebes and explore these sculptured caverns, and he will read there a lesson, such, that if he have not a heart of adamant, he must feel and believe that the predictions contained in the Sacred Volume were uttered under the inspiration of the Supreme Being; and he will see there such things as will convince him that there existed, in ages long gone by, a people concerning whom we have but few records, but who enjoyed longer periods of internal tranquillity and prosperity than any other primitive nation, and who in many respects, had attained to a degree of civilization which has seldom been surpassed in modern times.

We now prepared to take our departure, in company with our new acquaintances, who contemplated a journey to Dongola; so that we formed a little fleet of three sail, well manned and provisioned. So many Europeans sojourning at Thebes at one time, caused quite a sensation in the little colony; and several of the natives followed us about, asking for "backscheesh," and teazing us to purchase *antiques;* many from curiosity: the women resembled gipsies, and the men, most of whom carried a long spear, looked sharp-featured and miserable, and mistrustful of everybody: they employed their time in grubbing among the ruins, in the vain hope of finding treasure, and in toiling for

the Viceroy, Several assembled round the old "Eggemez," (Sycamore) and I was again applied to for "charms." The river side was very delightful, though affording only a limited promenade; the sun made as usual, a golden set, and the view was calculated to inspire every one with gratitude and joy. Except during the prevalence of the hot winds, I never knew what it was to be out of spirits or out of humour; for, happen what would, there was a lightness in the air that diffused cheerfulness on all around. Nature now seemed at rest; the birds sang; the frogs were busy with their evening serenade, and the mosquitoes were gambolling in merry circles, as if contented with their lot: the only appearance of sadness was in the visages of the sickly Thebans that watched our movements wistfully upon the banks. Those that were really *ill*, time did not permit that I should cure; but those that were sick at heart, we strove to render happy too: the distribution of a few piastres unexpectedly among them, accomplished this; and then it seemed as if their cares were all forgot.

We took our station on the roof of the cabin to enjoy the scenery around us, armed with coffee and t'chibouque: the moon soon began to rise majestically behind the eastern hills, rendering the now darkened fronts of the Luxor ruins with their lofty propyli, tapering obelisques, and colonnades, more prominent, and lighting up the broad expanse of waters, whilst the colossal statues in the lonely plains of "No-Ammon" resumed their melancholy garb for the night. The Reis and his jovial crew had made a fire on the land, and were carousing in a ring: the poor Fellahs dropped off, one by one, to their homes, and as the dew fell moderately, we retained our post, encroaching upon the

hours of evening, until compelled to bid adieu to our much respected friend "Aboo-Nom."

We set sail the following morning at sunrise, and skirting three large sand islands, soon came in sight of the modern village of Bayrat and its embankments, and shortly after, of the dilapidated ruins of Hermonthis, distinguished rather by elevated masses of earth, than by buildings. There is here a small but ancient temple, with representations of Isis, Horus, Typhon, and several animals, especially cats, ibises, and serpents. This part of the river is remarkable for the number and large size of its crocodiles: the Arabs say that the "Sultan-el-Timpsah" the King of the Crocodiles, resides at Hermonthis, and that those who venture to bathe, should not move away from the boat; they will then be safe, not else. The fact is, that these animals are found chiefly between Manfalout and this place, and except at Koom Ombos, they get more rare and smaller, as we ascend the river. We found the Governor of Esnèh embarked in a large cand'gia, having put himself, or rather everybody else, *in quarantine*, owing to the fever which was raging. We smoked a pipe with him: he was a jolly good sort of man, a bon-vivant, and promised that if we would visit him on our return, we should taste some ostrich, —a novelty at all events. Esnèh is only a few miles further; it is an important bustling place, being almost a frontier town, and containing a garrison. The population is numerous, and the trade considerable—the caravans from Sennaar halting there to dispose of the articles in which they usually traffic: there is also a manufactory of fine cotton stuffs, and shawls called "*Malayeh*." Esnèh is the site of the ancient Latopolis or city of Latona, famous for its Oracular Shrine.

It has one of the most beautiful temples in Egypt, built after the manner of the sacred edifices at Philoe, in Nubia. A great deal has also been said about its *Zodiac;* but, like that of Dendera, it is nothing more than a collection of mythological figures, symbolical of the various offspring of the celestial Venus, without any reference to astronomy. We could not resist landing, and delayed here some time, although anxious to make the most of a fresh north-westerly breeze. Like all other large towns on the Nile, Esnèh has its bazaar, its mosques, and its quay:—there was no want of provisions, nor, apparently, of people to eat them. It may well be supposed, that the arrival of three large cand'gias together, two with the British colours flying, and one with those of France, would attract some notice. Numbers of women, attired in the chemise of loose blue cotton "*beteen*," made in the neighbourhood, Government Officials, blind beggars, venders of bread, dates, onions, fruit, and eggs, flocked down to the quay to learn what was going on, and whether anything was to be got. Of course it was not long before the *dancing-girls* came. Here, as at every other halting-place, I had plenty of patients, and beheld misery, filth, and disease, in their most aggravated forms, owing chiefly to neglect and want. I have long ceased to speak of these things, having already had occasion to say so much: the whole country bears the same aspect. As a reward for good conduct, according to promise, on our arrival, we made our *Reis* a present of a sheep: this was not the first time we had done so, and we fancied afterwards it did harm. Great judgment is necessary in the distribution of favours to these people, or they will take advantage of it. We had now a specimen of this: for the men had no

sooner got possession of the sheep, than they began to *shew cause* why they should remain here all the next day:—they wanted to *make bread*, and they pretended they could not obtain what they required, until "*to-morrow*," which, they said, was "market-day." This was obviously a trick, and we insisted on their making their bread over-night. By being resolute, we succeeded. Having, with some difficulty, got the men together, we took our departure for the celebrated Grottoes of Eilithyias, situated on the eastern banks at a narrow part of the valley, where the mountains approach the river. The whole of this Province is extremely fertile: we saw several plantations of millet, cotton, sugar cane, and "*Kharwah*," ricinus, or Palma Christi, that is, the castor-oil plant, one of the most elegant shrubs I know of: it grows here most luxuriantly, and is cultivated to a considerable extent. The Nubian women use it for their hair, and otherwise to anoint the body: it is employed also medicinally. For this purpose, the colocynth or bitter apple is also in request; it is a creeping plant, and in some districts, quantities of it are trodden under foot.* We were frequently entertained with the creaking of the Persian wheels, always a welcome sound, as it indicates prosperity. The Grottoes of Eilithyias are cut in the faces of the perpendicular rocks, and appear to have belonged to the wealthy agriculturists of the day. Most of the paintings are in character with the surrounding scenery: they refer to farming and grazing, the sports of the field, the vintage, harvesting, and feasting; the public dancers are introduced; and in others, we see a repre-

* The natives simply divide one of the apples, and filling one half of it with milk, let it stand until the morning, when it suffices to drink the impregnated fluid.

sentation of a death-bed scene, a funeral procession, and the process of embalming, offerings to Osiris, and numerous hieroglyphics: the temples are unimportant.* The lofty pyramidal towers of Edfoo rising majestically at the north-west corner of the village, now occupying the site of the ancient *Apollinopolis Magna*, distant only half a mile from the river, tempted us once more to land. It is an eligible spot, but every avenue is obstructed by earthy accumulations which overlook the walls of this distinguished temple—noble even in its fall. It is truly a magnificent ruin; but, how changed! —how defiled!—surrounded on all sides by filth and crumbling brick hovels—its sanctuaries filled with dust and vermin! The fellahs herd about its precincts in great numbers: they are oppressed and poor, but well disposed, and manufacture blue cotton cloth and pottery. Opposite Edfoo, the mountains of Arabia send off a branch to the eastward, stretching across the Ababdêh desert to the D'gebel Zabarah, or "Mount of Emeralds," which is eight hours distant from the Red Sea. This adds considerably to the beauty of the landscape; but it must be viewed from an eminence, because the valley of the Nile is contracted by the hills which approach the stream, and run for several miles, parallel with each other. We sailed again under favourable auspices, the wind still blowing fresh from the N.W., which it seldom fails to do in this district; and sometimes it rushes down the ravines with great violence, causing large waves; our swelling sails often bowed to salute the waters, and then coquettishly refused, continuing to nod and flirt with the waves, until we passed

* In one of these grottoes a man is seen driving two yoke of oxen treading out a floor of corn: over them are words in hieroglyphics, which have been thus paraphrased:—

"Heigh, heigh, oxen, tread the corn faster,
The straw for yourselves, the grain for your master."

Osburn's Egyptian Antiquities.

the celebrated "Rock of the Chain," which is something like the "Iron Gate" of the Danube—a rocky, narrow pass, through which the stream rushes with great impetuosity: there is no sign of vegetation on either side: the sandstone crags rising to 70 and 100 feet, close the river in, and give quite a novel character to the scenery: their recesses conceal enormous caverns—the very ancient quarries of "Hh'adg'r Silsilis:" they are extremely curious, and measure, some of them, 600 feet by 300, and about eighty feet in height. Various shrines of Christian anchorites, stairs, and winding paths cut in the rock, and excavations with Egyptian symbols, statues, and devices, are also to be seen, and many Coptic and Greek inscriptions. Dr. Richardson supposes that these quarries were wrought in the time of the Ptolemies, when the worship of Jupiter Ammon was most in vogue. In one place, there is a Sphinx half cut out, and in the chambers along the edge of the river, there is a representation of Isis with a Lion's head, Typhon, and other objects of Pagan worship; affording another proof of the dry state of the atmosphere; for although the sculpture has been executed more than 2000 years, the marks of the chisel remain, and appear as angular as if the work had been suddenly impeded—*yesterday!* The most considerable excavations are on the eastern banks. The caverns, at a remote period, became the strong-holds of banditti, and subsequently of outlaws, during troublesome times: the former, who lived by plunder, were in the habit of throwing a sunken chain across the stream, so as to arrest the progress of whom they would: they compelled all to pay the "kafah'r" or tribute, and kept the whole district in awe. The tribe which now

inhabit these parts, are an athletic race: they are easily excited, and have still the character and appearance of being ferocious:—though scantily clad, they are armed with a lance and a long knife: they have no fire-arms; but if offended, hurl great stones down from the adjacent heights. Thus, the history of the people explains why this romantic pass has been entitled "the Rock of the Chain." Between it and Edfoo, we encountered several sand-islands, and were often detained by getting aground. One reason was, that it was blowing fresh, and our Reis, like most of his fraternity, attending rather to his pipe than his business, would run us carelessly into shoal water: however, it gave us an opportunity of using our guns: but we could seldom get near enough to have a shot at the crocodiles: we saw three or four during the extreme heat, and the curlew, stork, and heron also paid us a visit.

The current ran very strong through the Pass; nevertheless, we swept rapidly by to Koom Ombos, where the mountains again plunge deeply into the eastern desert; that is, they send off a long arm, or broken chain, diagonally towards the south, dividing the territories of the Bisharien and Ababdêh Arabs. The sandstone formation continues, and it is on one of these steep promontories, where the river makes a sudden bend to the right, that the great temple of Ombos, dedicated to Sevek-ra (Saturn), rears its lofty head. It has a very imposing appearance, and is seen at some distance. Having inspected these highly interesting ruins, we again embarked. The valley, still narrow, begins to show signs of vegetation; palm-trees appear, and a few fields of grain: further on, we see an elevated rounded summit crowned with a "Kubbè,"

the tomb of a Marabût Scheikh; this is called "D'gebel Howa," the *mountain of the wind;* it overlooks the rocky plain of the Cataracts, the frontier town of Es-Souan, and the island of Elephantina, which resembles an impassable barrier or parapet: and half way down, are the celebrated ruins of the Convent of St. George. The country then opens to the eastward; the banks are low, and cultivated with d'hourra, lentils, and tobacco. The ruins of the ancient towers of "Zahir," the most southern boundary of Egypt, were soon visible, and by sunset, we found ourselves safely moored to their banks.

The present town of Es-Souan or Syene, is an inconsiderable place, in the midst of sand-heaps; the houses are built of sunburnt bricks, the streets are narrow, and filled with dirt, and there is little appearance of business; the people sit about, talking and smoking, regardless of everything but the present moment. A little to the south, are the remains of the ancient Roman settlement, or rather of the Saracenic walls which were erected on its site: the houses are three and four stories high, turretted and roofless, and passages lead down from them to the apartments of the original city, mentioned by the Prophet Ezekiel,* and of the importance of which, some idea may be formed by the fact that, in 806, (A. H.) 21,000 of the population died of the plague: the city then became desolate; for a long period, it had been the grand entrepôt of the trade carried on with India, a com-

* Ezekiel xxix. 10.—xxx. 6. Corresponding passages shew that this prophecy was meant to include also the country east of the Nile, so that it might be thus translated: "I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from *Migdol* to Syene, even unto the borders of Ethiopia."—Migdol or Magdolos being near the Red Sea on the Syrian frontier. See Exod. xiv. 2.—Jer. xliv. 1.—xlvi. 14.

munication being constantly kept up by the native merchants, who, traversing the desert from Berenice, the most renowned port on the Red Sea, here embarked their goods for the Delta, thence to be distributed over Europe.* That an extensive traffic was carried on in the early ages, between Egypt and the countries of Arabia and India, we learn from Scripture. It was by this and similar routes, that the rich presents in which the kings of Syria and Egypt delighted, viz. spices and gums, frankincense, galbanum and myrrh, were introduced: we remark that they were chiefly the products of Yemen, a country which Mohammed Ali has made so many desperate struggles to maintain; and we read that Joseph was sold to Midianitish merchants who were going down into Egypt, with camels laden with such articles; and here, on the very borders of Ethiopia, are still to be seen, within an area of two miles, the ruins of buildings which were erected in successive generations, by the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, the Romans, the Arabs, and the French. Near the new town, are the half buried remains of a temple, consisting of four granite columns; the overhanging towers above command an extensive view of the Nile, and the rugged chain of mountains which bounds the western desert. Opposite, is the island of Elephantina, once a very powerful place, retaining distinct traces of Roman fortifications; and no doubt, when Syene was a flourishing port, the Government cherished it as essential to the prosperity of the country, little dreaming that its glory soon would pass away, and that the city, once so rich in gums and spices, silks, ivory, and precious stones, would one day, traffic

* Berenice is romantically situated in a plain surrounded by mountains, but is nearly buried in sand, and its port is obstructed by a bar.

in dates and d'hourra—the meagre scrapings of a naked, famished herd, who laboured in support of an existence, that was hardly worth preserving. In front of the island, the Nile resembles a circumscribed lake; we landed at a dilapidated stair obstructed by loose stones and mud, near which were several large blocks of granite, and part of a circular wall, supposed to have inclosed the Nilometer of Strabo; advancing to the interior, we found the land strewed with broken pottery, pebbles, and huge stones, intermingled with plantations and fields of grain: here was formerly a temple dedicated to Kneph or Knuphis, the "eternal Spirit," the "cause of good and evil," also a colossal sitting statue of Osiris; nothing remains now, however, worth looking at; but from the elevated spots in the centre of the island, a good view is obtained of the Cataracts and surrounding scenery. The ground rises towards the lofty granite rocks in the south; that towards the north slopes into a plain,—the waters of the Nile rushing impetuously between black masses of stone, which alternately resemble cliffs, pyramids, and towers, and are more or less covered with verdure—acacia, tamarisk, and jungle. At the back of the island, are the celebrated quarries from which much of the material was obtained for the colossal statues and monuments; and it seems to have been the custom to hew them into shape on the spot; for we saw there a large sarcophagus which had been left in an unfinished state. The inhabitants are Nubians, but few in number: they are very dark, but distinct from the Negro: they have high cheek bones, white teeth, jet black eyes, and black hair which is well greased, platted into cords, and variously ornamented with bits of leather or glass: they are slim and meagre, but active, and not

wanting in talent; they are cunning, suspicious, and revengeful; they anoint the body, go naked, and are for the most part armed with a spear, and a long knife: the women have no pretensions to beauty; but are well formed, and have good eyes; they wear a profusion of glass coloured beads round the neck and wrists—armlets also, and rings on the ankles, ears, and nose: they are industrious, gentle, and well behaved; but few wear any other dress than the "*raht*," a girdle of leather thongs, suspended round the loins, (See Plate, p. 349.) and I have seen many girls of twelve years, running about in a state of perfect nudity; but they get out of the way and hide themselves when they can, and are quite conscious of the propriety of clothing.*

South of the picturesque island of Elephantina, the river becomes so narrow, that at one place it is not more than two stones-throw across, and the widest part is only a quarter of a mile: it is thickly intersected with tables of granite, and sunken rocks, and abounds in eddies and shoals, which vary according to the prevailing winds. The Cataracts, so called, are only *rapids:* the first forms the boundary between Upper Egypt, and Nubia or Ethiopia; it is about three hours' walk from Syene, and a most romantic spot. It may be said to consist of six falls, each having an inclination of about five feet when the Nile is at the lowest, a rocky basin or small lake intervening between them, and making a difference of about thirty feet between the level of Elephantina and that of Philoe. When

* "Of all the women of the east," says Burckhardt, "those of Nubia are the most virtuous. The Nubian is extremely jealous of his wife's honour, and on the slightest suspicion of infidelity towards him, would carry her in the night, to the side of the river, lay open her breast by a cut with his knife, and throw her into the water to be *food for the crocodiles*, as they term it."

the river is at its height, it is possible to sail over the Cataract, with no more inconvenience than was formerly experienced at London Bridge: but at other times, the navigation is rendered extremely dangerous, and many lives have been lost. The experience of modern times sufficiently demonstrates that it is sometimes possible even to sail *up* the Cataract, although Diodorus, whose description is otherwise correct, asserts the contrary: but the risk is considerable; and it can only be accomplished by those who are well acquainted with the locality of the rocks, and the relative impetus of each current. To ascend, requires the aid of from forty to fifty men,—to descend, fifteen or twenty, according to the size of the cand'gia; but a large cand'gia would not attempt it, except quite at high Nile. It is usual to hire a small boat of the "Captain of the Cataracts,"—or everything must be taken out of your own and conveyed by land, on donkeys and camels: the boat then being lightened, the Captain pilots it over the falls to the village of Embap, or Birbè. There are two individuals appointed by the Egyptian Government to superintend these matters,—the "Captain" and his son—both shrewd, obsequious, and cunning men. We lost no time in sending for them, and like most other travellers, had to contend with difficulties which were rather increased by the temporary absence of the Governor — the Captain of the Cataracts availing himself of the opportunity to impose. Expecting probably to *let his own cand'gia*, he at once declared that of our *English* friends to be "*too large*," adding, that "the other two *might be* carried over, *with a great deal of risk and trouble*, provided everything was taken out, but that the waters were too low to attempt it with us on

board." After consulting together, it was agreed that Messrs. Maltass and Robinson should accompany us with their drogueman, and leave their own cand'gia at Es-Souan, until our return. We thought we remarked signs of disappointment in the Captain's manner when this announcement was made; however, his demands were so exorbitant, that we threatened to proceed on dromedaries, rather than submit to them—on which, a person advanced from the crowd, and singling out the servant of the French gentleman, took him on one side—beckoning at the same moment, to our man, who then joined the party. Observing that they were laying their heads together, I concluded there was some *scheming* going forward, and insisted on knowing what might be the *subject-matter* of their discourse. It turned out that the stranger was Mohammed, a well-known camel-driver of the district, an artful, calculating fellow, who had made many journeys to the interior, for slaves, and was well acquainted with everything and everybody; looking to his own interest, he was now (by liberal promises no doubt) trying to *induce* our interpreter to urge us to put our threat in force—when suddenly, the conference was interrupted. The man then came forward, and used his utmost eloquence to persuade us that, the Nile being so low, we should meet with continual delays above the Cataract, if we proceeded *by water*, and that it would be much more expeditious to go *by land!* At first, we pretended to entertain his proposition, thinking to bring the old Captain to his senses, but he was too cunning a fox to be outwitted by such manœuvring, and deliberately took himself off! It was now time to have recourse to other measures. Where was the Governor? Gone! Who commands during the

Pascha's absence? His Vice! Where is he? At the Kallah! To the Kallah we went, followed to the door by a crowd of half-naked boys and men. We found the Pascha's *Deputy* seated on his carpet in a large apartment, with the scribes, giving audience to other Officials, who each took the place and *position* to which his rank entitled him. At first, I thought we did wrong to *demand*, rather than solicit, an interview: but—going in a body as we did, each party having his Highness' firmaun—the abrupt manner of our announcement rather added to our consequence; and the people made way on our approach. Had we acted otherwise, it is probable the Deputy, seeing so many, would have held back, hoping to profit largely by the transaction. As it was, we met with little hesitation. We came to the point at once, telling him that we were English and French travellers—that our firmauns commanded all the Authorities in the Viceroy's territories, not only to protect us from injury and insult, but to facilitate our progress, to procure us food, and the best accommodation which the place would afford—and, if need were, that they should even receive us under their own roof:—at the same time, however, we hinted that it was not the custom of Europeans to be *ungrateful* to their benefactors, although they never submitted to insult, and that having been apprised what sum we ought to pay for passing the Cataracts, we were resolved to obtain redress where it could be found, and on our return, should report accordingly. The great man looked significantly on those about him, stroked his beard, put the royal firmauns to his head, uttered sundry sage exclamations, in token of his submission to the authority of the Pascha, (in all of which he was echoed and imitated by his Officers,)

and forthwith dispatched an express, with orders *not to return without the Captain:*—in the meanwhile, he entertained us with pipes and coffee; compliments passed, and by the time the messenger arrived, the matter was as good as *settled:* the price was even fixed at *less* than we were conscious we ought to pay, and we astonished the Osmanlis, by asserting that, notwithstanding the Deputy's decision, we should pay the sum which we had first offered, and which we knew to be just. "These Inglitz are queer fellows," whispered some—"God is great!" replied others—and fell to stroking their beards again.—So the conference ended! The bargain once struck, the Captain became very civil, saying that he would summon his men, and proceed immediately, if such was our pleasure. Having taken everything out of the two cand'gias, we hired of the camel-driver *aforesaid*, as many donkeys and dromedaries as were necessary, and set out without delay, for the "Wad'goud." After what had happened, *he* was moderate in his demands, and we promised to inspect his collection of *antiquities*, when we came back,—which we did, and purchased several. The distance between Assouan and the village of Embap, where we re-embarked, does not exceed four miles; but as there is much to interest on the way, it occupied three hours. On leaving the fortifications of the old city, which are still considerable, we enter upon a broad, flat ravine, strewed with granite pebbles and masses of rock. Having passed an extensive range of Greek and Coptic tomb-stones, we arrive at the celebrated Syenite Quarries, from which the chief part of the material was excavated for the granite edifices, obelisques, and statues of Egypt and Nubia. They are very extensive, irregular in

shape, and remind us of the toils of the Ancients: their lofty perpendicular sides are cut in hieroglyphics, and still exhibit marks of the chisel, as angular and sharp as if the labourers had just retired for their meals, and after a short respite, would return.*

As the Egyptians had no gunpowder, I was curious to ascertain how these enormous stones were separated from the native rock. On climbing to the top of the parapet, I discovered several wedge-like holes, (perhaps three feet deep, and six inches wide,) in a row, at short distances. I have heard it said that rocks may be thus split by *wooden* wedges, simultaneously struck —slate rocks perhaps, but surely not basalt and granite! I should rather incline to the idea that, like Hannibal, they filled these holes with vinegar, or some other composition, and then lighted fires on the surface; and it is not improbable that the Carthaginian General borrowed the idea from the Egyptians: for we are told that he *eroded* his way over the Alps by fire and vinegar.† The red granite which this country produces, is very beautiful: great quantities are strewed

* As Mr. Hall has remarked concerning the quarries of Ancient Syracuse,—"these trivial but distinct and indubitable traces of the handiwork of the Ancients, carry with them a peculiar sort of authenticity and unpretending truth, which bring old times more vividly before our minds than the great works of Art do." When contemplating the wonders of Egyptian architecture, we find it difficult to reconcile what we see, with what we know of the people's history. But the simple touch of a pickaxe on the face of a rock in an old quarry like one of those at Es-Souan, tells a story which none can doubt. We almost hear the sound ring in our ears, and half wonder that we do not see the workmen labouring about us. We saw there two immense obelisks, which must have been in progress when the country was invaded: one was lying on the ground, half buried in the sand, and measured sixty-five feet by eight. It was quite in a rough state: for it was customary, I believe, to cut and polish these monuments after they were set up.

† It is usual, in separating large mill-stones from the siliceous sand-rocks, in some parts of Derbyshire, to bore horizontal holes under them in a circle, and to fill these with pegs made of dry wood, which gradually swell by the moisture of the earth, and in a day or two, lift up the mill-stone without breaking it.

about in all directions, which *we* should be glad to seize as valuable material: the district is singularly contrasted with the surrounding scenery, and there are many points of view well worthy the attention of the artist: one of the most imposing perhaps in Egypt, is where the land traveller approaches the river, and first gets a glimpse of the picturesque ruins of Philoe, inclosed as it were, in a gothic frame of porphyry, basalt, and granite; the whole plain being scattered with gigantic masses of these rocks, grotesque in form, and bearing hieroglyphic inscriptions; among them is a very remarkable one, resembling a throne or easy chair, with a flight of rude steps leading up to it: it commands a full view of the ruins, and has its share of hieroglyphics. About a mile S.E. of the tombs of Es-Souan, we observe the remains of an ancient wall, called by the Arabs, "Hayt el Adjour," or "Wad'goud;" it extends nearly as far as the landing-place of Embap, and was most probably built as a defence against the wandering tribes of Ethiopia.

On arriving at Anas, opposite Birbé, we found the cand'gias waiting to receive us, and we lost no time in crossing over to the "*sacred island*," so called, because it was associated with the earliest traditions of the Ancients:—the legend is this;—Osiris was killed by his brother Typhon, who, finding that Isis grievously lamented his loss, mutilated his body, and then packed it in a chest, and threw it into the Nile, on which, Isis collected all the members, except one which was never found,* and taking refuge with them in the island of

* This it was which gave rise to the worship of the "Phallus" and "Lingam" in Egypt, Persia, and India; and the same obscene and wicked idolatries were afterwards practised by the Moabites and Greeks. The Bacchus of the latter was the Osiris of the Egyptians.

Philoe, had them *embalmed* there, and afterwards deposited at Abydos. The island is of an oval form, and does not exceed 900 yards in circumference. It consists of a bed of granite with a sprinkling of soil; and it is entirely covered with the ruins of temples. It was considered by the Ancients, to mark the boundary of Egypt and Nubia, and was called "Philakh," which signifies, *the end, or extremity*,—a term which was converted by the Arabs into "Bi-lac." But the true barrier was the rocky pass with its rapids; Syene, Philoe, and Elephantina, were frontier towns, and required to be protected from the incursions of the Borderers. The term "Phil" signifying in Arabic, *Elephant*, had reference to the great strength of the place, and the physical powers of the elephant—hence, the island on the Egyptian side received the title of *Elephantina*. The river above the falls is, at most, a quarter of a mile wide; in some parts, not more than half that distance; and it is so shut in by the neighbouring rocks and head-lands, that the island of Philoe appears to float in the midst of a lake. Climbing over a portion of the ruins contiguous to the landing-place, a beautiful landscape opens to view between the towers of a lofty Propylon. To the south-west, the river, loaded with the rich soil of Abyssinia, is seen at a considerable distance breaking from the mountains, and calmly pursuing its course through the narrow plain, bounded on either side by the variegated crags of the wilderness, alternately approaching and receding, which add a pleasing variety to the otherwise interminable sand which encircles them, and which is constantly drifting down their sloping hollows. Among and about the ruins, are the remains of a town; but we did not find a single inhabitant: there are several flights of broken

steps, and a "kassaba" or piazza, supposed to have been erected for an arcade of shops: the whole island is bounded by a wall. The neighbouring villages are Nubian: we already perceive that we have entered another country; for the people differ from the Arabs in colour, in form, in character, and in disposition: they have many privileges, and fearlessly assert their independence. Having a Nubian crew, we had many opportunities of observing this: their manner seemed altogether changed as soon as they had passed the boundary line; they rejoiced to breathe their native air, and took many liberties which they would not have presumed to take in Egypt. Birbé is the chief town of the district; the banks are narrow, leaving only a small slip for cultivation; but this is very fertile, producing sometimes four crops annually: no time is lost; the natives watch the receding of the waters, and immediately put in the grain; and it is wonderful with what rapidity it grows. The mountain glens on the other side, are very interesting, especially to the geologist: they afford some magnificent specimens of rose-coloured granite. Es-souan is the last town where the Egyptian dialect is heard: the natives now all speak the Berber language, and the villages as far as Dongola, take the name of *Ouadi*, though it means strictly, a valley containing *a small colony*.

We sailed with a light breeze, which increased as the day advanced. We passed in quick succession, the settlements of Deboudj, Kardassêh, and Taphis, on the western banks: between the two latter, there is a fine reach of the river: the whole country is fertile; the people are vigorous and enterprising, and avail themselves of all the means in their power, to extend their resources: they ply the water-wheels assiduously, and

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Dr Holt Yates del.

NUBIAN VILLAGE AT OUADI HALFA.

certainly deserve to prosper, if industry should meet reward: besides the ordinary produce, they grow a species of kidney-beans (*loubieh*) bearing a purple flower, the doum and date palm, senna, acacia, Indian corn, and tobacco, which is one of their chief luxuries; they twist the bark of trees into cordage, fabricate canoes, and make drinking-cups, bowls, and various other useful articles of wood. At Dehr, and some of the larger towns, they indulge in what is termed *palm-wine*, or date brandy; they also make a kind of beer from d'hourra, or barley; it is called "*bouza*," and is said to be very nutritious; but they are not imtemperate: they live in miserable mud huts among the ruins, are contented with little, and though they sometimes carry their independent spirit too far, and not unfrequently pilfer, they are, for the most part, well disposed: the women make bread and cheese, grind corn, tend the goats, fetch water, weave cotton cloth, and woollen mantles, and manufacture mats, fans, and baskets of platted straw, date leaves and rushes.

It is understood to be the Pascha's order that, when the crew of a cand'gia are tracking, the people on the banks should *assist* them from wheel to wheel: this, if not abused, might be proper; but the Turks having the power in their own hands, often impose upon these poor fellows the task of *relieving* their boatmen altogether, and even make them tow the cand'gia when the wind is *fair*. On two or three occasions, we had to chastise our men for this: *from habit* and bad example, they would chase their poor countrymen, and by threats, compel them to *take their places:* the first time they did it, there was a fight, and we were obliged to interfere *vi et armis;* we threatened to take them before the Authorities, and have them beaten if they did

it again; this had its effect; but when they reached a country where there were few magistrates within reach, they returned to their old custom; so we punished them in other ways.

At Kardassêh, the desert has encroached, and barrenness is the characteristic feature; but the shore is rendered interesting by scattered ruins. As we approach Taphis, the prospect improves, and the graceful palm once more waves its feathery branches in the breeze; but the scenery soon becomes very romantic. Huge masses of granite rise perpendicularly from the water's edge on both sides, alternately with sandstone cliffs, for a considerable distance narrowing the river, which is studded with black rocks and islets, hemming us in in all directions: the sandstone formation then continues until it joins the heights and rugged causeways in the vicinity of Ouadi Halfa. The picturesque straits or "gates" of Kalabshieh, to which I have just alluded, have been improperly called "shellaals," *cataracts;* they are barely rapids; there is a great deal of broken water, and the stream runs strong; but the navigation is not interrupted; the channel soon opens into a wide sheet of water, interspersed with cultivated islands, and gradually resumes its ordinary width. The views in this district are very grand: they abound in interesting associations, and afford evident marks of former prosperity and civilization. Kalabshieh the ancient "Talmis," is a large, mud-built village, in the centre of which are the ruins of a magnificent temple, situated at the end of a fine stone terrace, and approached by an avenue of Sphinxes, which originally communicated with the river, by means of a treble flight of wide steps, two solid abutments, and a gateway, forming a front of about thirty-six

yards. There is also a small excavated temple in the neighbourhood of some sandstone quarries, which seem to have furnished material for building the ancient town: the modern habitations are constructed chiefly of the ruins, loosely thrown together, and many of them are covered in with a species of rude thatch, made of d'hourra straw; there are numerous indications of a Greek colony having been established here; and on the eastern banks, mounds of rubbish and broken pottery mark the site of what was termed "Contra-Talmis;" thus we may conclude that this was once a very important settlement.

The bed of the river is in many parts contracted, owing to sandy accumulations, and the contrivances of the people, ever anxious to gain a little extra soil: by throwing out jetties at right angles with the shore, they cause the alluvial matter to be deposited, forming a rich loamy slope, which, immediately on the retiring of the waters, is brought into a high state of cultivation. Hamlets are scattered in the midst of fields, and it is truly delightful to observe the industrious habits of these oppressed people; the most ingenious methods are adopted to supply the deficiency of *sakias* or Persian wheels for irrigating the land; little canals, ruts, dykes and reservoirs are cut in all directions, and the water is thus perseveringly distributed over the surface, to more remote spots which are at all adapted for culture. This is particularly the case at Aboo Hor, where the valley widens, at least on the western side; for the country to the eastward here looks drear and barren, a ridge of granite extending for some miles, and occasioning, during the heavy rains, which occur periodically, sudden torrents which rush impetuously towards the river, and overwhelm everything

that comes in their way. In the vicinity of Dandoor and Garsery, the hills again approach the shore, leaving only a few paces of cultivable land; but this the inhabitants make the most of: the senna, the colocynth, the lupine, and a great variety of elegant shrubs and plants grow luxuriantly; and whilst they delight the eye, send forth the most fragrant perfumes. This district is also remarkable for the "*Asheyr*" or silk-tree, the fruit of which resembles the tomata or love-apple; it has a green rind when unripe, and contains a thick white fluid; but when ripe, it is filled with a white filamentous shining substance, exactly like the finest flos silk; it is used by the natives as tinder: I have not heard that it has ever been applied to any other purpose; but I think it is worth the attention of those who devote their time to the subject of manufactures.

The excavated temple of Ghyrshe (*Tutzis*) holds a most commanding situation on the summit of a hill: it is in a very dilapidated state, but the valley, which is about a mile in breadth, the Nile and opposite mountains, as seen between the colossal statues which form the columns, present to the view one of the most picturesque landscapes in Nubia. On returning to our cand'gias, we were in danger of being attacked by the whole colony. We had, for some time, patiently submitted to the importunities of a few stragglers, who, from the moment of our landing, demanded money. Accustomed to such overtures, and our attention being directed to the interesting objects around us, we even disregarded the increasing earnestness of their manner; but at last they became so troublesome, that Bradford lost his temper, and forgetting the indomitable spirit of the people, imprudently threw a stone at one of the

most noisy; on which they all began to pelt us, and one of them poised his spear in the air, and was preparing to hurl it at my companion. When I saw this, I thought the affair was becoming serious, and that it was necessary to intimidate them: advancing therefore a few steps, I immediately pointed my gun at the Nubian, which had the desired effect, especially as another of our party, who had also a gun, now joined us, and as during our rambles, they had seen us shoot a few birds, which to them was a great *feat*. They retired from the scene; nevertheless, it was easy to see from their manner, that the same ill blood was still circulating; and as "discretion is the better part of valour," I advised a speedy return to the boats; in this I was seconded by the Arab droguemans, who said they would probably return with a reinforcement, duly armed with spears and shields, and they were right; for we had scarcely reached the banks, than we saw a large party running down towards us, armed, and hallooing, and putting themselves in attitudes of defiance; but as we had no desire to encounter them, we quietly stepped on board, and in two minutes, reached the middle of the stream. After leaving Ghyrshe, the navigation becomes somewhat dangerous, when the water is very low, on account of sunken rocks, which, for a short distance, obstruct the passage; and there is one part of the *Ouadi Kostamnêh* which in the month of May, is sometimes *fordable*. Cultivation is now confined to the eastern shore: nothing is to be seen on the African side, but stunted palms and red sand. The conical black-looking mountains which bear away to the interior, are, according to Mr. St. John, who ascended them, of volcanic origin: they are covered with scoriæ and lava, and afford a shelter to the gazelle and other

animals. Having little or no wind, but a strong current, we were under the necessity of tracking as far as Dakkêh, some distance on the opposite shore, the course of the river bearing S.W.—it then turns due south. A breeze springing up, we took only a general view of the ruins, and resumed our voyage immediately, deeming it advisable to defer the examination of all antiquities until our return, when we were prepared to find that we should be delayed by contrary winds. Hitherto, we had been unusually favoured: the weather was serene and beautiful: the nights, if possible, surpassing the days, so that we invariably felt unwilling to retire to rest.* Sailing by the cultivated island of Derar, and the village of Kortj, where there is a miniature or *model* temple, *only ten paces in length*, reminding us of the pigmy church of St. Lawrence, in the Isle of Wight, we passed the *Ouadis* Meh'arrakah and Medyk. The aspect of the latter was very singular: the sand-stone rocks rising perpendicularly from the river, in a tabular form, and overhanging the stream, leaving only a narrow passage between them, and in one part, a belt of young corn flanked by a row of date-trees. We had occasion to pass the night there, as the wind dropped:—the sailors made their fire beneath a portion of projecting rock, which formed a sort of cavern; the rays of the moon did not penetrate within its recesses: but long, broad shadows, overspread the waters, which in other parts were sparkling brilliantly. The dew fell thickly, and the night was chill: the faggots crackling upon the beach, sent forth volumes of smoke, and the light fall-

*The mornings were always colder than the evenings by 5, and sometimes 8, and even 10 degrees—the average range in this latitude being, *in the morning*, from 64° to 70°—and *in the evening*, from 70° to 76°.

ing upon the swarthy visages of the Nubians as they squatted in a circle upon their haunches, (not as the Turks do, but with their knees up to the chin, or in a merely stooping posture, as their manner is,) to warm themselves, (See Plate, p. 453.) I was reminded of De Foe's savages revelling at a *human feast!* The next day was not so pleasant, the wind getting round to the S.E.; and about noon, it became sultry. Afterwards, being favoured with a gentle breeze, (although it was still cloudy and warm,) we made more way. Towards evening, being shut in by sand-stone cliffs which spring from the river's brink, we again found it extremely close. At ten o'clock, the thermometer stood at 76°, although early in the morning, it was only 64°. Our course during the early part of the day, lay through a parched and sandy district—the *Ouadi* Sebooa, or *Lion's Valley*—so called from the Lion-headed Sphinxes which mark the approach to the temple on the opposite banks.* After leaving Sebooa, we were obliged to bring-to for an hour: for it was discovered, that in passing the Cataract, one of the cand'gias had sustained some damage, and it was necessary to repair it: but the scenery soon became of the most attractive character — the eastern shores always the most fertile,—and we looked forward with delight to our evening's ramble among the doum and date palms, tamarisks, and mimosas;—and, when the men were tracking,—often enjoyed a stroll along the shady groves which skirt the river. At Korosko, the Nile turns off at right angles to the west, as far as

* Burckhardt informs us that the people of Sebooa and the *Ouadi el Arab*, the adjoining district, who are Aleykat Arabs, and came originally from the Hedjaz, travel across the mountains to Berber, distant eight days to the south, and import into Upper Egypt, all the different articles of the Sennaar trade, viz. slaves, ivory, gum-arabic, ostrich feathers, and camels.

Dehr, where it resumes its former course, viz., from S. and S.W. to N.* The country between Korosko and Dehr, is more open to the eastward; date-trees line the shore, and many little colonies are distributed over the plain, which is irrigated by hand, and well rewards the inhabitants, who are remarkable for their cleanliness, and bear an excellent character: the soil is rich, and brings forth almost spontaneously: it only requires water. At sunset, we were entertained by the croaking of the frogs: they must have assembled in full force, and been in unusual spirits, for their concert was the loudest, I think, I ever heard. Dehr, the Capital of Nubia, is situated at an angle of the river, on the Arabian side, and is about a mile in length. In the centre, are two large sycamores, beneath whose branches the inhabitants are wont to spread their carpets, and assemble in the shade with their pipes. The houses are scattered, and built of clay; many of them have turrets and courts, inclosed by a wall or garden: there is a mosque, a caravanserai, and a market—that is to say,—*those who have money* can obtain the best that the land produces: for the villages in Nubia seldom furnish anything but dates, eggs, onions, rice, buffalo's or camel's milk, and cheese made from the same. It is seldom possible to purchase even bread that is fit to eat: for the best of the grain is given up to the Pascha's Officers, and the people dare not keep back any for themselves. Thus, we thought it advisable not to lose an opportunity of

* We were surprised to observe the natives quit the water-wheels as we drew near, and run away as fast as their legs could carry them. The fact was, they were alarmed when they saw two cand'gias approaching, because the course of the river being here due east and west, the wind is almost invariably contrary for about fifteen miles, which the boatmen, availing themselves of the Pascha's sanction, generally *compel* the fellahs to track *for them*.

replenishing our store of comestibles; and, as there are no game-laws, we took the liberty of helping ourselves to pigeons, doves, and partridges—whenever they came within gun-shot! At this place, we were lucky enough to purchase a sheep, half a dozen live fowls, and some fresh flour; and we desired the Reis to lay in a stock of necessaries for his men. At Dehr, there is generally some appearance of bustle during harvest-time—the whole district being fertile, and affording large crops of cotton, corn, and dates,* which are much esteemed in Egypt: even the plants and seeds are sent there for propagation. Long avenues of these graceful trees are seen extending towards the mountains; and between them and the river, are slopes of cotton, various kinds of grain, and tobacco, the castor oil plant, the silk tree, the orange, the lemon, the sycamore, acacia, and tamarisk—besides narcotics, the Nubian bean with its elegant purple blossom, and numerous flowers, which spring up wherever they can gather moisture. It was not surprising if, near so many plantations, we should be annoyed by insects: they swarmed about us by night and by day, and the mosquitoes more especially; but the heat had long been too great for the fleas.

The inhabitants of Dehr were originally Christians: of these none now remain: the present race are descended from the Bosnian soldiers, left here by the Emperor Selim. The women are more fair than their neighbours, and better clad: they retain some traces of European features, and are well-behaved. A little to the east of the town is a small temple, half built,

* The hundred-weight of dates is worth at Dehr, about eight shillings: when sold at Cairo, they afford a clear profit of 400 per cent. They are generally paid for in d'hourra and coarse linens from Esneh and Siout.—*Burckhardt*, p. 27.

half excavated: it is chiefly interesting from its antiquity.

On the same side of the river, a little further on, is *Castle Ibrim*, to which it will be remembered, the ill-fated Mamlûks retreated, when betrayed into the hands of Mohammed Ali.* It holds a commanding situation at the southern extremity of a towering parapet, which extends along the edge of the river for about two miles: the rock on which it stands, rises to the height of 200 feet: it has been well defended by bastions, and being isolated by a ravine, must have been a formidable place, before the introduction of artillery: but it is now in ruins:—within the walls, we found the remains of the old Arab town: the face of the rock below contains many chambers, once the resort of saints, and near the village of *Kettêh*, inland, is an excavated sepulchre, dedicated to Osiris and Apis, and containing two rather curious representations—the one a *cynocephalus* (baboon) embalming a body; the other, the same figure holding a balance in the presence of a *Sphinx*. The modern village is on the slope of the heights; and the inhabitants, like those of Dehr, are remarkable for their cleanliness and respectability. This district is noted for the frequent appearance of crocodiles: we saw one very unwieldy fellow, and also some large cranes. Castle Ibrim was taken from the Mamlûks by Ibrahim Bey (now Pascha) in 1811, and subsequently nearly reduced to what it now is: this rocky eminence will always be interesting therefore, as denoting the spot where these extraordinary people closed their career.

The mountains to the east of Ibrim have a singular

* See Vol. I. p. 408.

conical appearance when viewed at a distance, resembling an encampment. The eastern banks still look green, whilst those to the west are parched and barren ; the eye rests with pleasure on the overhanging creeping plants which clothe the undulating shore, and the elegant yellow and purple flowers of the acacia, which, with the tamarisk, distinguish the copses on the brink. The course of the river varies considerably, but still verges to the westward. Having passed three other settlements, of minor importance, each designated by the term "*Ouadi*," we moored to a steep bank on the western side, above which, a few yards only from the river, is a lofty sandstone rock, nearly buried by continued avalanches of sand, and which conceal the excavated temples of "Aboo-Simbal" or Ypsambal. These are two in number ; that to the south, which is by far the largest, was discovered by Mr. Burckhardt, and opened by Belzoni under the auspices of Mr. Salt. It is a stupendous excavation, and presents to our view some of the most gigantic specimens of Egyptian architecture. Ascending over a hill of hot, loose, red sand, which continued pouring down, like grains of quartz or millet-seeds, from the crags above, we reached the face of the rock which forms the front of the temple : we found the entrance entirely obliterated, and immediately set the two crews to work, with some of the natives, to clear away the sand, that we might enter. It was a tremendous undertaking ; as fast as it was removed, a fresh quantity rolled down to supply its place : but after some time, we succeeded in making a hole at one corner, large enough to admit of our crawling in on all-fours.* On each side of the

* We heard afterwards that Galloway Bey, who was on his way to the interior, on the Pascha's business, had been excavating there only the day before, and

door, were originally, two colossal statues of a youthful Osiris, bearing on his head the bushell or corn-measure,—the emblem of plenty; but the upper half of one has been broken off: they are in a sitting posture, the hands resting on the knees, and measure seven feet across the shoulders, and seventy feet in height, i. e. including the pedestal. The expression of the countenance is placid and benign: the lips are moderately broad, but well proportioned; the nose not exactly aquiline, yet not Grecian, but a medium between the two; the eyes, though slightly sunk, are fine and full; the cheeks are well rounded: the cheek-bones rather high: there is a beard, and the mouth and chin are in such exquisite keeping with the other features, that they impart a softness to the physiognomy which is prepossessing and attractive, and admired by all.

According to Burckhardt, the width of the entire front is 117 feet, and the height to the upper cornice, eighty-six feet six inches. Over the entrance is a representation in bas relief, of Aroeris (twenty feet in height) receiving offerings from two female figures, which have a very grotesque appearance. Above the moulding which runs along the top, is a row of monkeys eight feet high; there are figures of Isis, and the wolf, and a tablet of hieroglyphics answering to each statue. This magnificent temple penetrates to the depth of 154 feet, and contains fourteen chambers. On entering, we found ourselves in the Pronaos, a large Hall (fifty-seven feet by fifty-two) divided into three aisles by two rows of statues, which support the roof: they are thirty feet in height, and represent

abandoned the case as hopeless, or it is probable that we might not have succeeded.

Interior of the excavated Temple of
ABOOD SIMBAL IN NUBIA.

Osiris with his arms crossed on the breast, one hand holding the scourge, the other the crosier or sacred "*tau.*" The walls are ornamented with coloured hieroglyphics in a tolerably perfect state, considering that this temple has suffered from damp. Many of the delineations described by Mr. Banks and Mr. Salt, are now no more to be seen. For instance—these gentlemen inform us, that there was a representation of a great many prisoners of different nations, (but chiefly Ethiopians, as known by their dress and colour,) being led away in chains by the conqueror. With some difficulty, we were able to discover where this had been; but nothing more—certainly there were no characteristics of the country or demeanour of the captives: for the colour was nearly all gone, and the stone itself had become so soft, that it was peeling off in great quantity. The most distinct designs are those on the walls of the south aisle, which exhibit a Hero (probably Sesostris) vanquishing his enemies: he is standing in a war chariot drawn by two spirited horses, and in the act of shooting an arrow. The figure is well executed: I was particularly struck with the noble mien and undaunted steady gaze of the warrior:—entirely free from anxiety, as if conscious of the justness of his cause, the countenance evinces all that intrepidity and collected coolness which are the attributes of true bravery. His adversaries are falling around him, and the earth is strewed with the slain, and the fallen, who are suing for mercy. At a distance is a castle, the walls crowded with people evidently thrown into confusion, and confounded by the prowess of the Hero, who everywhere seeks the thickest of the fight, and seems to "enact more wonders than a man." His opponents are white, and have black

hair and black eyes, and a long black beard—apparently Jews. Facing the entrance, is a small apartment leading into another, where there are four statues in a sitting posture, eight feet high : the first represents *Aroeris*, the hawk-headed deity—the second (a beardless figure) *Isis*—the third *Osiris*—and the fourth *Phthah*. In this, the *Adytum*, there is also in advance of the idols, a square stone altar, about three feet high. As several mummies were found in the ante-rooms, it is evident that some of them were places of burial. The walls are covered with hieroglyphics : but the colour is quite gone, and they can scarcely be deciphered. This is the only temple either in Egypt or Nubia which has suffered from damp. We first effected an entrance at night : for some time we could scarcely breathe, it was so hot and oppressive, and the air so bad : we could not endure clothing ; and although we stripped to the shirt, we broke out into as profuse a perspiration as if we had been in a Turkish bath. The thermometer stood at 86°, and in the morning, when we again entered, we found it 88°. Between the two temples, the rock forms a sort of ravine or hollow, which has been filled up from time to time, with sand from the western desert, threatening to hide (perhaps for ever) this wonderful specimen of human skill—within whose gloomy portals the Scriptures lead us to infer that the grossest abominations were practised. In this overwhelming of the Egyptian temples we read a terrible lesson ; and no reflecting mind can do otherwise than see in it the most awful proof of the wrath of an offended Deity—doubtless intended to convey a merciful warning to the great nations of Europe, who are now, as the Egyptians once were, at the very zenith of earthly power, wisdom,

and glory. We have seen how literally the predictions of the early Prophets have been fulfilled concerning them, and being providentially blessed with a distinguished intellectual condition, we have become acquainted with the causes which led to their fall, and to the overthrow of other nations. The favours of the Almighty have been *peculiarly* lavished upon *us*, and if at any time we have been instrumental in distributing to the heathen world the benefits of true religion, we are enjoined by Protestant Ministers to remember, that nothing is so corrupt and deceitful as the human heart, and that the soul is most in danger when most eager to engage in works of Christian charity. Our Saviour taught and practised *humility*, and commanded us to set a watch over our actions, and mistrust our motives, guarding always against *ambition* and *spiritual pride*:—but if we obstinately refuse to obey His voice, and wilfully shut our eyes to the changes which have taken place in the kingdoms of the world, we may, like the ancients, incur the Divine displeasure, and being left to ourselves, like them, may fall—never to rise again!*

The smaller or northern temple is inferior in every respect to the other: like it, however, it is cut out of the solid rock, and is adorned with colossi and hieroglyphics: but not so well executed as those above described. The temple stands at an elevation of about thirty feet above the level of the river, when low; and the front is 111 feet wide: there is only a narrow path between it and the edge of the cliff; so

* Nearly all the temples of Nubia, and the chief of those in Egypt, are on the *left* bank of the Nile; and it is very remarkable that it is chiefly the western desert that has encroached; and, moreover, that those temples which have suffered least by the invader, are those which have been most exposed to the drifting of the sand! See p. 417.

the sand has not penetrated. On either side of the door are three colossal figures, each standing with one foot advanced, between two solid buttresses of the rock: they represent Osiris, Isis, and Horus, on the one side, and Horus, Isis, and Osiris, on the other—the order being reversed:—and each is attended by two small female figures about four feet in height, one on each side of the legs. The spaces between the recesses are covered with hieroglyphics; and over the entrance, offerings are being presented to Isis, the deity to whom this temple is dedicated. The interior resembles most other Egyptian temples. The Pronaos measures thirteen paces by seven, and is divided into aisles by two rows of quadrangular columns, with Isis-headed capitals, like those at Dendera—three in each row—the shafts and the walls are everywhere covered with mystical symbols and hieroglyphics, but very much defaced: they seem to have consisted chiefly of offerings to the gods, as in the other religious edifices, and to have been painted yellow: there was also a representation of a human sacrifice, the victim imploring mercy: a female figure appears to intercede in his behalf, but Osiris, on the other side, extends towards the executioner (who bears the "*uræus*," the emblem of royalty, in front of his mitre) a falchion, or cutting instrument—which seems to indicate that the prescribed rites *must be* completed. The *Adytum* contains a small niche for a sitting figure of Isis, now mutilated—and there is said to be a deep pit, as in the tomb of Psammis at Thebes: but it has been filled up, I suppose, by the natives, who sometimes take refuge here with their cattle, when attacked by the Mugh'rebin Arabs. The dilapidated sculpture in the ante-chambers is considered to bear a very ancient date. The

general appearance of both temples is very grand. Some writers refer them to a period anterior to that of the Theban temples, and believe that this once fertile territory may originally have been the Seat of Government. There is a large island in front of the cliff, and the river has changed its course, inasmuch as the principal arm once flowed on the other side of the valley; and thus it is conceived that there may have been a town on the plain below.

From Aboo-Simbal to the Second Cataract is only a two days' sail. We re-embarked on the afternoon of Good Friday, with a fine northerly breeze and a glowing atmosphere; and passing over to the eastern shore, soon arrived at "Kalât Addèh," a dilapidated castle on the summit of a hill, not unlike that at Ibrim. The country adjacent presents a rugged, barren aspect, with strong indications of a volcanic origin, the surface being strewed with silex, lava, and rock-crystal; and there are many deep chasms and sandy irregularities, sprinkled with calcined stones. About a mile to the south, close to the eastern shore, there is a small sugar-loaf hill, on which was perched a stately eagle gazing upon the sun; nor did he seem inclined to be disturbed: but when we saluted him with a volley from our guns, he rose majestically to some height, and after describing a couple of circles in the air, darted off towards the mountains in the wilderness. Nearly opposite the old castle, are the village and island of Bellyanêh; and about four hours further, is the island of *Farras*, the Arab name for the hippopotamus, which, the natives assert, sometimes makes his appearance there; but we neither saw nor heard of any. The eastern banks now began to look green and re-

freshing, particularly as we approached the village of Serra, where the cotton-plant is successfully cultivated; and where we saw a number of beautiful little wild flowers. We moored for the night at Debeyra, on the same side of the stream. The moon getting up, the atmosphere was so brilliant, that it was late before we could make up our minds to "*turn in:*" the thermometer stood at 74°, but the air was not in the least sultry. We met with no molestation from the people, and sailed in the morning for Eshkêh, a true "*Ouadi,*" the dwellings being scattered among tamarisk and date trees, over a fertile and well-cultivated plain.* The distance from hence to the Cataracts is inconsiderable, and we landed the same afternoon, after a delightful and prosperous voyage, at Ouadi Halfa, the extent to which it is possible for a cand'gia to mount, except during the period of the inundation, when Mr. Linant penetrated a considerable distance into the interior, on board the same cand'gia which we had; and a better boat was not, I am sure, to be met with.

It is very remarkable that so few temples should be found on the right bank of the river; for on nearly the whole of the western shores, the desert has encroached, and there is comparatively little cultivation. After leaving *Farras*, the land lies low, and the mountains recede, making a circuit towards the S. W., leaving an area more or less obstructed with sandy accumulations, where there are the remains of two small temples; they then turn to the south, and retaining the same wild and barren aspect, take an

* This place is governed by a Kiascheff, and those who intend to proceed beyond the Cataracts, generally make their arrangements here about the camels.

undulating pyramidal form, giving off numerous conical mounds as they approach the river, and terminating in picturesque eminences at Angosh and the Cataracts—one of the most prominent of which is Abousir, or High Rock.* At this point, the rocky wilderness of Sukkot begins. On each side of the Nile the desert is strewed with Cyclopean masses of sand-stone, nodules of flint, agate and quartzy pebbles, as if Polyphemus had been there, warring with the native giants. No human habitation is to be seen, and for a short time after the overflowing of the river, pools of water remain, like so many small lakes, giving an entirely new feature to the scenery. The term *Nubia* is very vague, having been applied to various regions in different ages, including even the Kingdom of Cordofan, and the slave countries south of Sennaar. According to Burckhardt, the modern Nubians derive their origin from the Arabian Bedoueens, who invaded the country after the promulgation of the Mohammedan creed. The people of Ouadi Halfa are descended from one of these tribes, and still glory in the name of *Djowabere:* their more southern neighbours are called *Berábera*, or *Berbers.*

* The latitude of *D'gebel Apsir*, or Abousir, is 21° 52′ 50″ N.—the longitude is 31° 27′ 19″ E. In summer, therefore, it is intensely hot; the thermometer sometimes reaching 120°. The heavens are most brilliant, and there is seldom any dew: but the nights and mornings are often cold, and the Nubians are glad to gather round their fires. The rainy season lasts from June to September, and the river swells and overflows. From January to April, which is the period of the *hot winds*, the atmosphere is insupportably oppressive, and filled with sand: vegetation languishes, and the locusts and beetles multiply exceedingly. At all other seasons of the year, the climate is lovely in the extreme.

CHAPTER XII.

TRAVELS IN NUBIA — THE COUNTRY BETWEEN OUADI HALFA AND DONGOLA — THE BERBER ARABS — RETURN TO ES-SOUAN — INCIDENT — THE BISHARIEN DESERT — DESCENT OF THE CATARACTS, ETC.

We had now reached a point to which, until lately, very few travellers have been able to penetrate, owing to the disputed authority of Mohammed Ali, and the insurrections which were continually taking place. The village of Elpha or Halfa is situated on the right bank of the Nile, in the shade of a grove of palms, about half an hour's distance from the Cataract. It derives its name from a kind of matting which is manufactured there, to a considerable extent, from a species of rush which the Province produces, and which is in general request all over Egypt, as a substitute for carpets. The dwellings are constructed of mud and straw; and those which front the river, have square turrets, with very much the appearance of battlements. The slave caravans from Abyssinia, and some of those from Darfour, halt there; and it is the place of debarkation for grain and other articles which are sent up the country to Dongola and Sennaar. There are not many inhabitants: but the Pascha takes care that they shall furnish their portion of tribute in

kind; so they cultivate barley, d'hourra, lupines, dates, melons, and cucumbers: they collect nitre in the desert, and by their intercourse with neighbouring tribes, sometimes forward ostrich feathers, gum arabic, and horses, according to the emergency of the times. The whole district between the first and second Cataract is under the same Government, and the Chief Ruler generally takes the title of Bey or Prince, residing at Es-Souan.

I have already stated that His Excellency was absent when we passed the boundary of Egypt; finding him here, we could not do less than pay our respects, and the visit was one of no common interest. He was sitting under some palm trees, surrounded by the Captain of the port, a few other *Dignitaries*, and a crowd of people, transacting business, and administering the laws in the open air, reminding us of the patriarchal times, when men engaged in the simple consideration of the rights of the community, before civilization rendered villany refined, and legislation complex. I need not repeat my opinions on this subject: suffice it to say, that recent events have rendered such a system dangerous and cruel; for where there is little disposition to do good, it is entrusting too much power to one man: but we did not find that a knowledge of the severity of the existing laws had then a bad effect; there was but little crime, and seldom occasion for chastisement. The crowd made way on our approach, and we were forthwith presented to the Governor, Mohammed Agah, a man of about forty years of age, and rather prepossessing appearance: his deportment was easy and affable, and free from austerity. He received us with urbanity, presented coffee and pipes, and allowed us to procure dromedaries at the Govern-

ment price; he gave us a great deal of information about the slaves, a coffle of about a thousand being daily expected for the Pascha, who was then forming some black regiments. Perceiving that I was interested, he spoke of a little Negro child who was remarkable for his talents and sagacity—"not a common slave," said he, "but, as I understand, the son of one of the native Chiefs. I will send to the D'gellab, and you shall see him this afternoon, when I am coming to pay you a visit." Having acknowledged his civilities, we withdrew to prepare for his reception. He came, attended by his Officers. Finding him an intelligent man, we did not spare him: he answered all our questions with patience, confirmed the observations which we had made about the state of the country, and spoke without reserve. He had heard nothing of an epidemic raging as reported, at Dongola, although couriers were constantly passing and repassing. The Ouadi Halfa is, generally speaking, healthy; and it is remarkable that the plague has never been known to reach higher than Dehr; but the small-pox has committed great ravages.*

The Agah requested me to call and see one of the ladies of his brother's hh'areem on my return to Es-Souan, and gave orders to have a letter written to announce my coming: she was afflicted with cataract, supervening on an attack of ophthalmia. The

* Aboo Degg'n (Dr. Dussap) of Cairo, informed me that he once made a journey into Nubia, and vaccinated a great number of people,—that for some time, the disease was modified, as in other countries: but the natives having no enlightened persons to direct them, soon fell under the influence of their old prejudices, and the disease became as virulent as ever. Consumption, elephantiasis, and leprosy, are unknown: the only serious maladies are remittent fever, small pox, and ophthalmia. I found the Agah's own secretary labouring from the latter, and many of the inhabitants were ill of complaints which required more assistance than it was in my power to afford, under contingent circumstances.

Governor also applied for medicine for himself; but as he was in full health and vigour, it was more the sight of the Hh'akkim that set his imagination at work, than anything else: what he evidently wanted, was, a talisman to *prevent* disease; the Nubians are very anxious about such things, and generally wear them inclosed in a small piece of leather, bound round the arm. His Excellency showed us a gun for shooting crocodiles; it was about six feet long, had a large bore, and was made to turn on a swivel at the bow of a boat, as the animals are too wary to come within range of an ordinary rifle; they are timid, but do not fear man. There is a very pretty bird about as large as a common dove; it has a grey and white plumage, and the natives call it "Sik-sak," from the sound which it utters when frightened: they assert that it lives on terms of intimacy with the crocodile, and may be seen hopping in and out of his mouth with impunity, and announcing the approach of danger. The fact is, the crocodile feeding upon all kinds of refuse, slime and filth, is annoyed by small worms which generate about his teeth, and as it is the creature's nature to lie basking in the sun for hours, with his jaws distended, this little bird by degrees has learned to pick out the worms; the relief obtained is of course very great, and the crocodile has sufficient instinct to know that the bird is one of his best friends. Should any one draw near, the bird being alarmed, flies away crying "sik-sak—sik-sak," whilst his companion slinks down into the water.

The D'gellab was now introduced with his young charge, certainly a noble little fellow, though only three years old: he was a native of Cordofan, and of a very dark brown colour, with short, frizzly

hair, and the Negro cast of countenance; but evidently one of a very handsome tribe.

Phrenologically speaking, he had a very fine head, inasmuch as the animal propensities were but little developed, and the intellectual organs were larger than we generally see in the African. I examined him thoroughly; he bore marks of the small-pox on his body, and was in perfect health. Indeed, I was so pleased with the child, that I purchased him for twenty-five dollars, thinking that, being so young, I could train him up in my own way; and as he could have nothing to *unlearn*, no prejudices to overcome, and few, if any, recollections of his home, that a very fair opportunity would be afforded of ascertaining what could be done in the way of education.*

* A finer prospect, I am sure, never offered itself. He was everything I could wish him to be,—quick, ardent, generous, and truly affectionate. He loved me as if I had been his own father. I seldom had occasion to correct him—and then, a word was enough: for he would cry so bitterly, that to hear him was painful in the extreme. In all his actions he was graceful; he was full of intelligence, and evinced a most extraordinary predilection for religion: being never so happy as when he could get any one to read the Bible to him; at school, he was the life of the little party, and nothing could be done without "dear Ali"—his companions left everything to his direction, and whenever he was absent, their games were dull and spiritless. He was open and sincere, and beloved and admired by all who knew him. Persons would frequently stop to talk about him in the street, and (forgetting that he understood English) would ask if he was not the son of some Prince, so impressed were they with his figure and demeanour. Love of admiration appeared to be his only fault. The ladies with whom he was placed were so fond of him, that they watched him narrowly;—possessing a large share of good sense, and being unaffectedly pious, they instilled into his mind the fundamental principles of Christianity, and I was very sanguine that as he grew up, his little vanities would be subdued, and that the seed which had been sown with so much care, would be productive of good fruit—but all my hopes were blighted; it pleased the Almighty Disposer of events to call him hence. He resided in this country two years, during which he never felt the cold, and I think had not a day's illness: but he was attacked at last with hooping cough, one very inclement spring, during the prevalence of a severe epidemic catarrh, and he died in convulsions, at the age of six years and a half—a period when children twine themselves about us, and steal away our hearts. I was grieved, deeply grieved for the loss of my poor boy, though I felt

He suffered the D'gellab to depart with the greatest indifference; doubtless he had been transferred more than once before, as he bore on his legs and back, marks which had been burnt in by the persons through whose hands he had passed. He was quite naked, and swarming with vermin. I gave him in charge to Mohammed for the night, and after he had taken a basin of bread and milk, the poor child fell into a sound sleep upon the bare boards. The first thing the next morning, I had him well lathered from head to foot; I then set him to work to anoint his body, and procured him a red taboosch and takeeyah for his head, a pair of shoes, and some blue linen, which the wife of the Reis made into shirts for him. It was amusing to witness his delight when these things were produced; he carried the shoes about, and shewed them to everybody. The sailors tried to teaze him, saying that we should eat him—on which he became very indignant, and uttered some horrible imprecations and sayings of a most obscene nature, the meaning of which he could not possibly understand—and he could only have picked up such expressions whilst crossing the desert. I soon put a stop to this, by not allowing him to communicate with these men, and being now cleansed from all his impurities, I received him into the cabin. The child was truly happy, and soon became attached—so sensible is the human heart to kindness. In a little while he began to speak English, and learned his letters without difficulty, and the rudi-

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it my duty to believe that it was for the best. It is impossible to tell what the result might have been, had he lived to become a man, and he is assuredly far happier than I could make him, were he now here. I bless God that he was removed during childhood—since it was to be, and I resign him cheerfully to his Saviour!

ments of spelling. I found that he had no recollection of his parents;—he said that his mother was "*mat*" dead—and when I mentioned his father, he broke out vehemently against him—calling him "*battalla*"—a bad man. This surprised me—but I discovered that he had been taught to call the *slave-dealer* his father, and that he remembered no other. This I was not sorry for, as, having been previously ill-treated, he was more likely to devote himself to me, and it was clear that there would be no pining after parents and kindred lost. All I could make out was, that they lived in pointed huts built of mud and straw, like those seen in Plate, p. 453. I have already stated that he improved daily, developing an amiable disposition and good abilities, and that my expectations concerning him, as long as he lived, were fully realised.*

The Nile is navigable about an hour further:—having passed four cultivated islands to the south of the village, it becomes extremely narrow—not exceeding perhaps thirty yards. Here we landed; and strolling over crags of porphyry, green-stone, basalt, and granite, cultivated slopes, and shelving interstices of yellow sand, in the midst of rushing waters, innumerable eddies, whirlpools, and foaming spray, we skirted the western desert, climbing over loose sand and quartzy lime-stone promontories, until, in about another hour, we reached "High Rock"—a prominent isolated cone, which rises perpendicularly to the height

* Sir Frederick Henniker having liberated a female slave at Es-Souan, the poor girl immediately ran down and hid herself in his cand'gia. When Sir Frederick informed her that she was *free*, her eyes glistened with joy; but her delight was transitory; for when he added that it was his intention to send her back to her family, she burst into tears, and prayed that he would not—"for," said she, "I have endured so much in crossing the desert, that I dread the thought of a return, and I am sure that I should die before I reached my home."

D.r Holt Yates del

THE SECOND CATARACT OF THE NILE.

From "High Rock"

of 200 feet, and from the summit of which there is a very extensive view of the Cataract, and the desert, which may be seen on both sides of the river, as far as the eye can reach. What is termed the "Second Cataract," consists of a wide extent of rocky islets, partially covered with verdure, dividing and subdividing the river into narrow windings, not one of which is navigable, except when the water is unusually high: instances have then been known of boats being dragged over. These islets are various in shape and colour, and constitute about ten miles of rapids, intercepted by, here and there, a calm and beautiful sunny lake, singularly contrasted with the angry, foaming torrents, which boil and hiss, and lash the opposing parapets as they labour on every side, to force a passage along the pebbly beach. There are chiefly three falls. The view to the south is much the same on both sides of the river: it is bounded by two conspicuous mountains, about eighty miles distant, and includes the "Dar-el-Hh'adg'r" or rocky wilderness, which extends to Sukkot and the confines of Dongola, a narrow slip only on either side admitting of cultivation; and the Ouadis are few and far between. The inhabitants are in a very wild state: both men and women go naked, and they obtain but a scanty subsistence, being obliged to irrigate the soil by hand, and being exposed to the incursions of the Sheygyia Arabs. To the northward, in the distance, are to be seen the village of Halfa, half concealed by palm-trees, the winding of the Nile, and a few mounds of sand on the borders of the desert, having very much the appearance of an encampment or fortification. There is very little vegetation: some of the rocks below are covered with sycamore, acacia, and jungle, tufts of the

slender tamarisk, and a few wild flowers, which are refreshing to the eye of the beholder. The district abounds with pigeons and doves, and being unaccustomed to the intrusions of man, they are very tame, and do not seem to be at all aware that they make a most capital pilaf. The gazelle, on the contrary, is shy, and seldom approaches very near. It is a most graceful and active little animal, and about Sennaar and Dongola, is domesticated and useful. We saw several small herds of them bounding among the rocks in the wilderness; the report of a gun set them scampering in a moment. Ostriches are more rarely met with; but at the above-mentioned places, they are common, and very cheap: the people eat them as we do the domestic fowl; and I am told they are very good. In the same district also, monkeys abound, and the tiger-cats. Several travellers have cut their names in the rock Abousir, and my poor friend Bradford was thus engaged whilst I was making the accompanying sketch. Descending towards the plain, we entered a deep recess formed by an extensive fissure in a rock: it was nothing but a place of refuge for those nauseous animals the bats; we fired a pistol into it, which brought them out in great numbers: it is truly astonishing how they congregate in these regions: every obscure corner is *crammed* with them. We rambled some time among the crags on our way back. Mixed with the lime-stone, there are nodules of flint and pebbles of quartz: it is said that the onyx, blood-stone, and agate, are also to be found, but I did not see any worth preserving: nevertheless, I think the patient investigator might be rewarded for his trouble, if he would devote some time to the search. I had occasion to see some of the Berber Arabs, a fine and

handsome race, with regular features, and an intelligent expression: their noses are Grecian: they have high, but not prominent cheek-bones: their complexion is of a dark red brown, and they have a profusion of black hair hanging in curls over the neck; they are about six feet high, robust, and athletic; they pride themselves on being Arabs, and, as I have stated, are descended from the shepherds who overran Egypt, and were detested by the ancient people. They have the character of being "avaricious, treacherous, and malicious, full of wickedness and lasciviousness:"—"but," says Burckhardt, "they have at least retained one good quality of their Arabian ancestors — they are not proud!" I regretted exceedingly that I could not extend my travels to Abyssinia: but the Pascha being at open war with the people, the journey would have been attended with imminent personal risk. Messrs. de Breuverie and Cadelvène, who had joined us at Thebes, took their departure for Dongola, and we prepared to quit these extraordinary regions.* We had a little difficulty in getting the crew together; some of them had even taken themselves off to visit their friends at Farras and other villages, leaving word that they would join us at Ypsambal, where they knew

* These gentlemen paid to go to Dongola and return, a distance of about sixteen days, (there and back,) four Spanish dollars for each dromedary, including the driver:—but they must have availed themselves of the Agah's offer, and taken them on the Government terms: for, according to Dr. Richardson, "it is ten days' journey to *Saie*, by a *camel*, and five by a *dromedary*; and the hire for either is fifty shillings, or twelve Spanish dollars, to go and return." Messrs. Babington and Chester paid *to go* from Ghéneh to Cosseir, a five days' journey, two Spanish dollars each dromedary, including the driver. Sir F. Henniker paid to go from Mount Sinai to Hebron, or Gaza, a journey of eleven days, six dollars for each dromedary, which the monks, being afraid of the Arabs, said was *a moderate price:* but he afterwards learned that he had paid exactly four times more than was just. In every instance the guides are mounted too, and the price is regulated by the number of camels required.

we intended to land. This was a great liberty, and not to be passed over unnoticed. On reaching Farras, the men were not there, and they even kept us waiting at Ypsambal : their excuse was, as usual, that they had been purchasing provisions ; whereas the Reis had made every necessary preparation at Ouadi Halfa : besides, they absented themselves *without leave*. Words arose, and my excellent but too hasty friend, again brought us into trouble by his impetuosity. He imprudently struck one of them : the consequence was, they all mutinied, and went ashore to arm themselves with staves and stones, and, as we expected, to summon others to their assistance.* For some time, remonstrance was vain, and they positively refused to work. Having consulted together, we agreed that on no account should we allow them to get the ascendancy. Fully expecting an attack, we loaded our firearms in their sight, made the cand'gia secure, and let them see that we intended to resist. The wife of the Reis then became alarmed, and began to abuse her husband : we told them that if they did not come on board immediately, we would set sail without them ; and moreover, that if they did not make amends for their bad conduct, we would have them all up before the Pascha of Es-Souan, the moment we arrived. At last, perceiving that we were serious and actually preparing to weigh, the Reis and his wife came to capitulate. We represented to them the impropriety of their behaviour, and the kindness with which they had been treated. We then allowed the crew to come on board, and compelled them to row the greater part of the night, as a punishment, more particularly as we could not tell what means they

* The Nubians always carry a curved knife strapped to the side of the thigh.

might adopt to gratify their revenge; and that we might not be taken by surprise, we deemed it advisable for the next two days, that one of us should keep watch whilst the others slept.

In Nubia, the bed of the Nile seems to form a natural boundary, the sand of the eastern desert being grey, that of the western desert of an orange colour; and there is a distinct line of demarcation between them. In the spring of 1832, Mr. Bonomi, accompanied Monsieur Linant into the Bisharien desert, between Es-Souan and Ouadi Halfa, whither he had been dispatched by Mohammed Ali, in search of the ancient gold mines: they found extensive excavations, and every appearance of the once profitable contents of the mountains, now abandoned, and not even known to the inhabitants, who imagine that the "*Shitan*" resides in the holes and wells which were dug to extract the precious mineral. Specimens of the ore were sent to Cairo to be analyzed; but like many other of the Pascha's projects, this has never been properly carried out, or it might prove that these, like some of the gold mines at Schemnitz in Hungary, which were abandoned by the Romans as no longer profitable, would yield an abundant harvest. The square towers of Ibrim soon appeared, and the fertile district of Dehr. We landed at the Capital once more, to replenish our stores, and to examine the ancient temple, the approach to which is strewed with ruins: the Pronaos contains three rows of quadrangular columns, with the *legs* only of a colossal statue on their fronts: the delineations refer to Osiris and Priapus, and there are two battle scenes, in which the prisoners are brought in triumph before the Hero:—there is also on each side of the principal entrance to the Cella—what is termed a "*Briareus*"

—a figure with two heads and four arms, about to be slain; but here Osiris is *arresting* the blow. In the Adytum, are niches for four deities, but they are vacant: there are rooms also with banks for coffins:—the rocks above contain some excavated tombs, with Arabic and Greek inscriptions. As we returned to the cand'gia, we saw several women who seemed to have been just decking themselves out at the bath: their hair was well greased, and platted into cords; and they wore a profusion of beads and other ornaments: but they looked clean and respectable. The temple of Sebooa seems to have been once of great importance; it is now nearly buried in sand:—four Sphinxes and a portion of a fifth, which formed part of an avenue thirty-five feet wide, leading down to the river, a distance of 250 yards, sufficiently denote that this spot was not always desolate: there are two prostrate colossal statues also in front of the Propylon, and the roof of the Pronaos is supported by Osiris columns: the hieroglyphics are nearly destroyed. This ruin is situated in a plain, surrounded on three sides by sandstone hills. The river is about a quarter of a mile wide, and the eastern hills, taking a semi-circular direction, approach the water's edge, still retaining their dusky hue, and strongly contrasted with the yellow disintegrated sand-stone opposite. What vegetation there is, is confined to the eastern shores; but it is not quite so abundant as in other parts: the scenery is nevertheless very interesting; for the stream is apparently closed in by the adjacent heights, and at low water, beset with masses of pyramidal rocks, which renders the view highly picturesque. I must not omit to mention a temple which we visited a little to the north of Dehr, opposite or near to the village of

Diman. It is about five minutes' walk from the river, on the edge of the western desert, and covered at the back, nearly to the top, with red sand. The walls of the Dromos have been carried away by the natives, who have built themselves houses with the materials, on and about the temple, which is now quite in ruins, but one of the most interesting for hieroglyphics that I have seen: they are in good preservation, and consist chiefly of the prefixes and attributes of the deities herein worshipped, together with inscriptions which relate to historical events. This edifice contains the usual apartments, and is adorned with quadrangular and hexagonal columns: but, in order to convert it into a Greek church, the walls have been covered with plaster, a portion of which has since been torn down by the scientific investigator, with a view to restore the hieroglyphics; and it is somewhat singular that the spot on the extreme wall of the "ΣΕΚΟΣ,"—where the Pagan idols once stood, should be selected for the portraits of our Saviour and two of the Greek Saints!* Opposite the island of Derar, on the western bank, are the remains of two temples entitled "ΊΕΡΟΣΚΑΜΜΑΡΟΝ"—the first a mere heap of rubbish; the other a pretty ruin; and were it surrounded by vegetation, instead of the burning sand of an unfriendly wilderness, would be a fine object. It has evidently been a Greek temple, though of early origin. The whole of one side having been thrown down, the interior is laid open: there are four doors, but the chief entrance is towards the river: the columns partake more of the Egyptian than the Greek style of architecture, and the

* This temple seems to be identical with that of Amada, or *Amoudein*, which signifies "the columns"—and a few yards nearer the river, beneath some dilapidated masonry, is a sort of circular pavement, which in all probability belonged to a Propylon or Lodge.

hieroglyphics have been covered with plaster: the building was formerly inclosed by a wall, and perhaps also a dyke or ditch. There are the remains of several Scripture paintings in *fresco:* one representing the adoration of the Saviour, who is in the arms of the Virgin:—in the other, a holy man is seen preaching to a mixed congregation, whose attitudes express surprise and admiration. The rest are too much battered to be made out. Some of the present inhabitants informed me that, ten years ago, this temple was frequented by Greeks. I never saw a finer race of men than those who occupy this district; disease, they say, is not known among them: we were beset, as usual, by naked children of both sexes, from four to twelve years of age: they were well made, very active, robust, and of an intellectual appearance; and most of them could read and write—which surprised me; and it is the only instance of the kind which I met with on the Nile:—there is a school-master here, but at whose expense, I could not learn. The *model* temple of Kortj, one of the most ancient in Nubia, is not far off. The soil in this neighbourhood is so fertile on the immediate banks, that often, patches of land look green and flourishing, only four or five days after the waters have retired. During the next twenty-four hours, the weather was very boisterous—the wind being S.W.—the atmosphere hot and oppressive, obscured, and filled with sand. At night it blew a furious gale, and the thermometer stood at 90°,—at noon, it was 96° in the shade—a degree of temperature apparently most agreeable to the crocodiles, very numerous in this latitude. At Dakkêh, on the edge of the western desert, only a few minutes' walk from the river, is the picturesque temple of Hermes. The

Propylon does not front the river, as is generally the case in this part of the country, but it faces the north: the symbolical illustrations are chiefly in relief, and very distinct: the Lotus is particularly conspicuous. The Dromos is thrown open and filled with ruins: but the walls of the Pronaos are in tolerable preservation, having been covered with plaster by the Greeks, who converted this building also into a place of Christian worship. Here too, in order to expose the hieroglyphics, the moderns have torn down the fresco paintings. The entrance is between two beautiful columns like those at Philoe, connecting the main front of the temple by a screen, which extends half way up the shaft. The ceiling of the centre aisle is adorned with eight winged serpents, as at Dendera, and in a chamber contiguous to the Adytum, there is an oblong pit, which, I imagine, may have contained the water and Lotus flowers used in the Pagan ceremonies,—though many suppose it to have been a tomb, because on the wall above it, there is the figure of a lion. From behind the same wall, a passage leads to the roof; and at the back of the Adytum, an exquisitely sculptured chamber communicates with a narrow passage, which formerly led through a mass of masonry, to the precincts of the building. I consider this temple one of the most perfect and beautiful specimens of Egyptian architecture, and it has evidently once been in a very flourishing condition. The Propylon has a double tower like that at Edfoo, the height being fifty feet, and the entire frontage ninety. From the terrace above the gateway, there is a fine view of the Nile, and on the wall which fronts the Dromos and the sides of the entrance, are several Greek inscriptions.* When

* One of these states that "Apollonius, the son of Apollonius, Commander

coming away, I was detained about two hours by the inhabitants, who brought their sick from the surrounding neighbourhood, to the boat; and I believe my companions were fairly tired out: for it was much the same at every place we came to: not that there was any epidemic, but on account of the *total* absence of all medical aid. It is a melancholy thing to see so much misery, and to reflect that the chief cause is with the Government—small-pox and famine being the two great scourges. Among the ruins, lay scattered a vast quantity of grey and red granite, porphyry, marble, and sand-stone, all of the finest quality—from which we may form some idea of the former magnificence of this costly temple. I picked up also a very good specimen of serpentine. Notwithstanding our unfriendly reception at Ghyrshe, on a recent occasion, and that our party was now reduced in numbers, we ventured to land and examine the ruins of *Tutzis:* we took the precaution, however, of carrying fire-arms, and of killing all the pigeons which crossed our path—as a *warning to the people.* Whether they recollected us or not, we observed no warlike demonstration: but they were still importunate; some followed us about in silence, and betrayed something like superstitious awe, when they saw the birds fall. In pity to their haggard looks and evident poverty, we bought a few scarabæi, lachrymatories, and other articles, and on going away, presented them with the birds which we had poached on their manor:—although not killed in the *orthodox style*, and *fit* for Mussulmauns to eat, I

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of the Ombite Nome, and of the country about Elephantine and Philoe, came and worshipped *Hermes.*" In another place, it is recorded that the person named came to worship "μεγιστον Ταυτ Νυφις." See Light's Travels, p. 273; Richardson, vol. i. p. 472; and Burckhardt, p. 98.

doubt not that when we were gone, a hungry stomach would overcome all scruples. This excavated temple of "D'gorn Hussein," as the natives call it, has few attractions after that which we had just left, and particularly as it is only an humble imitation of the temple of Aboo Simbal, and the hieroglyphics are nearly destroyed. It once had a portico of jointed circular columns, (only two of which remain,) and others with four sides and colossal statues of Osiris holding the flail in one hand, the other being in a depending position: the Pronaos contains two rows of similar columns, twenty-four feet in height, but here the arms are crossed: at the back of these, against the wall on each of the side aisles, are four square recesses with three symbolical statues in each, ten feet in height, the centre one of which is clothed, the others are naked: in like manner, the sanctuary contains four idols, and an altar of stone, not differing from those at Ypsambal. These excavations have been compared to the caves of Surat and Elephanta, in India. Temples which were hewn out of the solid rock were generally considered sufficiently defended without a Propylon, but not always; and it may be remarked that the Egyptians did not study appearances so much as solidity and strength. Between the temple of Tutzis and the river, are great quantities of sculptured ruins, and among them, we saw four broken couchant Sphinxes overturned: one of them seemed to have been recently removed from its original position, and the groove from which it had been taken, was not filled up. My impression was, that there had been an avenue of Sphinxes here, as at Sebooa; we found a statue also, eleven feet high, with two of the Sphinxes at the feet.*

* The figure here alluded to is broken and thrown down, but it has the same

The weather had now become cooler, although the thermometer still ranged between 76° and 82°, the wind blowing due north, the atmosphere clear and bright. We did not get on quite so fast as in *ascending* the stream, and were often obliged to lower sail and track, although the current was always in our favour. On leaving Ghyrshe, we encountered such a strong gale, that we were obliged to moor to the banks until the next day, when we proceeded *a little*—soothing ourselves like true philosophers, with the balmy influence of the *fragrant weed*, and rejoicing that we had entered upon the pleasant district of Dandoor, where there was something to see. We found the peasants busily engaged with the *sakias;* and the constant creaking of the wheels was music in our ears, betokening abundance: for although they are not allowed to reap the full benefit of their labours, these industrious people do live *in hope* that avarice will spare *a little* out of her superfluous stores,—if not for pity's sake, at least from sordid interest,—and thus, their prospect of support is fairer than when the hot wind blasts the springing wheat, or clouds of locusts settle on their fertile slopes. It was a novel sight to witness groups of naked children shaping little ruts and channels with their hands, whilst the women led the water into them *with their feet*,* and thus distributed to the thirsty vegetation its grateful nutriment:—it was interesting

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physiognomy, the same elevation, and the same position as those which still occupy their proper place at Sebooa, and form a part of the avenue. Now the temple of Tutzis being on an eminence, it would seem that there was a flight of stone steps leading up to it, and that the approach to these steps from the river, has been by an avenue of Sphinxes, the two first of which were at the feet of two colossal statues, as at Sebooa.

* Deut. xi. 10.—"*And wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs.*" See also Eccles. ii. 6; Prov. xxi. 1;

to observe with what eagerness they watched the receding of the stream beneath the banks, and ran to collect the cracking soil and sow the seed; whilst the aged on the adjacent cliffs above, would tend the oxen at the wheel, and urge their loitering steps. We soon recognised the elegant bell-shaped blue flowers of the flax, the light green foliage of the senna, and the more stately growing *Khárvah* or Palma Christi, whilst the feathery white flock of the "silk tree" nodded in the breeze upon its slender stem, and the pulpy fruit of the colocynth formed, with various other creeping plants and aromatic herbs, a beautiful net-work along the retiring underbank. The temple of Dandoor is situated at the base of a rocky eminence, a short distance from the western shore, and in the opinion of Burckhardt, is "*in general*, extremely well built, and *the sculptures are of the best times*," though he conceives it to be "*posterior in date* to the temple at Philoe, from *a visible decline both in the architecture and sculpture*." This apparent contradiction is explained by the fact that the building was left in an unfinished state, and had been added to at different times. Dr. Richardson copied a Greek inscription, recording that latterly the temple "was *repaired*, and dedicated to the Roman Hermes."

The Propylon resembles that at Dendera; the entrance to the Pronaos is between two circular columns with Doum-leaf capitals: the roof has fallen in; but the walls are covered with hieroglyphics *in relief*, among which appear the Lotus, the Sphinx, and the Hawk-headed deity: the whole of the chambers are clogged up with large stones; the same may be said of the Dromos and every other avenue. Leaving the hills which skirt the Ouadi Gharbie Dandoor, we

entered upon a more open part of the valley, passing the scattered hamlets, fields and gardens in the vicinity of Aboo Hor; but the wind continuing in the same quarter, and still fresh, it was only at intervals that we could make any way. Howbeit, by dint of tracking and rowing, and keeping the middle of the stream, occasionally giving ourselves up *broadside to the current*, we managed to float on at the rate of from half a mile, to a mile and a half an hour, except now and then, when we stuck fast in the mud, and when a sudden gust from a ravine in the mountains, sent us half a mile back, or held us for some minutes as the sailors say, "*in chains*," tossing about in the midst of a boisterous lake, without making an inch of way, whilst we had the mortification of seeing every little cand'gia that was steering an opposite course, fly past us at ten and twelve knots an hour. But, *pazienza!* We had had our turn, and after all, it was better than being lashed to the banks under a parching Sirocco hurricane, with a furious, livid atmosphere of choking sand. At length, we overcame all difficulties, and found ourselves safely moored beneath the terrace of Kalabshieh. We landed at the place formerly devoted to this purpose; nothing was to be seen but a high stone wall surmounted by a plantation of palm-trees. On passing up through a breach in this the extremity of the ancient Mole, and stepping over huge fragments of stone, we ascended a flight of numerous small steps, to a fine terrace which forms the approach to the Propylon. Comparing what is to be seen here with all that we see at Sebooa and Ghyrshe, and keeping in view also the well-known magnificence of this temple throughout, there is good reason to think that, on the Mole just mentioned, there was

formerly an avenue of Sphinxes; there are none remaining now, but Col. Light discovered one among the ruins on the side of the Mole; and that gentleman came to the same conclusion. The Propylon has two lofty towers united by a solid gateway; they contain fourteen small apartments resembling dungeons of the worst description, the light being admitted only by a single slit in the wall, about two inches wide and eight long: the towers have been severely battered, and the hieroglyphics are nearly extinct.

On entering the Dromos, which is filled with broken shafts and capitals, the remains of the piazzas which lined the court, we are immediately struck with the beauty of the portico. It is of the usual square form, but broader at the base than at the top, edged with a round beading, and surmounted by a deep frieze with the globe and winged serpent in the centre. The door is supported by two light, circular columns with full-blown Lotus capitals, the intervening spaces being covered with beautifully executed hieroglyphics; right and left of this projecting frame work, is another similar column, built up from the ground to one third, forming four pannels, which are partly ornamented with hieroglyphics, and partly plain; and here are to be seen several inscriptions, chiefly Greek. (See Appendix). Thus, the façade of the temple has four handsome pillars, which are in exquisite keeping with those of the piazzas, one solitary specimen of which is now standing; it is flanked by the boundary wall, which contains several narrow, dark cells, communicating with the Propylon. On the right of the court, there is a door leading to chambers which I suppose to have been stables for the sacred animals, or for the *victims* destined to be sacrificed. The columns of the Pro-

naos have all been thrown down on one side; the rest are like those already described: the roof too has fallen in; consequently the area is choked up with immense stones. The inner apartments are richly ornamented with sculpture and hieroglyphics, both enchorial and symbolic; we see the different deities being worshipped under every form, and in great splendour: we could discover neither idols nor statues. Several of the chambers communicate, and in one of them are narrow cells, which it is conceived were either prisons for refractory priests, or *secret places* from which the *Oracle* was pronounced: perhaps they contained sacred treasures. There is a flight of stone steps leading to the upper rooms—*now entirely gone;* and beneath the steps, a dark cavity, which possibly communicates with vaults or passages. Everything here indicates *mystery*. The representations upon the walls are various; but we see no battle-pieces as at Ypsambal and at Thebes: the colours are in excellent preservation: the walls of the Adytum exhibit human figures with animals by their side: but these and other delineations are more or less covered with plaster, the Greeks having once converted this Pagan edifice into a place of Christian worship. Notwithstanding its mutilated condition, this temple is allowed to be one of the finest in Nubia; it presents to our view a specimen of the purest taste, and may justly be said to vie with the most celebrated monuments of Egypt. Most extraordinary attempts have evidently been made to destroy it *utterly*, and when we look at the ponderous masses of stone that everywhere obstruct the way, we are at a loss to conceive how they were ever thrown down at all: one would have imagined it to be a far more difficult task to destroy

the building than to raise it up. Climate has performed no part in the matter; for the materials appear as sound as they could have been the first day; it seems as if nothing short of a war with the *Cyclops* could have accomplished such an undertaking: it would seem too that they had been stopped in their work of annihilation just in time to set the ingenuity of *mortals* puzzling to discover what it once was, and to hand down to posterity a further proof of the infallibility of Divine Revelation, which has declared that the works of the idolator who boasted of his strength, should be overthrown. The havoc which has been committed here it is difficult to conceive: at the junction of almost every stone with its fellow is to be seen a large hole, as if made by some heavy battering instrument; and there is scarcely a spot in or about the temple that does not bear marks of extreme violence. Here again I may remark that, as at Thebes, where the desert has done *nothing* towards the overthrow of Pagan sanctuaries, the hand of man has done *a great deal:* and the remark will be found to hold good *universally*. The Great Temple of Kalabshieh is surrounded by heaps of rubbish, the debris of modern buildings. As one habitation falls to decay, another is erected upon its ruins; and we see portions of what was once held sacred to the great Osiris, now converted into a common cow-shed! Where the pampered emblem of Isis once fattened in luxury, her shaggy descendants ruminate upon *chopped straw!* and when we least expect that we are near anything like a human dwelling, some lean, lank form makes its appearance, so poor, "so mean, so woe begone," that it seems to be the wreck of manhood, the dethronement of reason; and we wonder what can have

"reduced Nature to such a lowness." The ancient town extended about half a mile on one side of the temple, and perhaps a mile on the other, encroaching also upon the rocks at the back. All this is now one common mass of confusion. The modern inhabitants are truly a degraded race, living in the extreme of poverty and wretchedness: many of the men are naked, and the women are covered only by an apron of thongs, except a few who are married, and better off than the rest: these throw a scarf of blue linen loosely over one shoulder, leaving the other bare: but notwithstanding they are so poor, they are very fond of ornaments; they wear necklaces of blue and red glass beads, round pieces of ebony, and coloured stones, rings on the fingers, ears, and toes, and brass armlets, open at the side like the crescent of the new moon: this is of great antiquity: they wear also a broad ring of the buffalo's horn round the wrist: this is put on when quite young, and cannot afterwards be taken off: their hair is platted into cords, and profusely greased with castor oil and mutton fat. Necessity sometimes induces them to sell their ornaments to travellers, but they are not immodest, although accustomed to let the face be seen, and to solicit the attention of strangers: they followed us about from curiosity; the men from suspicion, for they have been severely persecuted, and trust nobody; all carry a knife, and many, a broken sword or a rusty spear; the latter, however, is not so often seen as it used to be, Mohammed Ali having greatly subdued their restless spirit: but the Nubians still pretend that they are more free than the Egyptians, though it does not appear that they have more liberty. They look meagre and wretched enough, but a good heart may often be

concealed beneath a rough outside: like the Arabs, they are not proof against temptation, and occasionally pilfer: nevertheless, I do not consider them unworthy of confidence: there is much to be said in palliation.

On an eminence, about half a mile to the north-west, over the ruins of the old town, is a small excavated temple, called by the natives "Dar el Waly." It is of the highest interest, on account of the historical events there depicted, and of which no other record is known: they are supposed to refer to the conquests of Osiris, who, as I have stated, was a great warrior, and returning in triumph to the Nile, founded the city of Thebes, and was afterwards worshipped as a God:—the most important are those on the walls of the Dromos, a simple avenue cut out of the solid rock. On the left, the Hero is to be seen in his chariot drawn by two fiery steeds, leading his soldiers to battle, and driving his enemies before him: his countenance is steady and firm: he is in the act of drawing his bow; then follow two other cars, in one of which there is a female standing erect, as if to encourage by her influence, just as, in chivalrous times, a valiant Knight would be inspired by the presence of his "Ladye-Love!" The fugitives are retiring to a fertile country, abounding in fruit-trees, and *apes* are seen among the branches. The victory being gained, the prisoners and booty pass in review before the Hero, who is now seated on a throne, holding the *Key of the Nile* in one hand, and a sceptre in the other; about the throne are descriptive hieroglyphics. The procession consists of naked men bearing fruit, flowers, elephants' tusks, and blocks of ebony; various animals, especially the ostrich, the swan, the gazelle, the buffalo, the ox, the monkey, the goat, the lion, and the cameleopard:—

lastly, two prisoners with skins of wild beasts round their loins. At the feet of the Victor, lie heaps of spoil of another kind—viz., warlike instruments, bows and arrows, furs, elephants' teeth, and calabashes supposed to contain rich gums, spices, and perfumes. On the opposite wall, we see a warrior in the act of slaying his enemies, holding them by the hair of the head:—there is also an attack upon a fort, as at Ypsambal. In another compartment, a group of beautiful female slaves is introduced; and a number of captives with beards and long robes are brought before the King with their hands bound: they bear a sword or scimitar, not unlike that worn in the present day by the Bisharien Arabs; their hair is short, and the complexion red; otherwise, their physiognomy reminds us of the ancient Hebrews. Now from all this, it is presumed that the principal actor in the scene must have carried his arms into countries south of the ancient Meroe—viz., the regions of Sennaar and Abyssinia, where the ruins of castles are still visible, where the animals and trophies here delineated, are also to be found, and from whence the most beautiful and highly esteemed female slaves are, even now, imported into Egypt. The temple has three doors: the columns are quadrangular; the sculpture is indistinct: but two groups may be clearly made out—the one a "*Briareus*," i. e. a group of captives, vainly suing for mercy, being decapitated—the other, a priest pouring out libations, and offering incense before Osiris seated on his throne. The principal chamber has a niche on each side, with three sitting figures in *alto relievo*, five feet high; they represent Isis, Osiris, and *Ammon:* the ceiling is richly carved, and the Adytum contains a recess for the tutelar deity,—but his place has long been vacant.

The groups of figures represented on the walls of the Dromos, whether in point of symmetry or expression, are some of the finest I have ever seen. There is a degree of simplicity and grace about them which proclaims the artist a careful observer of Nature, and an assiduous student of his profession: for accuracy of outline and delineation of character they have never been surpassed, and it is much to be regretted that such tablets should have sustained any injury. When the Orientals invaded Egypt, they took, it would seem, extraordinary pains to destroy these two temples, as if aware that they recorded the acts of him who laid the foundation of idolatrous worship—or rather because future Monarchs were induced to imitate his example, giving rise to the invasion of their territory. It is possible therefore that, under the pretence of crushing superstition and false religion, they sought to gratify their revenge: howbeit, they became instruments in the hands of Providence for the fulfilment of prophecy. The Bible tells us to what a pitch of wickedness the country had attained, and the people were continually warned that the terrible day of retribution would arrive: but they still persisted in their iniquitous practices, stimulated by a crafty priesthood, who, if they could not frighten them into obedience by threats and curses, denouncing them "*as the Oracle*," whilst concealed within the walls, they failed not to allure them by the voluptuous gratifications which they enjoined—concerting with haughty and presumptuous Rulers, who, the better to carry into effect their ambitious projects, passed themselves off as *gods*, enforcing their authority by the most barbarous cruelties, at the same time pandering to the excited passions of their obsequious followers. From the mountains above the town, is a

fine view of the western desert, which bears marks of the tropical rains. Having laid in a stock of fresh milk, butter, and eggs, the only articles which could be obtained, and purchased some antique idols, and other objects of curiosity which the natives had collected, we again set sail, and after making a few tacks, soon felt the force of the current increase; and the Nile being low, we were carried with great velocity by the rapids through the "gates of Nubia." It is true that, above Es-Souan, the traveller finds a people differing in all respects from the Egyptians, and that he considers himself in Nubia as soon as he reaches Philoe: nevertheless, the term just mentioned reminds us of the olden time, when there is reason to believe that Kalabshieh, or "Talmis," was the *Capital* of Nubia, extending probably more or less on both sides of the river, to the present "*Taphis*," where there are some extensive sand-stone quarries, and two small dilapidated temples, with square piles of masonry, which look like temples just commencing:—there are also traces of buildings a short distance from the opposite shores. The scenery of this district is very bold and romantic: the river winds for some distance between lofty granite and sand-stone rocks, presenting a great contrast with the generally flat shores of Egypt. The inhabitants of Taphis are, if possible, more abject than those at Kalabshieh: they live in holes and corners among the ruins,—men, women, and children huddled together in a state of nudity, and are very fierce and fanatic:—they crowded around us for "backscheesh," and expressed their astonishment that Christians should presume to come and look at the ruins *without their permission:* they were armed with spears and swords, and were disposed to be very trou-

blesome, until they discovered that our crew were Nubians; for as we approached the frontier, the jealous spirit peculiar to all "Borderers," seemed to increase; they followed us wherever we went, spoke in terms of contempt of Mohammed Ali, and very little would have produced an open rupture. We now entered upon the district of Gartaas or Kardassêh, which extends a few miles along the western banks, and is distinguished by several scattered temples, marking the position of former settlements, now obliterated by the sand: we may suppose that each town had its temple: a great work was evidently going on when the country was invaded: there were several sacred edifices in progress, and if they had been completed, this would have become a city of temples and palaces. The chief of those which remain, is an elegant little ruin with eight columns, the two in front having Isis Quadrifrons capitals, the others Lotus capitals, and they form with the distant mountains and serpentine river as seen between them, a pleasing and truly picturesque landscape. About a mile to the south, is a square wall enclosing an area of 150 paces, and the foundation of a large building, for which perhaps the two granite obelisques and the sarcophagus which we saw at Es-Souan and Elephantina, may have been preparing:—there are mummy pits in the neighbourhood, and sand-stone quarries, with inscriptions; and here again, it is remarkable how much the sand has encroached, as if to complete what the hand of the destroyer had spared. To shew in what estimation this district must have been held by the ancient Egyptian Hierarchy, at Deboodj, only a few miles further, on the same side, a magnificent temple was commenced on the plan of that at Kalabshieh. A long

narrow mole, consisting of granite piers, marks the approach to the building: there are three Propyli at equal distances, the large stone over the gateways being yet *uncarved.* The temple contains several apartments, two monolithic chapels, and a granite sarcophagus, seven feet long and two broad: there are dark passages, and other mysterious contrivances, as if designed for secret communication with remote parts, and one passage is not more than two feet and a half high: the upper rooms have been destroyed. The front of the Pronaos has four round columns with mural skreens: some of the chambers are covered with hieroglyphics, others are plain, and the most interesting delineations are those in which Harpocrates, *the child of grief and lamentation*, supposed to have been born of Isis, after her husband's death, holds his finger to his lips, enjoining *silence.* Another group represents the consecration of a King: His Majesty is standing between two priests, who are pouring out of a vase on either side of him, and he has a helmet on his head, as if ready for battle: then, close by, the Hero is represented offering incense to *Aroeris Hierax* —whilst in another place, Isis is seen in an erect posture, with a star over her head. Are we to infer from these symbols that Isis invoked the deity to punish Typhon for murdering Osiris, and called upon his successor to avenge his death? The district having witnessed the goddess's grief, this temple may have been designed to record the fact. The perspective of the Nile, as seen through the gateways of the three Propyli, with the hills beyond, is very fine, and we lingered some time on the spot. We met with a more favourable reception here than we did at Taphis: the people seemed good-humoured, and the women

were tolerably handsome. From this place we were obliged to row all the way to Philoe, where we arrived, after a hard day's work, an hour before midnight, thus completing our travels in the "*Land of Roses.*" I must do our Nubian boatmen the justice to say that they behaved extremely well; and, whether it was the fear of being bastinadoed on their arrival, or the hope of receiving a large *backscheesh*, they gave us no further trouble:—in order therefore, to let them see that we had forgotten, and were ready to forgive, we made them a present of a sheep, which was the more acceptable, being *unexpected.*

According to Pliny, there were four islands known by the name of Philoe; and this term was applied to the whole inclusively. There is no island of any consequence to be seen now-a-days, except this, which is covered with interesting remains referable to various periods. At the S. W. corner, which commands a view up the river, and which we last see on leaving for the interior, there is a wall 120 feet high, connecting the extremities of two others, which run along the edge of the cliff, enclosing the great temple of Isis, which, though very beautiful, is irregular in composition, and bears marks of having been enlarged at different times; and some parts were never finished at all: the entire structure measures 435 feet by 105: it is approached by a long, narrow court, having formerly six round columns with palm, doum, and Isis Quadrifrons capitals on each side, and four at each end: those of one side only now remain: they are supported by mural skreens, which with the shafts, are enriched with hieroglyphics. Passing under a gateway, we enter a similar porch, where are fragments of another row of columns, and on the verge of the river, a small

sand-stone obelisk, from which I copied the following inscription: it records an offering made by one of the Ptolemies to the goddess Isis and the co-templar divinities.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
ΘΕΟΥ ΝΕΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ
ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΕΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑ
ΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ
ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΜΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΗ ΚΥ
ΡΙΑ ΙΣΙΔΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΝΑΟΙΣ ΘΕ
ΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΑΓΗΣΙ ΦΩΝΤΟΣ
ΑΧΑΙΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΠΑΤΡΩΝ ΠΕΠΟΙ.

There was a granite obelisk also, covered with hieroglyphics, which Mr. Belzoni sent to the British Museum. From this point, a magnificent portico of round columns, with doum, palm, and lotus capitals, (thirty of which only remain,) extends 240 feet along the western side of the island. It was variously sculptured, and a female is still to be seen playing a harp with nine strings. There is a window between every two pillars, and about the middle, a flight of steps leading down to the water. This is the covered way called by the Nubians "*Kassaba de Kakeen*," an arcade of shops:*—there is a similar avenue on the other side, but of more recent date, having never been completed: its chambers remain entire, but the roof and all the columns except sixteen, have been thrown down, and the intervening space is filled with their ruins, and the debris of Nubian huts. The chief Propylon has two pyramidal towers, 120 feet high,

* It has been the practice of Oriental nations for many ages, to buy and sell in the avenues leading to their temples; and being at last adopted by the Jews, our Saviour severely reprimanded them for their impiety. See Matth. xxi. 12; John ii. 14.

containing several chambers. The gateway is inclosed in a frame-work of hieroglyphics, and on each side, there is carved a colossal figure of Isis, with the globe and encircling horns upon her head: she is also associated with Aroeris, receiving homage, whilst in another compartment, thirty victims are being sacrificed in honour of her—the hawk hovering over the uplifted weapon in token of Divine approbation.* The Dromos, which is about eighty feet square, has elegant colonnades, with Lotus and Isis Quadrifrons capitals, and mural skreens: on the western side of it, is a building like a Greek peripteral temple, which the Nubians call "*Bait-el-Houssan*," "the house for the horses:" it has three dark chambers, and leads on to a terrace, where there is another colonnade. Passing under a second Propylon, we enter the Pronaos, which is very rich in hieroglyphics, and the colours are most beautiful—those of the columns particularly—the capitals representing alternately palm branches and lotus leaves: the ceiling of the centre aisle is ornamented with carvings of the vulture, globe, and winged serpent: that of the side aisles is painted blue, and studded with stars. In the delineations, Isis and the Hawk-headed deity, with the *Key of the Nile*, accompany one another throughout. The body of the temple contains eleven chambers on the ground-floor—supposed to be very ancient: they are dark, and soiled by

* Here are several Latin and Greek inscriptions in honour of Isis—and one by Theodorus, a more recent *Bishop* of the district, dedicating the temple to the "only true God, and His Son Jesus Christ." In front of the principal entrance, are the remains of two Sphinxes, and beneath the arch, the names of several distinguished travellers, together with a sculptured memorial of the progress of the French army in 1799, and of the astronomical observations made by their academicians, who ascertained the *longitude* to be "Depuis Paris, 30° 16′ 22″—and the *Latitude Boreale*, 34° 3′ 45″." According to Dr. Richardson, Philoe is situated in *Latitude* 24° 1′ 28″ N.—*Longitude* 32° 54′ 16″ E.

the bats: they are covered with hieroglyphics, and one of them contains two monolithic granite recesses, evidently wrought with great care; and considerable pains have been taken to preserve them from the common gaze: it is conceived that these chambers relate to a more antiquated species of idolatry than the temple generally: they deserve particular attention, and might escape notice, unless the sun's rays happened to be directed well on a small opening in the ceiling, which is the only source of light:—may they not have had some reference to the sun's course in the Heavens?*

In another chamber, there is a deep pit filled with rubbish; and near it, a groove to receive the stone which covered it. The upper apartments are also very elegant, being richly sculptured in symbolic characters, here, as everywhere else, *in praise of Isis*. A few paces to the east of the great temple, is a handsome, square, but roofless, and comparatively *modern* building, with four columns in front, and two on each side of the door; and the sides have each five columns with intermediate skreens. Another door opens upon a terrace eighty feet above the river, near which, on the right, is a pile of masonry like a shrine: it is difficult to say what it has been, and perhaps it is this which has given rise to the idea of this edifice being the *royal mausoleum!* The Nubians call it "*Sereer*

* Their paintings are most beautifully executed: the colouring is exquisite. I remarked one figure of a female with her hair platted into a great many cords, which are allowed to hang down nearly to the shoulders, the remainder being placed on the crown. In the ΣΕΚΟΣ there is a representation of the Ethiopian hawk, which Strabo leads us to suppose was the object of worship before Isis and Osiris were deified; and Dr. Richardson considers that the Pronaos, the Propylon, and other parts have been added to the Sanctuary in comparatively *modern* times. In one of the columns a stone appears with the hieroglyphics *inverted*, and some portions are not carved at all.

Pharaon," the Sovereign's bed; and an ancient legend informs us that the most sacred oath among the Thebans was—"*by Osiris in Philoe!*" More to the north, is a tower, crowning a flight of broken steps, which have formed the principal landing-place. I have already described the situation of Philoe: the distant scenery, as viewed from the top of the great temple, renders this spot one of the most impressive and picturesque that the traveller can meet with. Near at hand, the desert is strewed with rising masses of variegated rocks, a continuation of those which form the Cataracts, and among them, the grotesque looking granite throne already described: on an eminence to the left, are the ruins of a small temple, and the walls of a dilapidated fort. On descending to the lower chambers, we passed some singular-looking cells, which, from their situation and form, one can only suppose to have been prisons,—dungeons of the worst description, such as I have seen in ancient fortresses, and I could not help thinking that they must have been used during the dark ages, to shut up the wretched victims of fanaticism, for crimes imaginary or real, for a limited period or for life.*

The limits of this work do not admit of anything like a description of the antiquities. I can but allude to the most prominent objects *en passant*. It will easily be conceived that the sacred edifices of Philoe which were peculiarly dedicated to Isis, surpassed every other in magnificence; and notwithstanding the

* Some of them are too contracted to admit of either the horizontal or erect posture; and on the top of the steps, on the right hand, I remarked two curious dark *closets* fourteen inches square, having two doors of a single stone each, with two holes at the top, and two at the bottom for the fastenings; one has a hole, with a small gutter in the flooring also. To what purpose these can have been applied, it is not easy to divine. Everything is *cabalistic and mystical!*

attempts that have been made to sweep them from the eye of man, we are astounded as we proceed through the various avenues, courts, and sculptured aisles, at the elaborate and beautiful workmanship which presents itself at every step. The delineations are similar to those which we behold in the other temples; but they are here chiefly in honour of the goddess, who is associated with her partner Osiris, and the tutelar deity Aroeris. The globe and winged serpent and the royal vulture adorn the gateways and ceilings: the other objects of worship with their appropriate emblems, are depicted upon the walls, and their respective histories are written in mystical characters upon a thousand elegant columns, bearing intaglio figures, and capitals of papyrus, doum, and palm leaves, of a rich green colour, alternating with others of the lotus-bud and flower, and the amiable and lovely countenance of Isis, four times repeated. The colouring is of the most chaste description, and the whole is accompanied with hieroglyphics, which, if they could all be made out, would furnish us doubtless with a full account of the Egyptian Mythology. Whilst contemplating these melancholy chambers, we cannot but regret that so much time and labour should have been bestowed on such worthless objects; and that a talented people should have been so long kept in Pagan darkness: but the feelings are still more shocked when reminded by the obscene, cruel, and presumptuous representations which the walls exhibit, of the superstitious and diabolical rites which a set of cunning and profane individuals imposed upon the credulous, in order to gratify their own sordid and gross propensities. When we think of these things, and remember that the Rulers of other nations were led to adopt their abominations,

we can only conclude that they must have been actuated by congenial feelings, and that veneration for the "Divine Author of all good," whom they also *professed* to worship, (though "like the men of Athens," under the title of the "*unknown God*"*)—had really no place in their heart; and we cease to wonder that the terrible judgments of the Almighty should be denounced against them.

It is difficult to describe the sensation which we experience when, pondering such things among the solemn aisles of Philoe, we casually look up and behold the silvery rays of the moon falling upon the placid, well turned features of Isis, smiling affectionately upon us wheresoever we go. I have gazed upon them until they almost seemed to speak to me, and I have been surprised at myself to think that any inanimate objects could exercise such influence over me. It is partly the effect of climate, the firmament being of the purest azure, and studded with myriads of heavenly bodies, and I could quite enter into the feelings of an imaginative people, who, having no fixed principles to guide them, were excited to the adoration of the sun and moon and planets, as emblems of Creative Nature.

When we announced to the Captain of the Cataracts that it was our intention to accompany him down the falls to Es-Souan, he swore by his head, and the beard of his father, that it was *impossible*. He said he was "responsible to the Pascha for our lives" (which is quite true, and he also pays a *tax* for the *privilege*). But we were bent on the experiment, and he was obliged to comply. In the months of April and May, the danger, as he represented, is considerable, the

* Acts xvii. 22 and 23.

water being low, the rocks numerous, and the passage through which the cand'gia has to pass, contracted to eight or ten yards. In descending in the ordinary way, all depends on manual labour, absolute strength, and the condition of the ropes: the boat is for the most part, lowered gently, stern foremost, by *hausers* attached to the rocks; and if these slip, or fire, the safety of all on board is compromised.* The Nubians are bred to the water from infancy: any of them will swim down the cataracts for "*backscheesh*," and we see little urchins of eight and ten years rowing boats on the verge of the rapids, and singing the native boat-songs, as merrily as their seniors; and the common way of crossing the stream, or of going from one inhabited islet to another, is floating upon a thin plank. We started in the morning, rowing six oars, and soon felt the force of the current, although three miles from the first break. After passing a few cultivated spots, the stream became circumscribed, the roaring of the waters was distinctly heard, and we hauled-to for the Captain of the Cataracts, his son, and six men, who were waiting on a sandy slope among the jungle. One of them, a venerable old coxswain, took the helm. We went away at a slashing pace, two men to each oar, and in order to avoid the sunken rocks, kept the middle of the stream. The current evidently encreased: I was aware that we were going fast, but had no idea that we were proceeding with such amazing rapidity, although propelled by the nervous arms of twelve well-formed, powerful Nubians; and when I fancied myself half way, I found by the people col-

* A short time previously, Ibrahim Pascha was upset, and lost a great deal of his property here: and it is seldom that a boat passes the Cataract without sustaining some damage; so much is this the case, that a cand'gia which is known to have been to Nubia, is always deteriorated.

lected on the rocks, that we were close upon the fall. The interest became intense: all were on the alert; and in a few moments, rounding a small island, the men, keeping time to their oars, pulled us lustily into a narrow bay and still water. A scene of great activity and bustle now ensued. About a dozen men jumped into the boat, enough one would have thought, to *swamp* her; for we already mustered twenty-four: as many climbed over the heights with a hauser to the summit of an overhanging cliff, whilst another, taking a rope's end between his teeth, to my surprise, plunged into the stream, and swam with it down the fall, to the opposite side, where he made it fast to a point of rock. For some moments he was lost to view, and was carried to a considerable distance, but when he rose, he seemed to have no difficulty in stemming the torrent and regaining the shore. We then pushed off;—our little bark, encumbered as she was, instantly felt the buoyant current;—the hauser, which was coiled round the main-mast, being gradually slackened, was allowed to run out in proportion to the velocity of the stream, at the same time keeping a check upon it, so as to haul in at the proper time; and in this way, we were carried over the first fall, *stern foremost*. The impetus was so considerable, that in order to prevent our being carried too far, and with a view of swinging the cand'gia round into smooth water, clear of the counter-current, a sudden check was given to our course, which threw such a strain upon the hauser, that it caught against the sharp edge of a rock, and—*snapped!* The boat instantly drifted in the curling eddies, and was in danger of being carried with her broad-side over the second fall: but with the rapidity of lightning, the

men put out their oars, and providentially catching hold of a rope that was thrown them from the land, succeeded in bringing us under the shelter of a projecting rock. The Captain of the Cataracts now resolved on descending the other falls *without ropes*, at all times a dangerous experiment, and not knowing what the result might be, I gave my little protegé a large stool which we had occasionally used as a table, binding it to his arm by a cord, with instructions to try and keep fast hold of it, if he should fall into the water. We started again, and before we had time to think upon our situation, we were borne aloft on the edge of the fall, and precipitated into the boiling cauldron beneath:—the boat rocked considerably, but she did not ship any water; and we were soon hurried far from the scene of our alarm, into the midst of the broad and smooth, but swiftly gliding stream: we then breathed freely, and considered all our danger past; our satisfaction, however, was only momentary; for an irresistible current appeared to be carrying us towards a large, bold rock, on our larboard bow, about twenty boats' length off, which reared its head three or four feet above the surface of the river. The Captain of the Cataracts, who was sitting "à la Turque," down by our cabin door, sprung up with evident alarm, and told the helmsman, who was with his son on the roof of the cabin, to *put the tiller to the "larboard,"* and halloo'd to the rowers to *pull for their lives.* They all obeyed; but although the direction of the bow was altered, the boat was being carried in the same course, and with the same fearful speed. We had now lessened the distance to about ten boats' length; the Captain of the Cataracts uttered the most dreadful imprecations, and tore off his turban:—the rowers

leant upon their oars, as if the magnitude and proximity of the danger had deprived them of all power:—the Reis of the boat stood on the bow with his hands clasped—his eyes almost starting from his head—his nether lip nearly severed by the force of his clenched teeth—and his cheeks pale as death—looking the very personification of *Despair:* the Captain of the Cataracts jumping up and down, as if treading on a plate of heated metal, commanded and entreated almost in the same breath, that the oars-men would renew their efforts—when he perceived that the bow of the boat took its original direction: he instantly turned round, and finding that the old man had *altered the tiller*, his countenance became wild beyond description: he was speechless from fear and rage: he beat his head, tore his clothes, and threw his body into all kinds of contortions: his son attempted to wrest the *tiller* from the old man's grasp, but in vain:—the crew were awaiting in breathless and open-mouthed anxiety—the *catastrophe!* Mohammed was crying: the Greek was crossing himself and praying: little Ali was clinging to me and his stool, *because I told him to do so:* the boat being within ten or fifteen paces of the rock, and running for it with the most agonizing precision: still the old helmsman looked calm and indifferent, and squatted on his haunches with his pipe in his mouth, as if nothing was the matter. Our own feelings, although we did not lose our presence of mind, were perhaps as intense as those of others: we were fully alive to every particular of our situation, with the thorough conviction that the boat would be dashed to pieces, and with little chance of escape. Bradford was a tolerable swimmer: our friends could swim a little; and I not sufficiently to hope to do more than

prolong, for a few moments, the horrors of drowning! Yet the cand'gia was dashing onwards, lessening every instant, as we thought, the span of our existence! What dark and dreary moments were those! How many hours of bitterness seemed concentrated there! We drew nearer and nearer!—at last, she struck! The force of the concussion threw us all upon our faces; and many in the middle of the boat were huddled together two and three deep! On recovering from the shock, we found that four of the crew had jumped overboard, and were holding on the bow of the cand'gia to let the current carry her round: they then leaped on board, and we went away stern foremost, in an extasy of delight, having sustained no further damage than the starting of a few planks. It was evident that we owed our lives to the coolness and judgment of the old helmsman:—the boats on the Nile are built with a very strong prow of solid timber, which projects horizontally two or three feet from the boat; and it was by running this on the rock that we escaped destruction. Had we done as the Captain of the Cataracts wished, we should have come *broadside on*, and assuredly foundered! The happy termination of this anticipated Finale of Life's Drama set all tongues in motion. The Captain of the Cataracts, his son, and the helmsman, began to accuse and abuse each other: the Nubians to laugh and chatter like so many monkeys; and the Reis of the boat and the crew to bewail the injury done to their property. The confusion reached such a height, that we were nearly paying most severely for it—the boat, from their inattention, being hurried along towards a reef of rocks level with the water;—happily we saw it in time to prevent an upset; and by great exertion, the boat was

hauled so far a-head as merely to scrape the rocks, with about a foot of the after-keel, which made her roll a little, and ship some water. Beyond this point the river began to widen, and we landed our supernumeraries: we afterwards caught a glimpse of some sunken rocks, but the cand'gia being lightened, the current carried us swiftly over them towards the well-known granite towers of Elephantina, and we met with no further impediment.*

* The charge made by the captain of the port for taking the cand'gia up the cataract, against the torrent, was *six* dollars. On our return, he brought us down the Falls, for *four* dollars.

CHAPTER XIII.

DESCENT OF THE NILE FROM ES-SOUAN TO GRAND CAIRO—KOOM OMBOS—THE INSIGNIA OF ROYALTY—ANIMAL WORSHIP—THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO—THE GODDESS BUTO—SECOND VISIT TO THEBES, DENDERA, AND THE PYRAMIDS, ETC.

We found the town of Es-Souan in a state of great excitement, in consequence of a fatal affray which had just taken place. A boy having stolen some meat, the man who had been robbed seized him violently by the throat, in order, as was supposed, to strangle him: on which the youth, who was only ten years of age, plunged his knife into his opponent's abdomen, and made for the mountains. The unfortunate man died in a few minutes, and when we arrived was being carried away: the people were disputing loudly: some justified the act, and seemed inclined to favour the boy's escape, whilst others went in pursuit of him: how the *law* would decide in such a case, I could not learn; but the Nubians say always "blood for blood, an eye for an eye,"—nothing short of an equivalent—and if the offender escape, the next of kin must pay the penalty:—the boy had not been taken when we left. Returning to the river, we saw some tame ostriches running about, pursued by the little naked urchins of the place: they looked very ragged, all the

feathers that were worth anything having been *plucked out!* When at last they enticed one of the creatures near enough, one of them, with amazing agility, vaulted upon his back: the bird instantly started off at a rapid pace, flapping his wings as he went: but the youngster kept his hold, and had a capital ride. There is no animal, I believe, that evinces less sagacity than the ostrich, yet its physical powers are very remarkable: it is very fleet, and will outstrip the swiftest Arabian courser: its powers of vision are wonderful, and the eye of the ostrich is one of the most beautiful objects in nature; yet with all these advantages,

> "While far she flies, her scattered eggs are found,
> Without an owner, on the sandy ground;
> Cast out on Fortune, they at mercy lie,
> And borrow light from an indulgent sky;
> Adopted by the sun in blaze of day,
> They ripen under his prolific ray.
> Unmindful she, that some unhappy tread
> May crush her young in their neglected bed,
> What time she skims along the field with speed,
> And scorns the rider and pursuing steed."—YOUNG.

Our friends found everything safe and in tolerable order on board their cand'gia, except that the *Reis* and his companions had occupied the cabin during their absence, rendering a little purification necessary before they could venture to take possession. In the mean time, we explored the ruins of the old town, revisited the quarries, and the beautiful little islands in the neighbourhood of the falls, which have deservedly been entitled "Tropical Gardens:" we then strolled among the rocks, and passed over to Elephantina, to take our farewell view of "the flowery island" as it is

The ancient inhabitants of Syene worshipped the "*Phagrus*," a species of fish caught in the Nile, which they believed *fed* upon the lost members of Osiris. See Pritchard's Mythology, p. 61, 327; and Strabo.

called—*Djeziret-el-Zahir*, or *Ghazirah-el-Sag*. We saw numerous writings upon the polished granite, on both sides of the river, in Greek and Roman characters, some of which were not easy to decipher; and there were large quantities of compact red earthenware, unlike any that is manufactured in the present day. Mohammed, the camel-driver, failed not to remind us of our promise to inspect his *antiques*. We purchased some Nubian spears, and a few other articles, and then very reluctantly prepared to quit this interesting country. Our first halt was at Koom Ombos, where we witnessed a desperate fight between one of "Pharaoh's Chickens" * and a couple of hawks. They were at a considerable height, and the conflict was severe; but they separated at last, apparently by mutual consent. This is one of the places at which the Hero of the day was worshipped under the type of the crocodile, who was to all *an object of terror:* the same custom prevails still at Ahanta, on the Gold Coast, and it was evidently alluded to by Ezekiel.†

* This is the celebrated Egyptian Vulture, the *Neophron percnopterus:* according to Bruce, the "Rachamah" of Scripture. It is rather larger than a raven; the neck and cheeks are bare, the plumage white, except the large quill feathers, which are black: the bill is slender and straight, abruptly hooked at the tip, and the eyes are dark. It has enormous wings for its size, and is most voracious, feeding on all kinds of filth, and aiding the "Pariah" dogs, wolves, and jackals, in cleansing the precincts of towns. It has always been regarded as a useful animal: the moderns never molest it, the ancients deified it; hence it received the name of "Pharaoh's Chicken." It breeds in the clefts of rocks, soars with great buoyancy, and is a constant attendant upon caravans. It is inconceivable at what a distance these creatures will descry their prey, or scent a dead carcase in the wilderness: they then gorge themselves to repletion, and are easily captured; otherwise they seldom come within gun-shot. Wherever there is any carrion, they assemble in great numbers, and with amazing rapidity, evidently from remote regions, accompanied by hyænas, kites, ravens, and buzzards. See the accounts of Audubon, Le Vaillant, and Waterton.

† Ezek. xxix. 3.—According to the best Authorities, the old Coptic word "*ouro*" meant the "reigning Power," and with the masculine article prefixed, *phouro*, "king." The hieroglyphic for "*ouro*" was a *dragon*. (See Isaiah

The temple of *Sevek-ra*, at Ombos, is a magnificent structure, and presents some peculiarities. It faces the west, whereas most temples are *said* to face the east: but this is not strictly true: it has two entrances and two sanctuaries. A strong and lofty building on the verge of the river, considerably in advance of the Pronaos, answers to the Propylon: it is covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics. At the opposite corner, also on the edge of the cliff, stands a small temple dedicated particularly to Isis, having Isis-headed columns, and corresponding delineations. In the centre, between these two, the portico of the great temple appears, presenting a noble façade of eighty-three feet, with five beautiful columns, supporting a massive entablature, with the usual emblems, and strengthened, apparently, by mural screens. Within are four spacious aisles, formed by pillars three deep, richly carved, and bearing palm-branch and lōtus capitals: they are thirty feet high, and those at the sides measure twenty feet in circumference. The roof is nearly all gone. Contrary to the general plan, there is a door leading into apartments at the end of each aisle; these are nearly filled with sand and large

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xxvii. 1; li. 9.) The dragon, *than*, was a fabulous lizard, and the *levi-than*, or jointed dragon, was the crocodile. Judging from the devices which we see on Greek and Roman coins, the ancient symbol of sovereignty in Egypt was the *crocodile*. The basilisk or asp was also called "*ouro*," and in like manner, the basilisk was also an *emblem of Royalty*. The crocodile was invariably treated with great honour; and according to Herodotus was not only embalmed when dead, but petted, pampered, and *ornamented*, whilst living. Even in the present day, the Berber Arabs and Nubians regard this animal with a degree of superstitious veneration, eating the flesh and fat as a remedy for various complaints, but especially fever, and giving a great price for the four musk glands, which they use as an ointment. In more senses than one, therefore, it may in truth be said,

"The crawling crocodiles, beneath that move,
Arrest, with rising jaw, the tribes above!"—DARWIN.

stones, some of which are upwards of twenty feet long, by six feet ten, and four feet nine. Near the right-hand door, over something like a shrine, is the following inscription in honour of Aröeris-Apollo and his *divine* associates.

ΥΠΕΡ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ Β
ΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΔΕ
ΛΦΗΣ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΑΡΟΗΡΕΙ ΘΕΩι ΜΕΓΑ
ΛΩι—ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΚΑΠΟΣ ΣΥΝΝΑΟΙΣ ΘΕ
ΟΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΣΗΚΟΝ ΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΩι ΟΜΒΙΤΗ ΤΑΣΣΟΜ
ΕΝΟΙ ΠΕΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΙΠΠΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΑΛΛΟΙ ΕΥΝ
ΟΙΑΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΙΤ ¯ΙΣΑΥΤΟΥΣ ——

The entire building extends 120 feet; and at the south-west corner, the bases of some huge columns indicate the site of some other important edifice. The whole of the interior is richly sculptured in honour of Isis, Osiris, and Aröeris. Among other symbols, we see the hawk, the ibis, the sphinx, the owl, with a cap on his head, the monkey, the pig, the *key of the Nile*, the sacred *tau* and scourge, the lotus, the globe, and on the right of the right centre aisle, over the third column, an animal resembling the *beaver*, (though intended for a crocodile, I believe,) upon a stool or altar, in front of the globe and serpent. The posterior part of the temple opens upon a wide extended plain, which, we are told, was formerly well cultivated: the view is still fine, and the low mountains in the distance, gilded by the setting sun, greatly enhance the beauty of the scenery.

Although Osiris was represented here by the crocodile, the "*King of the river*" does not so often occur on the walls as the serpent, the hawk, and other symbols. Inclosed by the boundary wall is a court

where it is imagined the sacred crocodile was kept, and delicately fed, as at Mœris; and there is an unusually large tank there for the reptile to bathe in, so contrived that the people might behold him in safety from above. There is reason also to fear that, occasionally, human beings were sacrificed by the Ombite priests when their favorite Hero had been defeated, or when any national calamity had occurred, in order to appease the supposed wrath of this, the dreaded representative of cruelty and vice. It is an awful thing to contemplate; but we know that the Mexicans and other barbarous people did, and many do still, not only worship the serpent, and such hideous creatures, but immolate human beings before them, under precisely similar circumstances. During the dark ages, it is difficult to say which were most feared, the reigning *demi-gods*, or the monsters by which they were represented. In Egypt, the people of different districts even disputed concerning their respective merits. To this day, although animal worship is held in abhorrence by all, a great deal of animosity, almost amounting to a feud, prevails between the Ombites and the natives of Dendera, and for which neither one nor the other, if asked, could probably assign a reason.

The following morning we visited the Caverns of Silsilis: the people were disposed to be a little uncivil at first; but hearing that one of the party was a Hh'akkim, they altered their tone, and solicited *charms*, whereupon, I gave them some *bread pills*, with instructions to take care of them, and if at any time they should be ill, and no Hh'akkim there to help them, to take one every *third* day, with a spoonful of "*Kharwah*," castor oil, for *three* times, avoiding the extreme heat of the sun, and the heavy dew of the night; that

if they would do this, and wash themselves in the river, "'*Insch'allah*,' (God willing,) they would get well! But," I added, "as these *life-preservers* were given by a stranger, they must always be kind to strangers, otherwise the charm would *fail;* for that the Prophet enjoined *hospitality!*" This simple device satisfied them, and called forth many expressions of gratitude to Allah and the Prophet. On regaining the cand'gia, we found that a very infirm old man, who had been blind many years, had been led down for me to "lay my hands on him." In vain I represented, that as he had been blind so long, it was clear that God did not choose that his sight should be restored: in vain I argued that the Great Spirit did not enable me to make him whole—*I must do something:* and the poor creatures became so importunate, that at last, stepping into the cabin, I wrapped up a piastre in a piece of paper, and placing it in the hand of the blind man, desired him not to let the packet be opened until he reached home, and then to—bless God, and be content. The next moment, we loosed from our moorings, and departed. We soon became conscious of the increasing current: the waters were ruffled as they forced their way through the narrow craggy pass, and the wind was, as usual, gusty and strong, so we lowered all sail; and being fairly embarked on the rapids, passed the "Rock of the Chain" without impediment, and skirting three large islands arrived at Edfoo. The aspect of the modern town is that of filth and wretchedness: every avenue obstructed with rubbish, and the approach to the famous temple of Apollo encumbered with hovels and heaps of sand. On each side of the gateway are two noble towers, rising to the height of 110 feet, with colossal figures

sculptured on the walls, representing Isis and Aröeris receiving homage; and the sacrifice of ten human beings at once, the hawk hovering over the uplifted hatchet. There are four windows, and nine openings in each tower, for the discharge of arrows. The walls of the Dromos are rich in symbolic representations, and the court is adorned with a peristyle of twelve circular columns, besides five on each side of the gateway: they support doum and lotus capitals, and are covered with hieroglyphics: six more, on the fourth side, form a part of the main front of the temple, and the aisles of the Pronaos, the central portion of which is roofless; the other portions are covered with Egyptian huts, and it is only by a hole in the roof that an entrance can be gained at all to any part of the inner chambers; for they are entirely obstructed by stones and sand. This is unquestionably one of the most magnificent buildings in Egypt; extraordinary pains have been bestowed upon it, and the decorations have sustained comparatively little injury. The delineations upon the walls are of the first character, and we seem to be introduced to *all the gods at once!* It is much to be regretted that the rest of this stupendous edifice cannot be exposed to view. Even the outer walls are sculptured. Isis is drawn with her hair dressed after the manner of the Berber Arabs, and the priest before her is also a representative of that nation. We see Harpocrates, the hawk, the ram, the ibis, the horse, and the pig; and the entire building covers a space not less than 440 feet by 220. A little more to the west, is a small temple dedicated to Isis, *as the goddess of life and increase;* she is represented suckling the boy Horus, and receiving homage from women with children in their arms, as if in gratitude for having, by

her influence, become mothers: this arrangement, therefore, is very similar to that at Dendera. We purchased several interesting antiques here, especially green-stone scarabæi and a small granite Sphinx. The view from the top of the Propylon is very fine.

We landed to take another view of the grottoes of Eilithyias, and then proceeded to Esnèh, which is only a few miles distant. At an early hour the next morning, the quay was crowded, as on a former occasion, by a great variety of people, and among them, bare-footed damsels with large water-jugs upon their heads, returning from the river: troops of mangy curs, beggars, and hucksters were passing to and fro, and others were lading a d'germ with earthenware. There is a great deal of business transacted at Esnèh in the course of the year, and it is not a little remarkable that the walls which once were held most sacred by the Egyptians should now, of all others, be applied by them to secular purposes: the voice of the goddess Buto is now no longer heard, her altars are profaned, her idols polluted, and her aisles crammed to the very roof with *merchandise*. The temple is very similar to that of Dendera, but smaller; it is situated in the middle of the town, and covered with modern buildings: the Pronaos is the only part to which access can be obtained, and very little is to be seen of that, as it is used as a warehouse; but there are six rows of sculptured circular columns with variegated capitals, and a ceiling richly and curiously wrought.* Many Coptic

* These are very beautiful: the palm-tree and lotus foliage are richly executed. On the walls the figures of Isis, Osiris, and Aroëris, the Crocodile, the Ibis, the Vulture, the Key, the Ram, and the Serpent, occur frequently: the Pig seems to have been a favourite also; and there are imaginary animals, and representations too obscene to be described. Harpocrates is introduced with his finger pointing to his lips, and a youth is depicted playing on an instrument with eight strings, before the goddess Buto or Bubastis, who wields the bird-

families once resided at Esnèh and Edfoo; but their numbers have gradually diminished, and it is seldom that any are to be met with beyond this point; their costume is very sombre, consisting of a long black robe, and turban to match.

The market at Esnèh is well supplied, consequently provisions are cheap: beef was about a penny a pound, butter three halfpence: other things in proportion. The Copts, like the Jews, are over-reaching and thrifty. Towards evening, the weather became extremely sultry: the wind set in from the desert, and the thermometer stood at 90° and 92°. As soon as the first rays of the morning began to tinge the summits of the eastern mountains, we took advantage of the gale which was still blowing fresh from the same quarter, and in a short time passed the ancient site of *Asphynis* (Asfoun) and the old mummy pits in the vicinity of two prominent mounds, which press upon the western banks. Here the wind dropped a little, but the atmosphere was oppressive, and to me truly obnoxious; for, having exposed myself imprudently to the hot breezes of the previous evening, I had been attacked with ophthalmia. This was a severe trial, as in Egypt the danger is always great, and no man can tell what the result may be. I have known persons who neglected themselves, lose their sight in three days. Fortunately, we were not far from Thebes, where we intended to remain, and I determined on

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headed staff. We see the many-winged Scarabæus rolling the mystic ball; and the Crocodile on a stool or throne as at Ombos: he has the globe and Uræus on his head, and is receiving homage. In another place, Buto stands in a supplicating attitude before the throne of Isis, as if interceding for mankind; and afterwards she is herself represented on a throne, holding out a bow and three arrows to a warrior, as if sending him forth to battle. But it is difficult to make out anything without tapers.

making myself a close prisoner until the disease subsided. But as in such a case, no time is to be lost, and whatever is to be done must be done *within the first few hours*, I took the matter in hand the moment I ascertained my condition; and by so doing, cut short the complaint. We reached our destination the same afternoon, and at the suggestion of Aboo Nom, left the cand'gias in charge of their respective crews, and setting our servants to work to clean out one of the ancient tombs, transferred our effects to the heights of Qh'ournah. Here I shut myself up for a week, *in the dark*, living on goat's milk and rice-water, which, aided by other more active means, effectually restored me to the world again.* The country was still in a disturbed state, and we took the precaution of mounting guard. The fever was raging, as at our first visit, and I went out earlier than I should otherwise have done, in consequence of repeated solicitations that I would again visit the sick. I found the wretched Thebans in a dreadful state: many deaths occurred in the surrounding districts every day, and according to the returns made to Mohammed Ali, as many as 17,000 persons died of the fever and dysentery, in the course of three months, in the scattered villages between Erment and Edfoo—a distance of about eighty miles.† When these maladies were at their height, there was not a single medical man to relieve them; and it may well be conceived that my arrival at

* During my residence in Egypt, I remarked that persons of a *sanguine* temperament, having light hair and a clear complexion, especially those who were of a constipated habit, were attacked with ophthalmia but escaped dysentery: whereas those who were of a more lax fibre, sallow complexion, and *bilious* temperament, often escaped ophthalmia, but were more prone to dysentery and fever.

† The returns made to the Pascha on such occasions are always greatly exaggerated. The mortality did probably not exceed 7000!

such a crisis was hailed with enthusiasm, accustomed as these people are to attribute all assistance in the hour of need to the merciful interposition of Allah and the Prophet. I visited numerous patients, and invariably found the huts filled with people, who assembled round the sick, regardless of consequences, from mistaken notions of kindness. The *type* or character of the disease was unchanged. It was a severe form of bilious-remittent fever, which is very fatal in the West Indies and other tropical climates. Many were beyond the reach of Art, and my interpreter hearing me say that certain patients were likely to die, (whether he was most alarmed for himself or for me, I know not,) advised me not to administer any medicine, as, if they did not survive, the friends would certainly attribute their dissolution to my interference. A very frequent source of fever in the East is the sudden destruction of a flight of locusts. These animals are a species of grasshopper, and belong to the class *Gryllus:* they are of a light brown, stone, or straw colour, and have four wings, tinged with blue, red, or green: they are very salacious: the female generally lays about forty eggs at a time, and deposits them on long grass or on sandy ground, where they remain through the winter, until April: a small worm is then generated by the heat, which is gradually converted into a perfect locust: they take their flight simultaneously, migrating where Nature guides them. Their greatest enemy is damp or rain; for when their wings are wet, they cannot fly: they devour everything that comes in their way, not only corn, but grass and herbs, and the leaves of trees, converting whole Provinces into a barren wilderness. It is difficult for those who have never seen a flight of locusts, to form

an idea of their numbers: they quite darken the air. Thevenôt says that in the region of the Dnieper, (and particularly that inhabited by the Kossaks,) in unusually dry seasons, clouds of them may be seen "fifteen miles long, and nine broad," and that wherever they settle, they devour the corn of the district, "in a single night!" They make a murmuring buzz or noise as they eat, and gorge until disabled: they are then often carried away by the wind, or killed by the rain: their bodies soon putrefy, and occasion pestilential diseases.

> "Locusts, oft a living cloud,
> Hover in the darken'd air;
> Like a torrent dashing loud,
> Bringing *famine* and *despair!*"—AIKIN.

The usual term of their existence is six months: they then make a hole in the earth with their tails, deposit their eggs, and die. The Moslems of Western Asia regard the visits of these animals as a judgment of Providence for the sins of men, and fancy that they can make out on their variegated surface, the words "*We are the destroying army of God!*" In Arabia and Libya, on the contrary, where there is nothing to destroy, they are looked upon as a *blessing*, and form an article of food, being pickled, or boiled, dried in the sun, and pounded; they were eaten by St. John in the wilderness; and to this day, are preserved by many of the Syrian tribes, and made into bread. Poultry of all sorts feed upon them, but they are said to render the eggs brown in the yolk: they also furnish food for lizards, hogs, foxes, and frogs; and a sudden tempest has been known to carry millions of them into the sea: their floating carcases then resemble *boiled shrimps;* and being washed on shore, send forth a

faint and nauseous odour, and impregnate the air with malignant effluvia.*

At Thebes, whenever it is blowing hard, insects of various kinds, but more especially scorpions, find their way into the houses, and the inhabitants seek them out to destroy them; they believe that they are blown by the wind, and the Arabic word "*tier*," signifying "to fly,"—when anything is thrown, or passes through the air, is employed by them; consequently, an idea has gone abroad that there are *flying scorpions* in Egypt: but no scorpion has ever been found with wings, either in ancient or modern times. In like manner, the serpents seek shelter from the wind, in the habitations of men, and a similar story has been circulated respecting *them;* but I may state on the authority of Mr. James Burton, who is perhaps the best source of information on all these subjects, (though I regret to say, he has not published,) that there is no such thing as a *flying serpent* in Egypt,—and moreover, that Mr. Madden laboured under a very singular mistake, in quoting that gentleman as authority for a fact which, he informs me, he never could have communicated to him or any one else. The site of the ancient city extends about three leagues along the river, which is often divided by sand islands, and upon the average, about 300 yards in width, varying considerably at different seasons. Crossing over to Loug'sor, El Aksor, or Luxor, (the Castles,) one of the ancient ports of the Thebaïd, we landed near the remains of

* We read that in the years 1747-8, England, France, and many other countries of Europe, were visited by these insects: but in these northern latitudes, they did comparatively little mischief, and the cold soon cut them off. But in the year 1693, two vast flights of locusts were observed in the counties of Merioneth and Pembroke, in Wales, where they made considerable depredations among the young wheat. See the Book of Joel; also Matth. iii. 4; Lev. xi. 22; Exod. x. 13.

an old Roman pier. The banks were strewed with Arab tents, mud huts, and conical pigeon-cotes, interspersed with mounds of sand, broken pottery, and coarse weeds, marking the approach to the ruins of a large temple, whose colonnades and towers we saw from the western shores. The river here makes a sudden bend to the eastward, and the boundary wall of the temple is washed by its waters. We were immediately surrounded by the natives, a meagre race of intolerant Moslems, who, like the mangy curs that prowl about the tottering walls, were very noisy, and watched our movements with eager and mistrustful looks. The Propylon consists of two lofty towers: on the front of one is a spirited delineation of Sesostris leading his troops to victory; and on the other, the same hero receiving the homage of his people. The interior can only be entered by a mosque, and by climbing over the parapets of unsightly habitations; for the stairs are broken away, and the base is surrounded by the accumulations of time. The view from the summit is extensive:—to the left, the river winds like the letter S, between the sand-stone hills of Erment and Aboo Kilgan: in the fore-ground, we see the ruins of Medinet Haboo, the Sitting Colossi, the Memnonium, and the Osirei, flanked by the heights of Qh'ournah, and the *western valley*, which leads to the Biban el Molook: to the east, the extensive remains of Karnak, bounded by a fine rich plain, and the mountains of Arabia in the distance: near at hand, in front of the Propyli, *were* two elegantly tapering Syenite obelisks,* one ninety-three feet six inches in

* These obelisks were very beautifully sculptured, with three lines of hieroglyphics, the centre one being deeper than the others, as if of an earlier date: it was also surmounted by the Hawk, denoting that they were dedicated to the *Sun*, and probably it was this that staid the destroying hand of the Persian In-

D.r Holt Yates del.

Printed by C. Bull mandel.

LUXOR.

From the Nile.

height, the other seventy-five feet, exquisitely cut and highly polished, together with several mutilated granite statues: of the latter, two of a large size, bearing the mitre-shaped cap, still retain their original position, one on each side of the gateway; the *Cartouche* of Sesostris (i. e. an oval enclosing his symbolic titles) appearing upon the shoulders, these figures are supposed to represent that Monarch, and it is imagined that the mitre or double cap denoted that he ruled over Upper and Lower Egypt; or—might it not signify that he was both *High Priest and King?* Passing under the Propylon, we enter a spacious quadrangle, with an elegant Portico of circular columns with lotus capitals, the shafts bearing various symbols, more especially the beetle, the vulture, and the hare. The columns of the second court are lofty, and support

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vader: for they were in a perfect state, until the French thought proper to remove one of them to Paris. I have already alluded to this subject in Vol. I. (p. 88 to 95;) and in confirmation of what I have there advanced, I may now subjoin the following, which has been published since the above was written. "*The Obelisks of Luxor.*—A fact interesting to the Antiquary has been elicited in taking out the *wooden* keys which closed a fissure in the base of the obelisk, to replace them with two other keys of *copper*. They were completely corroded by the action of the air and moisture, and there is every reason to believe that they were inserted when the obelisk was first put up at Thebes, and shows that 4000 years ago, the Egyptians were acquainted with the powerful means of uniting two pieces of wood now used, and called 'dove-tailing.'"—*Galignani.* Again, —the "*Temps*" of Nov. 24th, 1841, states that the fissure which runs from the base of the Obelisk of Luxor, on the south side, to about a third of its total height, *increases enormously.* All the material which was put into it for the purpose of stopping it, has fallen out, and the air and rain enter freely. Whether the increase of the fissure is to be attributed to the double action of the air and the rain, or to the obelisk not being placed quite upright upon its base of granite, is a question daily put, but without any solution being obtained. Whatever may be the cause, it is easy to predict that this monument will soon fall, if a remedy be not speedily applied!" Whereas, if it had been allowed to remain with its companion in Egypt, there is every reason to believe, from its appearance, that it might have stood 4000 years longer without injury—so much for the eagerness and enthusiasm of the French! The other obelisk belongs to us, but I hope never to see it in England.

budding-lotus capitals: like the preceding, it is roofless, and the avenues are obstructed with mounds of earth and huts. The Cross appearing there, we may presume that this portion of the building has been used as a Christian church: we remark a doorway at each end, which it is said, was stopped up by the Greeks; one of these led to a square chamber with four beautiful pillars, the shafts of which resembled bundles of lotus-reeds bound together in the centre; there is also a representation of the Ark being carried in procession, and of offerings made to Priapus. Having traversed two other equally beautiful Halls, we arrive at the Sanctuary and its ante-chambers, which are now converted into stalls for cattle, or left to the serpents, scorpions, and bats. The buildings terminate abruptly at the water-side, and one wall projects into the river, as if a part of the temple had been washed away. The distance between Luxor and Karnak is about two miles; and formerly, the communication was made by a street or avenue of couchant Sphinxes. I say *formerly*, for although the greater part of these statues still remain, the first two-thirds of them are concealed by dust, crumbling, sun-burnt bricks, and decayed vegetable matter, affording nourishment to tufts of rough grass, and weeds, and rushes: the other third of the way is comparatively clear, and we pass between two rows of what are termed *Cryo-Sphinxes*—i. e. figures with a ram's head, and the body of a lion. This remarkable causeway is about sixty feet wide, and the Sphinxes, which are of common sand-stone, are arranged at equal distances of twelve feet, and face their opposite neighbours, holding between the paws an Osiris mummy idol of the same material, in the erect posture, with

the arms crossed on the breast, and the sacred *tau* in each hand; and there is a row of hieroglyphics down the front. Some of these are now overshadowed by palms, and between them and the Nile, the Pascha has erected an indigo manufactory: the avenue having given off a branch at right angles, towards the east, terminates in a Dromos of sixty Sphinxes, similarly arranged, and leading to a fine granite gateway, in front of a temple of Bocchoris or Sihor, and dedicated to Isis. The branch avenue joins another, parallel with that last mentioned, and like it, consists of a double row of Sphinxes, uniting the great temple of Ammon with the confused remains of a magnificent building, entitled the "Temple of Philadelphus," because some of the hieroglyphics which have been made out, are believed to refer to one of the Ptolemies, who added the Propylon, although the appropriate symbols of the name do not appear upon the walls of the temple itself, which is of much earlier date, and said to have been built by a priest who afterwards became a king. There are several chambers, and a court with a handsome portico, besides a number of statues in a sitting posture, of grey granite, and representing females with the head of a lioness. On the towers of the Propylon are figures of the hawk, the vulture, and Typhon: the hieroglyphics are Ptolemaic; they are thick, and indifferently cut, and the objects are crowded and clumsy. Near at hand, is a red granite colossus, which has been thrown down, and the foundation of the original Propylon is still to be seen. Contiguous to the Dromos on the left, there is another small temple that was also added by a Ptolemy. In one of the chambers are some columns with lotus and Isis quadrifrons capitals; and in another, there is a

representation of a man asleep, whilst the hawk keeps watch over him:—the chambers are dark and sound hollow under foot. It was here that Mr. Champollion and his party resided during their sojourn at Thebes: the Scheikh el Belad caused it to be swept and purified, and made it a very comfortable dwelling for them, in spite of the honourable fraternity of rams, hawks, owls, cats, serpents, ibises, pigs, and cows, with which they were compelled to associate! These ruins are surrounded by an immense wall of mud and brick, near which is a lake somewhat in the shape of a horse-shoe: its waters are generally green, sweetish to the taste, salt and warm: they contain no fish, and—what is very remarkable, just before the inundation, says Mr. Bonomi, they become *most decidedly red*—a circumstance for which no satisfactory reason can be assigned, and which has called forth the superstitions of the Arabs.* Between this point and Luxor, the soil admits of high cultivation. On the other side of the lake, are the remains of a small temple, attributed to Rameses the Third, (1323 B. C.) Retracing our steps along the avenue in the direction of the modern village, we passed under four magnificent gateways of polished granite, variously sculptured and covered with hieroglyphics, which relate to the Monarchs who built them. These form the approach to the more ancient portion of the temple of Ammon, everything to the westward of which has been *added* at different times, by different Kings. The traveller may, if he pleases, now enter by the side; that is, by the gate of Shishak, near the obelisks of Thothmes: but I should recommend him to begin at the western gateway, which

* I can only imagine that at this season, they *appear* red, from the presence of animalculæ or spontaneous vegetation.

looks towards the Nile, and is immediately opposite Northern Dair: he will then have the whole range of these stupendous ruins before him as he proceeds—a wreck of sculptured masonry, a forest of gigantic columns, extending over a space of 1200, by 430 feet, without including many of the adjacent buildings, which may also be said to form a part. As we approach this the chief entrance, we may observe some statues of grit-stone in a dilapidated state, and Lord Belmore uncovered some Cryo-Sphinxes, which formed part of an avenue leading down to the river.

The Propylon, which is of red granite, is calculated to astonish every beholder, and raise his expectations as to that which is to follow, and they are not disappointed: it has two towers, and presents a frontage of 400 feet: the gateway measures twenty feet, and sixty feet in height; and the roof is composed of single stones. On the right-hand wall, the French Savans have recorded the result of their geographical enquiry.* As the external walls are devoid of sculpture, we may

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* REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

AN VIII.

GEOGRAPHIE DES MONUMENS.

TEMPLES	LONGITUDE	LATITUDE
DENDERA	30° 21′ 0″	26° 10′ 0″
CARNAC	30 20 4	25 44 15
THEBES		
LUXOR.	30 19 16	25 42 55
ESNEH	30 14 12	25 19 39
EDFOU	30 33 4	25 0 0
OMBOS	30 38 32	24 28 0
SIENE	30 34 19	24 8 6
ISLE PHYLÈ . . .	30 33 46	24 3 45

presume that this building was never finished. A gallery communicates between the chambers of the two towers, and from the summit, there is a very extensive view of the ruins: we find it difficult to conceive that the unassisted hand of man should have been able to cause such extensive havoc: the numerous piles of buildings which we still see tottering before us, have evidently been shaken to their foundation, whilst on every side, lie heaps of enormous stones which, as they required *ages* to set up, could only have been thrown down, one would think, by the concussion of a violent earthquake—so complete has been the devastation committed; and at this moment, I cannot bring my mind to believe that such *utter ruin* could have been accomplished by human means alone, seeing that the *invaders* had no artillery!* This gateway introduces us to a spacious court, in which are numerous circular jointed columns, forty feet high, with budding-lotus capitals; it is terminated by two

* The first great check was given to the power of the Diospolitan Heroes by Sabacos the Ethiopian, who invaded the country 300 years before the Persian conquest, which took place 525 years B. C., and the Seat of Government was removed to Memphis. When Alexander the Great carried his arms into Egypt, he endeavoured to restore the ancient city, and rebuilt the Sanctuaries of Karnak and Luxor. The Ptolemies who succeeded him, made a feeble attempt to follow up what he had begun, but failed; and in the year 86 B. C., under Ptolemy Lathyrus, the people rebelled, and the city was again pillaged and laid waste. In the time of Augustus, when Rome began to rise in majesty and splendour, the ancient Halls of the Pharaohs had been thrown down, and the "Hecatompylon," *or city of a hundred gates*, had become, according to Strabo, "*a colony of villages.*" But the work of desolation was not yet complete; and we are informed by Abd'allatif, an intelligent physician of Bagdad, who lived in the fourteenth century, that in his time, the passions of men were not restrained, and that no care was taken to preserve the Egyptian remains—that under the idea of finding treasure, "they had recourse to all kinds of artifice to destroy and pull down the statues, and that they made openings and dug holes in the stones, not doubting them to be so many strong coffers, filled with immense sums." This will in some measure account for the havoc which has been made; and we can only suppose that in later times, such fanatics must have availed themselves of the use of gunpowder.

mutilated colossal statues of syenite, and another richly carved Propylon, where are tablets that have obviously been taken from a building of more ancient date: a great portion of it, however, has been overthrown, and the court is blocked up with huge stones: on either side, is a small temple also; one is filled with rubbish, and is said never to have been examined, the other is dedicated to Sesostris, and bears upon its walls a representation of a human sacrifice, with the Hawk hovering over the uplifted knife, as sanctioning the deed. We next enter a magnificent Hall containing eighteen rows of beautiful jointed pillars, with budding-lotus capitals: the two centre rows are about seventy-five feet high, and twelve in diameter, and supported the highest portion of the roof, in the sides of which were small windows: the others are about thirty-five feet high, and eight in diameter—the shafts of all, as well as the intercolumnary spaces being covered with symbolic representations of the heathen deities.*

The whole of this princely edifice is of comparatively modern date, having been added by Sesostris or Rameses the Second, (1486 B. C.).—We now come to what may be considered the very ancient and *original* temple of Jupiter Ammon, which may be traced back as far as the reigns of Osertesen the First, (1920 B. C.) and of Thothmes, (1710 B. C.) the names of those Monarchs appearing upon the walls. The space which intervenes was formerly adorned with four tapering monolithic granite obelisks, about seventy feet high, and nine feet square at the base, referable to the time

* Many of these far exceed the bounds of decency. The Hall measures 329 feet by 170: it is roofless, and contains 162 columns—on almost every one of which, the figure of Priapus is most conspicuous.

of Thothmes: one only now remains erect: a second lies on the ground, divided in half, ready to be carried away: the hieroglyphics are well cut, and surmounted by the Hawk—the central line being much deeper and more ancient than the other two. It was here that the grand entré was made from Luxor. Passing another *battered* Propylon, and the remains of two broken statues of Rameses the Second, we observe a detached gateway, on each side of which there was also an obelisk of red granite; there is only one now standing, it is ninety feet high, covered with hieroglyphics, and *still more ancient than either of the former*. Champollion tells us that it was put up by a *lady*. A few paces further, is the fragment of a wall, built of very old stones; then there is another granite gateway, and the place for the hinges is still visible. We now enter what is called the "*Granite Sanctuary*," a small, but beautiful chamber, of highly polished syenite, devoted originally to the most voluptuous and infamous purposes; though latterly, perhaps, used as a place of security for the idols and *sacred* utensils.* It is divided into two portions: the ceiling is painted blue, and studded with stars: the walls are green, and covered with gross and obscene delineations: the King is represented in one place, embracing a female, and in various others, offering to Priapus and Ammon-Ra, exhibiting without disguise, the sensual and grovelling nature of the Egyptian form of worship. According to Major Felix, the *Cartouches* or symbolic characters or titles of Philip and Alexander have been introduced. The Sanctuary is partly built of old stones, and the

* The Earl of Belmore caused extensive excavations to be made here, and discovered a granite boat with an image on board, a number of small statues, and other remains of antiquity: hence it was concluded that this was the sacred *treasure-house* of the Priests of Ammon.

roof falling in, exposes to view some which have been cut out of an obelisk. Contiguous to this, are some of the oldest blocks of granite known in Diospolis: they appear to have once formed a portion of a similar chamber; and on the left, a gateway of grey granite communicates with a confused mass of unintelligible ruins—architraves, shafts, and capitals, which, without doubt, constituted a spacious colonnade. Stepping over these, we arrive at two other magnificent apartments, with the pedestals of two obelisks in front of them:—one appears to have been the model after which the *Great Hypostyle Hall** (already described) was built: it is attributed to *Thothmes*, and is called the "Chamber of the Kings," and is evidently of great antiquity. The adjacent Portico is said to have been commenced by Alexander, and added to at subsequent periods: like its fellow, it is in ruins: it contains Greek and Egyptian columns, twelve of which are standing, and it has been once converted into a Christian church. As the materials employed were taken from other structures of earlier date, it is probable that an examination of them might throw some light on the early history of the country—there is a wide gap still to be filled up in Egyptian chronology: the sensuality of princes tended to degenerate the people, and led to their final overthrow: there was a period when numerous individuals reigned in quick succession, and of whom we know nothing except that they were pusillanimous, and became an easy prey to their more warlike neighbours, who availed themselves of the opportunity afforded them of gratifying their ambition. It is very likely that the investigation

* A *hypostyle hall* is a hall supported by, or resting upon pillars: a *peristyle hall* is one which has pillars running round it.

might introduce us to persons and events hitherto unknown; for to all appearance, these enormous heaps have not been interfered with since they fell on the spot where they now lie, and thus we might be able to complete the catalogue of the reigning Monarchs, if we did not collect a few isolated portions of their history:—but we may expect that in a short time the scattered ruins of the Egyptian temples will be carried away by the Authorities, and converted into magazines, granaries, and fortifications:—*now* is the time, therefore, for the literary and scientific to exert themselves, if they have any desire to do so. But, to return:—ascending to the roof, we obtained an extensive view of the havoc which has been committed, and found the remains more extensive even than we at first supposed:—immediately beneath, was a court, also obstructed with large masses of stone, amongst which, the situation of two sitting statues of Thothmes was pointed out, in front of another Propylon, in a direct line with an opening in the boundary wall of the sacred edifices, and by which, (doubtless once a fortified gateway,) access was afforded to the inhabitants of the south-eastern portion of the city: this enclosure was *thirty feet* thick, and built of brick and mud: beyond it, a rich plain leading to the mountains—presenting a striking and grateful contrast with the scene more immediately around us: at a distance, was the Arab village of Nega el Fokannêh; nearer at hand, at the diagonal corner on the right of us, the dilapidated walls of two other temples, erected by Rameses the Second, with a clump of palm-trees between them: then, within the sacred enclosure, between where we stood, and the Propyli leading to the avenue of Sphinxes, was the lake or tank used in the Pagan

ceremonies, and lastly, on our left, were the remains of another important temple, built by Amonoph the Third. Retracing our steps over the massive fragments which obstruct every avenue of this the most ancient portion of the temple of Ammon, until we regained the court by which we entered, we proceeded to examine the *exterior* of that which has been added by Rameses the Great. On the sides of the Propylon leading from the largest obelisk, and the walls of the principal Hall to the left, we see a representation of two large boats, with the figure of a ram at each end—supposed to contain the Sacred Ark: there is also a splendid battle piece, which has been brought to view through the indefatigable exertions of Mr. James Burton, who excavated, and also blew up some of the immense stones which had fallen down before it. The King is seen returning in triumph from the wars: he has arrived, with numerous prisoners in his train, on the banks of a large river, where are *crocodiles* and other animals, and temples on both sides. On the opposite bank, his countrymen (evidently Egyptians) are hastening to congratulate him; and numbers are prostrating themselves before him: there are many trees, and a *bridge*. In another compartment, the King, who is entitled *Osirei*, the reputed father of Sesostris, is exhibited dragging his prisoners, bound by the neck, before the heathen Trinity, and at the same time, presents costly vases and cups as an earnest of gratitude for the rich spoils taken from the enemy. In another place, a great many human beings are about to be immolated in the manner so often alluded to—the Hawk hovering above:—then follows, in symbolic characters, a list of the countries conquered, to wit, "*Bah'r ien*," the two rivers, or Meso-

potamia, and "*Joudahamalek*," the Kingdom of the Jews.* Hereabouts is a door: but the delineations are continued on the other side, where we again see the figure of a warrior slaying his enemies, as before: then there is another battle-piece in which the Hero is killing a *Chief* with a spear—an admirable illustration of Homer's account of *the conflict between Hector and Achilles, at the siege of Troy:*—finally, there is the storming of a fort in the possession of a people who, from their dress and demeanour, are evidently *Jews.*† This part of the Great Court is said to have been built by *Shishak*, or *Shishonk*, who made a descent upon the Hebrews, and brought away the sacred vessels from the Temple of Solomon, (971 B.C.) The wall from this point, like that on the other side, is covered with similar delineations; they were exposed to view by Rosellini and Champollion, but were found to be nearly destroyed. In advance of the Propyli, towards the south-west, are some fine colossal sitting figures, which, it is surmised, were erected in honour of the warriors here depicted: two of them are formed of a single block of white, crystallized sulphate of lime, and are in a direct line with the central avenue leading to the *Gate of Shishak* and the obelisks: they each

* The figure of the captive bearing this inscription, is supposed to represent Rehoboam, the only Jewish King who was conquered by Shishak; and thus, after a lapse of more than 2800 years, we have the unexceptionable testimony of an *infidel* to the faithfulness of Scripture History! We read that Rehoboam introduced the worship of idols, and that the great body of the people shared in his guilt. As a punishment, the kingdom was then delivered into the power of Shishak, King of Egypt, whose forbearance was purchased only by his stripping the temple and the palace of their richest treasures. On the repentance of the King, the Egyptians were removed: but when the danger was withdrawn, Rehoboam neglected his promises of amendment, and died in his impiety. See 1 Kings xiv.

† The figures in these delineations are all remarkably spirited, and have been declared, by the most competent judges, to be the work of no mean artists.

represent a naked figure with a sort of kilt buckled in front: the other statues are very similar, but constructed, either of highly polished syenite, or of red pudding-stone like those at Gournoo. It was by such means that these haughty Chiefs, vieing with one another, desired to perpetuate their name, conceiving that these frail memorials of their greatness, would be handed down to future generations with their religious edifices, and *never perish*. From the *Cartouches* on the walls, there is every reason to believe that some of these are 4000 years old. Reasoning from analogy, Thebes must have been defended by outworks; but there are no traces of bastions or ramparts of any kind. The inhabitants resided chiefly on the eastern side, though not entirely; for Dr. Young has given a translation of a curious document, the date of which answers to the 13th or 14th of February, 106 years B. C. It relates to the transfer of land, which is situated in *the Memnonia*, a district on the western shores, during the reign of Cleopatra and Ptolemy her son, surnamed Alexander, Apollonius being President of the Memnonian Exchange, and of the Lower Government of the Pathyritic Nome. It was written in Greek, and speaks of one-fourth being bounded by the *Royal Street*, and another part by the house of one Tages, and describes the canal and the common land of the city. We learn, moreover, from this, and from the paintings in the Tombs, that the houses were of brick, stuccoed within and without, inclosed by courts, vineyards, and gardens, and adorned with alcoves, fish-ponds, statues, and painted obelisks. The great temple of Karnak is said to have surpassed every other in extent and magnificence: *we* have beheld it only in its fall, yet it has excited our wonder:

—even in the days of its desolation it exceeds a mile in circumference, and is approached by twelve different causeways—what must it have been in the olden time, when Diospolis was in her glory, and beheld her *god* carried in solemn pomp along her stately groves, her sculptured avenues, and painted halls? What must it have been when *all the gods* went forth at once to be paraded on the rich plains of Ammon, and when at the sound of music, a beauteous virgin was offered to appease the monster of the Nile, or when some new divinity, being first set up, the people crowned the chosen idol with garlands, and fell down to worship the image which they had made? Lastly, what must have been the condition of Thebes when the multitude went out, as we have seen, to meet their triumphant Heroes returning from the wars, inflated with success, and laden with treasures of gold and silver, ivory and precious stones, gums and rich spices, ebony and brass, whilst wretched captives, bound by the arms and neck, followed in the train, to grace their chariot wheels, doomed perhaps to die an ignominious and a cruel death before the altars of superstition? Rampant and blood-thirsty, and familiar with every vice, the promoters of idolatry set no bounds to their avarice and presumption:—but, the terrible day of retribution came at last, and the things in which they most delighted passed away for ever! "The Almighty is no respecter of persons! He raineth upon the just, and upon the unjust! He maketh a Nation's righteousness rejoice, and a fruitful land *barren* for her sins!" The Lord *did* "execute judgments in Egypt" —and, how awful has been the change! Suddenly, a cry was raised, and the cattle and the husbandmen fled; the corn was trodden under foot, and the voice

of lamentation was heard afar off: Priests and Heroes assembled to invoke the gods: sacrifices were made, and the warriors went forth to meet the host: a terrible carnage ensued, the smoke ascended to heaven, and the soothsayers were confounded and dismayed: new victims were procured, and the blood of the innocent flowed freely: still the hostile tribes advanced, and the Egyptians were routed. In vain did they summon their wise men, and consult the Oracle: plunder and rapine threatened them on every side, and their very altars were not safe: the fields no longer clothed with verdure, the loveliness of Nature was converted into gloom, and the people did not cease to mourn: for behold! there was none to help them: the sword and the fire came, and the pestilence, and famine: the land was filled with the slain, and her multitudes diminished: her idols were destroyed, her rivers were dried up, and the pride of her power was *brought low:* her habitations were made desolate, and all that was therein was sold into the hands of strangers, and the Egyptians were scattered and dispersed among the countries of the heathen.* The modern village of Karnak is about half a mile from the river: it is truly a pitiful representative of this once powerful city. What inhabitants there are, like their neighbours at *Haboo l'Haggag*, (Luxor,) drag on a miserable existence in huts of mud and straw, interspersed with pigeon-cotes, and here and there, some stunted palms: they are very ignorant and superstitious, and seldom let themselves be seen, except from curiosity or to beg:—but then only in the day-time, when a few boys or old men may be observed prying about with caution: they have an innate dread of venturing among the ruins

* See Ezek. xxix. and xxx.; also Jer. xlvi. 24 and 25.

at night, believing that they were built by the "*Effreet*,"—(the Devil;) and they still adhere to the ancient practice of sending their dead across the river to be interred.

Having smoked a pipe with Scheikh Ansada—the Chief Ruler, or High Constable of *No Ammon*, we followed the course of an avenue of Crio-Sphinxes, which was partially uncovered by Lord Belmore, in the direction of the river, where, from all that we now know concerning the skill of the Egyptian architects, the discoveries that have been made, and the sculptures that have been exposed to view, I make no doubt there was formerly a landing-place and a *bridge*—perhaps a handsome terrace along the banks. It is equally probable that there was another also at Luxor, completing the *magic circle;* and as we are assured that the Priests of Isis and Ammon were wont to carry their Idols annually across the stream into Libya, and also to marshall their troops and charioteers in the plains of the Memnonia, we have sufficient evidence that there *were* bridges, and we may imagine the people on religious and war-like festivals, accompanying their Seers and Heroes in grand procession through the sacred aisles, and going at the appointed time to do homage at the Shrine of *the Oracle*, that they might learn the decrees of the gods, or the fate of some pending expedition. This leads me to allude once more to the sitting colossal figures of Amonoph III., which hold so prominent a position on the western shores; and there is more in this, I conceive, than at first appears. They are properly described by Strabo, and other travellers, as forming the *approach to* a magnificent temple called the *Memnonium*, or the *Tomb of Osymandias:* but, three things are worthy of observation: *first*, they are

in a direct line with the *entrance* of that temple—*secondly*, their faces are directed diagonally towards the temple of Luxor—and *thirdly*, the space between them exactly corresponds with the width of the great avenue of Sphinxes which leads from Luxor to Karnak. Now, coupling these facts with the account given of *the Royal Street*, in the legal document translated by Dr. Young, (and to which I have alluded at page 543) and bearing in mind the peripatetic nature of the ancient Egyptian ceremonies, I have a strong conviction that the *Royal Street* was a continuous avenue of Sphinxes, by which the tour of the sacred edifices was made, beginning and terminating at the Shrine of Jupiter Ammon; and moreover, that the approach to each temple was indicated by two or more of these colossal statues, and sometimes by obelisks. We have seen that there are several of these on quitting the great temple at Karnak; we meet with others as we approach the temples of Amonoph, Rameses, and Philadelphus, in its vicinity; and passing along the *Royal Street*, we are greeted in the same way at Luxor: then, crossing the Nile by a bridge, lined, as I conceive, on each side by symbolic figures, the *Royal Street* would take the direction of the Monolithic statues of Amonoph and the *Qas're e Dega'g'ee*, or "Memnonium:" after which, bending a little to the westward, it would lead to the very ancient temple of *Medinet Haboo:*—accordingly, on the very spot where we might expect to find them, we have to step over two similar figures (also of Amonoph III.) which have been thrown down.

Quitting this temple, the whole of the level ground to the north, termed the "Valley of Assaseef," is strewed with fragments of *enormous statues:* there

are the distinct remains of a *causeway*, leading to the site of "Northern Dair," which was one of the most ancient buildings in Egypt, together with the ruins of a *splendid gateway*, and *a long avenue of broken Sphinxes*, at each end of which, were formerly *some obelisks!* Continuing the route pointed out by the next temple, viz. the palace of Rameses II. at Qh'ournah, we are under the necessity of passing between *two colossal sitting statues of Sesostris*, beyond which, there is a beaten track to the water side, where probably, as I have stated, another bridge led by the *Crio-Sphinxes* of Lord Belmore, to the great Propyli of Karnak. It is also a remarkable feature in the case, that the zig-zag course taken by the *Royal Street* is precisely that which the body of a *large serpent* would describe by its movements upon the earth! Supposing my ideas to be correct, we may at once picture to ourselves the religious processions of these dark and mysterious people; and we may fancy, not only the "200 chariots" mentioned by Homer, but the "1200 chariots, and the threescore thousand horsemen" which, we are assured, *did* go out with Shishak to the wars, being first assembled and reviewed in the plains of the Memnonia, and then, headed by the Priests, engaging in solemn rites, inasmuch as they passed along these many-vaulted avenues which were dedicated to the peculiar objects of public worship—and we are prepared to understand the origin of the term ΕΚΑΤΟΜΠΥΛΟΝ, or *hundred-gated*, which was applied to the Theban Capital.* But, to return to the statues

* Some idea may be formed of the amazing power of the eighteenth and nineteenth Diospolitan Dynasties, by the fact that, on one occasion, according to Diodorus Siculus, a force was raised actually amounting to 20,000 war-chariots, besides horsemen and supernumeraries.

which called forth these remarks:—they are chiefly interesting on account of their enormous size, and their antiquity; and there are many legendary tales concerning them.* The Arabs call them *Shama* and *Tama*, and the northernmost of the two they designate *Salamat*, i. e. the "saluting or speaking statue;" because it was believed to have the miraculous power of emitting a shrill, and gradually swelling sound, something like that of a trumpet, every morning at sunrise; the throne and all the lower part is covered with inscriptions in various languages, attesting the personal experience of the writers on the subject:—among others, the Emperor Hadrian and his Royal consort Sabina, assert that they also heard *the heavenly voice*:—hence this statue has been for ages known in Europe as *the Vocal Memnon;* and many

* They are composed of a single block of hard, red, quartzy grit or sandstone, from Hadg'r Silsilis, which bears a high polish; they are sixty feet in height, and sixty feet apart, measuring eighteen feet three inches across the shoulders: the figures are nearly naked, like those already described; they have a beard and breasts: the hands are placed on the knees: the hair hangs down behind the ears; and although the features are disfigured, the carving clumsy, and the attitude anything but graceful, the general contour is in strict unison with the climate, and the surrounding scenery, and impresses us with an idea of majesty and dignified repose. Outside of each leg, there is a smaller statue, with a horn or pointed crown: one of them bears the title of *royal wife*, the other of *royal mother;* and between the feet, is a still smaller figure, just as we see at Ypsambal. There is a line of hieroglyphics down the back, giving the characteristic symbols of Amenophis III., but without recording anything of their history,—M. Champollion states, of Amenophis-Memnon, or *Phamenoph the Second*, the seventh King of the eighteenth Dynasty, who reigned nearly 1700 years B. C.; but the prefix *Ph*, as I have stated at p. 518, simply means that the reigning Monarch was a King and not a Queen; and *he* is believed by many, to have been *the Memnon* of the Greeks. Now, according to Manetho, Joseph was sold by his brethren 1729 B. C., to the Midianites, who brought spices of India, and myrrh and balsam of Hadramant; so that Amenophis must have been cotemporary with the Pharaoh who made Joseph his Prime Minister. The sides of the two thrones are ornamented with sculptures of the god Nilus binding the flexible lotus, and other river-plants: the hieroglyphics are very perfect: the figures of the owl and vulture are prominent, and the feathers clear and distinct.

illustrious individuals journeyed from Greece and Rome expressly to hear it *speak!* It is singular that neither Diodorus nor Herodotus should mention it; for from other sources, we learn that 2000 years ago, these statues were objects of great interest to all strangers visiting Thebes. Strabo, who lived under the Emperor Augustus, thought it worth his while to give a minute description of them, and declares that when on the spot with Œlius Gallus and many friends and soldiers, they all heard *the sound* about the first hour: but he disclaims any faith in the *miraculous powers of the speaking statue*—which he adds, was reported to have been once thrown down by an earthquake, (more probably by order of Cambyses,) and afterwards restored and repaired about the time of Juvenal.* Signor Jani removed a very fine Sphinx of quartzy pudding-stone;† and its fellow still lies half buried in the sand with other fragments, between these Colossi and the Memnonium: many sitting figures have also been dug up, and it is probable that there are several more yet concealed by the annual deposits of the Nile. Belzoni sent a very interesting specimen in basalt to

* The texture of the stone is such that it emits a ringing sound when struck with a hammer: accordingly, Sir Gardiner Wilkinson had the curiosity to mount upon the lap of the figure, where he found a stone which was so sonorous that, when he gave it a sharp blow, his servant, who was standing beneath, exclaimed that he was striking *brass*. This convinced him, therefore, that the whole affair was a delusion practised by the Egyptian Priesthood, especially as upon further examination, he found a nook deep enough to conceal a person from view. In reference to this subject, Mr. Sale speaks of three statues at Baniyàn, a city of Cabool in India, (each fifty cubits high,) which were "hollow within for the secret giving of Oracles." He also tells us of a chapel or temple which was "so contrived as to give a sound when anybody entered." This chapel was erected, it was supposed, to draw the pilgrims thither from Mekka, and to lessen the reputation of the Mohammedan Kaaba. It was therefore destroyed by order of Mohammed.—Sale's Khoran, vol. i. pp. 24 and 26.

† It was fifteen feet long and seven and a-half high, and had two tablets covered with fine hieroglyphics.

the British Museum: it is nine feet in height, and supposed to be a miniature copy of the "*Vocal Memnon.*" On the other hand, what is generally described as the "*Younger Memnon,*" is part of a statue of *Sesostris*, which was twenty-two feet high, and is stated to have been broken up by the French to facilitate its removal, and being afterwards abandoned, Belzoni secured the head, and sent it to England. It stood in the Great Hall of the Tomb or Palace of Osymandias or Rameses the Great.

It will easily be conceived that Sesostris, who was perhaps the most astonishing Hero that the world ever produced, either in ancient or modern times, whose mighty deeds are recorded on almost every monument in Egypt, and who left behind him works of such extent and magnificence, that they have never since been equalled, bestowed peculiar pains on the building which he designed for himself; and we cannot wonder if the Persian invader, who was exasperated, and panted for revenge, should glory in having it in his power to pull down the walls which reminded him at every step, of his country's shame, and as much as possible, to efface from the memory of man the marvellous doings of one whose very name in subsequent ages, had been a terror and a bye-word to all the nations of the East. We are not deceived; every effort was used, and enormous expense incurred *utterly to destroy* the Palace of the Memnonium: for many generations it lay nearly concealed from view, chiefly owing to the débris of mud hovels which from time to time, had been erected about the walls, deserted, and thrown down in crumbling heaps, and had again become the resting places of those "*who dwell in houses of clay, and whose foundation is in the dust.*" Mr.

Salt was the first to excavate: others have since done the same, and thus we have obtained access to one of the most elegant and interesting ruins of Thebes—interesting on account of its historical delineations; the walls record events concerning which we have but few authentic documents, and it is believed that they are scenes from which Homer drew the character of his Heroes, if even the subjects are not identical; they represent the battles of the Egyptians both by sea and by land, which took place 1500 years B. C., and I cannot help thinking that here, and at Luxor and Medinet Haboo, the leading events of the Iliad are introduced. We see the Hero standing erect in his war-chariot, with the reins round his waist, in the act of drawing an arrow to the head; his horses are prancing in the midst of his foes, who are flying in all directions before him: some are groaning in the dust, others are drowning, whilst his victorious followers are carrying slaughter and dismay into the thickest of the host: many are retiring within the walls which their dispirited comrades are vainly attempting to defend against the assailants, who, as in modern times, are scaling the parapets with ladders: the besieged are clad in long robes, and defend themselves with spears and shields. Further on, the fortress is represented in the hands of the conquerors, and the town is given up to plunder and rapine, the horrors of which are shown to the life, and the Hero sits calmly in the midst upon a stately throne, supported by banners: and here as throughout, the Hawk hovers above him, in token of divine approbation: then the prisoners are brought into the King's presence with their hands bound over their heads, and are beaten with clubs, and exposed to every species of brutal indignity.

These appear upon the walls of the Propylon: but there is another battle depicted on those of the Pronaos, where the Hero is seen *driving his chariot furiously over the body of the vanquished Chief:* here too there is a river, and the people are flying to their strong hold for safety: every available portion of the building bears a similar representation, besides allegorical and astronomical subjects, oblations to *Mendes* and the other gods, religious rites and processions, and we may presume that the symbolic carvings which have been destroyed, made up the sum of the Egyptian Mythology. As it is, we see but a small portion of them; for although this edifice is 600 feet long, and 200 broad, it has been so roughly handled, that it is a mere skeleton of what it once was.* Perhaps it would be difficult to single out a

* The Memnonium, the Ramseion, or the Amonophium, as it has variously been called, was at one period, unquestionably the largest temple at Thebes: it contained six courts, and several chambers, all richly sculptured: and it was adorned with nearly 200 columns from thirty to forty feet high, and nine feet in diameter, also covered with hieroglyphics and symbolic delineations. A few of these only now remain entire. Every stone of the Propylon has been loosened, and a large portion destroyed: but it still presents a frontage of 234 feet: the apartments in the towers are filled with rubbish, and the walls of the Dromos have been thrown down; so has the Portico of the Temple, leaving an area of at least 150 feet square. The second court contains several Osiris columns, (without heads) besides others with lotus capitals and illuminated shafts: it is strewed with fragments of basaltic figures, and of two gigantic statues of Sesostris, one of which, as I have stated above, the French attempted to take away; the walls record the victories of the King; one side is open to the plain: in a portion of the building opposite, there are three granite doors, the space between which represents Sesostris being led by Aroeris and Thoth before the Theban Trinity, viz. *Ammon-Ra, Houks, and Muth:* and on the other side, he is offering to the gods. There is also another battle piece. The Pronaos or Grand Hall is similar to that at Karnak; the hieroglyphics are *in cavo:* it has nine beautiful aisles. Another chamber contains eight columns with budding lotus capitals and richly carved shafts: on the walls the *Ark* is seen carried in procession by the Priests: there are various oblations, and the King is sitting under a tree, whilst Isis writes his name upon the leaves. Wherever there is any ceiling, it is ornamented with stars and boats, the sacred bird, Nephthe, the globe and wings, crocodiles, and numerous other mystical emblems. The

spot in all Egypt, where the venom of the spoiler has been more lavishly bestowed than this; and when we look around us, and behold these heaps of scattered ruins, after contemplating the triumphs recorded upon the walls, how insignificant and vain glorious does the boasting of man appear!—how worse than senseless is the restless ambition of the worldly minded!—and surely it is not a little humiliating to the self-important to reflect that, notwithstanding all the pains they take to perpetuate their fancied greatness, when they are no longer to be feared, the historian *will* speak of them *as they were*, and that however exalted they may be, infirmities *will* come, so that they can but "strut their hour," and then sink into the grave and *rot* in common with the most contemptible of their species! If there is one occupation more honorable than another, it is perhaps the habitual exercise of true philanthropy, combined with an unaffected endeavour to promote the diffusion of useful knowledge: for, as Buonaparte, the modern Sesostris, once said to the Institute of France, "True conquests,—the only ones which leave no regret behind them, are those which are made over ignorance; and there is no ignorance so blind and pitiable, as that which results from *pride!*" We have a still further illustration of this in the present degraded condition of the great statue of Rameses, which was intended to exalt the Hero who had become the Champion of the East, and might justly have been ranked among the "wonders of the world:" for it was unquestionably the

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Temple has formerly been enclosed by a thick brick wall, in which are two, and even three rows of niches, with the regular masonic arch; some of those on the western side are still entire, and for what purpose they were contrived, has not been ascertained: it is not improbable that they may have held tiers of animal-mummy jars.

largest monolithic figure that has ever been known, either in Egypt or any where else; and as a work of Art, even in its present mutilated state, fails not to astonish every beholder. We find it lying on its back, near the principal entrance, broken in pieces: it is of red granite; and some of the fragments have been carried away by the Arabs, to convert into mill-stones. It measures sixty-three feet round the shoulders, the head and neck twenty feet, the little toe three feet, and it was two feet higher than *the statues* in the plain: according to a calculation made by Mr. Bonomi, with great care, it must have weighed *two millions of pounds*, which exactly agrees with that made by the French, when Napoleon was in Egypt; and Sir Gardiner Wilkinson estimated it at about 887 tons 5½ cwt.* How such a mass was ever brought to resemble a human being, without disregarding the rules of proportion, how it was set up when formed, or by what extraordinary means it was thrown down, it is not easy to determine: it seems to have carried everything along with it in its fall: even the pedestal has been rent, and large wedges have been driven into it in several places to detach the divided parts. The face has been hammered in such sort, that not a feature can be made out; nevertheless, the hieroglyphics on the

* There is a stone lying in the quarries of Baalbec in Syria, which measures sixty-eight feet by twenty-one, and fourteen feet eight inches. Several similar ones have been used in the construction of the basement wall of the neighbouring Temple, and *three* that are quite equal to it. *The Luxor Obelisk* which was given to the English, measures ninety-three feet six inches without the pedestal, being eight feet two inches square at the base; *its fellow*, which is now in Paris, measures seventy-five feet without the pedestal, being seven feet six inches square at the base; and *the Obelisk of Thothmes at Karnak*, ninety feet. If we add to these the *Rameses Colossus*, we shall have at one view, the comparative size of five of the largest stones made use of in the ancient world. *The sitting statues* in the plains of Thebes are no small masses, and surpass every thing of the kind in our day, the rock on which the statue of Peter the Great is erected at St Petersburgh being the greatest effort made by the moderns.

back and arms sufficiently identify the statue with the Hero whose bold achievements are sculptured on the adjacent walls, and according to Diodorus Siculus, one of the tablets reads thus,—"*I am Osymandias, King of Kings: if you wish to know how great I am, and where I lie—surpass my works!*" It does not quite appear *which* of the Theban Monarchs was thus idolized: there is an inscription at Thebes, observes Mr. Salt, expressing the veneration of some person for "Memnon," whom he also calls "*Amunoth*, Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ"—but this seems merely to refer to Jupiter Ammon, and explains nothing: yet we read of the *Divine Memnon*, "Mai-Amûn," or the "*beloved of Ammon*," and associate him with one or other of the Egyptian Heroes who were adored by the people as something more than human. On this subject Mr. Salt remarks, "How highly the character of *Amenoph* was estimated at Thebes, will appear by a large portion of the city being designated after his name, and by his having been ranked, as several inscriptions testify, among even *the greater gods!* "yet," he adds, that "Amenoph was called erroneously by the Romans, *Memnon!*" Now those best acquainted with Egyptian Literature identify the fallen statue of which we have been speaking, with *Sesostris*, who carried his victorious arms into Persia and India, and they suppose that Rameses III., who followed up what Sesostris began, and afterwards went to the Trojan war, was *the Memnon* of the Greeks. Moreover, Diodorus tells us that the same Colossus represented *Osymandias*, or as Strabo styles him, *Ismendes*, the *Son of Mendes*—titles all, which were vauntingly borrowed from the gods, by the conquerors of the day who, not satisfied with the fame

which falls to the lot of mortals, aspired to *immortality:* and thus we are left to conclude that the King who built the Temple-palace in the Memnonia, *did* presumptuously place this imposing effigy of himself at the entrance, in order to overawe the people, and impress them with an idea of supernatural greatness and unlimited power. Many instances are related by Sir Walter Raleigh of the arrogance of this Monarch; and we read in Eutropius that when he was disposed to be seen, and to *ride in triumph*, he would cause four of his Captive Kings to draw his *Caroch*. One morning, when he was in this way taking the air, observing one of the enslaved Princes cast his head continually back upon the two foremost wheels next him, he enquired what he found worthy of admiration in that motion? He received for answer, "that in those wheels he beheld a remarkable illustration of the instability of all worldly things; for that the lowest part of the wheel was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the uppermost part was as suddenly turned downwards, and *under all*,"—which when Sesostris had judiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all others from the like servitude in future.*

About a quarter of a mile further to the westward, upon a rising ground at the foot of the mountains, is the very ancient settlement of *Medinet Haboo*, celebrated as the fourth division of the Theban Metropolis, and containing extensive remains of royal magnificence. It is now almost deserted; and a large proportion of the ruins is entirely obstructed with rubbish.

* Some writers are of opinion that Sesostris and Memnon were the same person. Some say Rameses I. was Memnon—others Amenoph III. See page 391. 424 and 425.

The sacred edifices are similar in structure to those of Luxor and Karnak, and have shared a similar fate; the boundary wall is about a mile in circumference, and incloses buildings of various dates, which have been added by Rameses III., Antoninus, Hadrian, and the Ptolemies: the founder of the original temple was Thothmes I., who erected the great Obelisk at Karnak: the work was continued by Thothmes II., and III., in the time of the Patriarch Joseph: and subsequently, Rameses III., (who, according to Herodotus and Diodorus, is the same with Mendes and Mœris, the renowned contriver of the Labyrinth), erected a magnificent palace, and covered the whole with historical *bas-reliefs*. The approach is made by two Propyli; the first is of comparatively modern date; some of the stones have evidently been brought from the Ramseion, and bear the name of Sesostris, portions of a battle, scraps of figures inverted, and deeply cut hieroglyphics: then follow three courts, a portico, an adytum, and several inner chambers, comprising the original temple, which it should seem, was dedicated to Osiris, and adorned with elegant columns and sculptures illustrative of his attributes: they refer particularly to agriculture, he having first instructed the people concerning the arts of life. On the north side is a tank, which was formerly surrounded with Lion-headed Isis statues. The third court was once converted into a Coptic chapel, and there *was* a time when the Christians were numerous. The hieroglyphics here are three inches deep and well executed: they refer to Thothmes, but the Ptolemy who professed to restore the temple, placed his own name along the cornice. On quitting these ruins, we enter upon those of the famous palace of Rameses, which is three stories high,

and has a gateway with two wings, so that it forms a Propylon to the larger temple: the apartments have square windows, and the walls are richly carved: the hieroglyphics are deep: there are two other Propyli, separated by a handsome peristyle court, the columns of which are very beautiful; some are faced with the usual Osiris Colossi. The chief Propylon is 175 feet long; and the temple extends upwards of 500 feet; the approach to it is blocked up with Arab huts, architraves, shafts, and capitals; and there are the remains of a Greek church. The walls of the colonnades are covered with sculpture, but it has been much battered: —on the right, is a spirited delineation of a battle as at the Memnonium:—the King is also represented returning from the wars with his army: a number of prisoners are struggling at his chariot wheels, and having reached their destination, we see them led before a divinity chained together by the arms and neck, as if for sacrifice, whilst close by, lie heaps of hands and other parts of the body which have been barbarously cut off as trophies: a soldier is in the act of counting them, whilst a scribe enters an account in a book, the symbol for 3000 being placed above his head: at a short distance, the King sits in his chariot with his back to the horses, calmly listening to the report of the numbers slain, wounded, and maimed, near which is a record of the battle in hieroglyphics.* The sculptures on the opposite side, consist of offerings to the various deities:—we see the King upon his knees before the *Trinity:—the Ark* having been placed in

* "David commanded his young men, and they slew them, and cut off their hands and their feet." 2 Sam. vi. 12. And in modern times, Nadir Shah caused pyramids of heads taken in battle, to be erected at his palace gates, in Persia. See Judges i. 6, 7. 2 Kings x. 8. One of the greatest indignities offered to captives was to lead them away *naked*. See Isaiah iii. 17.—Nahum iii. 5. 6.—Eph. iv. 8.

a boat, is carried with great pomp and ceremony by the Priests in procession, followed by soldiers:—in another compartment, there is a figure like the King, over whose head, on each side, is a *chain* formed by the *Key of the Nile*, from which Aroëris is pouring, as if to indicate that abundance proceeds from the King, who is afterwards represented upon his throne, receiving the homage or thanks of several deities, who are led before him by Thoth, whilst Osiris and Isis are *standing* at his back! Above these, there is another long procession of Egyptians carrying the Ark in triumph, and depositing it *in the Sanctuary:* they walk in pairs, each laying hold of the rope to which it is attached, and the first figure resembles the Monarch himself. Lastly, we are shewn the way in which homage was paid to the several idols; and over the door, is a grand cavalcade in honour of the favourite Hero, who is attended, as in battle, by the Lion, and now, by the Sphinx: there is a singular representation of a lion's head and the lotus being offered up in the midst of the flames, upon an altar, whilst a person proclaims something from a book:—the procession then closes with a long retinue of the sacred animals bearing the holy insignia upon their shoulders. There can be little doubt, I think, that the processions here delineated were such as I have described them; and we may imagine the Egyptian Priests parading the Ark, and the living objects of adoration, and stopping at intervals to burn incense, and make known the decrees of the *gods*,—just as in the present day, the Roman Catholic monks display the Cross, and carry images of the Saints and Virgin about Jerusalem, pausing at all the holy places to say mass, and publish the edicts of the Pope. The Royal apartments are in

a very dilapidated condition; but the walls retain extensive vestiges of their former grandeur, being covered with interesting illustrations of domestic life, and the sports and pastimes of the early inhabitants. The top and remainder of the temple are completely buried in rubbish. The whole of the exterior is sculptured with historical representations, many parts of which are concealed by the ruins. The subjects are similar to those already described:—the Egyptian Hero encountering his enemies, trampling them under foot, and presenting them bound to Osiris the god of his country, who graciously extends his sceptre towards him in token of his approbation:—offerings to the deities—human sacrifices*—and what is deeply interesting,—an engagement *by water* in which the Hero is accompanied by his four sons, on shore, and crushing the invaders beneath his feet as fast as they land; the assailants are dressed in a kind of round bonnet with feathers, and some are in armour; they carry swords and circular shields, as well as bows: the defendants are almost naked, having only a close cap and a scanty species of apron: the sailors are attacking one another from the hulls and rigging, and some of the boats are overturned. Beyond this, we see a spirited representation of a lion-hunt: one animal has just been killed, and is rolling in the dust, whilst the other is making his escape into a thicket, seriously wounded, and roaring with pain.† To the south-east is a low plain, surrounded by mounds of sand, which are supposed to

* Diodorus informs us that the Kings of Egypt immolated *red-haired* men at the tomb of Osiris on account of his resemblance to Typhon; and human sacrifices were not altogether prohibited until after the Persian invasion. Plutarch de Iside et Osiride, l. i. c. 88. p. 380.

† For a more particular account of these sculptures, see the writings of Hamilton and Richardson.

have enclosed the "*Birket Haboo*," a considerable lake, excavated for the ceremonies of the dead. Retracing our steps, we wandered among the adjacent ruins till night-fall, when we returned to our habitation, deeply impressed with everything that we had seen: for it is impossible to contemplate the changes which have taken place without a feeling of *awe*. Thebes has justly been designated the "Cradle of Science,"—the "Nursery of Heroes and the Arts,"—and Europe owes much to her originality and genius. The Thebans were unquestionably a zealous and highly gifted people; but so imaginative, that like some of our modern enthusiasts, they were guided by impulse and feeling rather than principle or reason: they were too intellectual not to perceive that there was a God, and they discovered wisdom in the meanest of His works:—awed by a sense of His universal presence, and not satisfied by simply acknowledging his mercies, they suffered the genius of poetry to lead them into the most extravagant absurdities: their fancy took its flight far beyond the regions of space, and at last, they became so enamoured of the beauties of Allegory, that they rendered to the creature the homage which is due only to the Creator, mistaking mere outward observances for the spirit of true religion, being allured by the seductive arts of a crafty and designing Priesthood, who were eager for temporal power, and kept the multitude in ignorance, that they might make them subservient to their will. The result might have been foreseen: they became effeminate and profane, the slaves of passion and despotism; and being abandoned by the Almighty to their own wicked courses, were scattered or destroyed;—the few which remain of them are *aliens* in the land of their fathers, and have

taken up their abode "*in desolate cities, and in houses which no man inhabiteth, and which are ready to become heaps!*" Thus, when we look around, and consider their mighty works, we are, of a truth, *awe-struck:* for it is difficult to judge of anything that *has been*, by that which *now is*, and we return home thoughtful and melancholy.

One afternoon, when we were musing in the temple of *Err'bek* at Qh'ournah, our attention was arrested by the cries of one in distress, and the loud talking of the Arabs; immediately a poor fellow ran towards us covered with blood, kissed the hem of our garments, and threw himself at our feet in an imploring attitude; his pursuers were at hand, so there was no time for enquiry: *we* concealed him from view, whilst Aboo Nom went forward to intercept the Arabs, and if possible, *set them upon a wrong scent;* they were only three, and he succeeded: in the meantime, we had wrapped a turban round the man's head, and throwing a white Burnoos over his shoulders, contrived to effect his escape, walking him off in the midst of us to the heights, where we hid him until the evening, in a large granite sarcophagus, in our *tomb!* As we expected, in less than an hour, we had a visit from Scheikh Mohammed on the subject, and the poor fellow lay trembling in his hiding place during the interview; he was a sort of pedlar, but unable to pay for his license the preceding year, and being now recognised, the Authorities laid violent hands upon him, and were about to carry him before the Scheikh el Belad, when he fled, leaving his stock in trade in their hands. This was not the first time that we had seen his *Scheikh-ship*, and there was a great deal of *coaxing* and *stroking of beards* going on between him and Aboo Nom, the one want-

ing the prisoner to be given up, the other denying that he knew where he was, and interceding for him upon the plea that he had been severely beaten already, and lost his goods. By this time, coffee and pipes were brought, which had a wondrous effect; the Scheikh was softened, but not convinced; however, a little more *coaxing* induced him to withdraw without searching *too minutely!* Had the affair happened a little later, we would have taken the man with us to Khénèh; as it was, we could only protect him from immediate danger, and then dismiss him with a full meal, some piastres, and a blessing.

We remained at Thebes until I had entirely recovered from the ophthalmia; and it was with much regret that we found ourselves constrained to depart. Aboo Nom accompanied us in his cand'gia as far as Khénèh, where we passed the night, intending to take another view of Dendera in the morning. We availed ourselves of an opportunity of dispatching some letters; for there was no post, and to send an *express* from Thebes to Alexandria, (which is a journey of fifteen days on foot,) would cost from seventy-five to 100 piastres: there is no extra charge for the answers, but the messenger would get a present from each person to whom the letters were addressed. A man once undertook to carry a packet from D'girgeh to Cairo, a distance of about 260 miles, in three days! He inflated a sheep's skin, and put in the letters and some bread: then he lay upon it, and swam, but rested at night. It was during the period of high Nile, so the current ran strong, and he accomplished his task within the time prescribed. Having taken on board a fresh supply of provisions, we sailed at an early hour, and once more inspected the interesting

ruins of the Temple of Athor; but I dare not again enter upon this all engrossing subject: suffice it to say that although we were now better able to appreciate the merits of this exquisite structure than at our first visit, nothing that we had seen elsewhere tended to lower it in our estimation: the goddess welcomed us wherever we went: the beautiful countenance of Isis smiled on us as affectionately as before, *notwithstanding our long absence*, and we found every part of this luxurious building in strict unison with the feelings and effects which a temple dedicated to Venus, the mother of gods and men, could be intended to convey: all is symmetry and elegance, softness, harmony, gentleness: whatever Art could effect, has been done here to inspire the mind with sentiments of affection, and to soothe the more violent contendings of the soul, and turn them into love; but at the same time, it must be confessed that the object has not been *only* to soften men's manners, and bring the ruder part of the creation under the grateful influence of woman, but the skilful contriver of this edifice has evidently designed by his devices, to call forth the animal propensities, and inflame the imagination; and he has had recourse to means which are both sensual and gross. Although this building is not so old as some others, we still remark a representation of a human sacrifice; and we learn from the Egyptian monuments, that the ancients had a great horror of innovation. Like the laws of the Medes and Persians, their religious tenets seem to have been pronounced *unalterable*, irrevocably fixed: the principles set forth on the papyri found on mummies in more recent times, correspond with those on the walls of the most ancient temples; and although the buildings at Thebes, Abydos, Philoe,

Ypsambal, and other parts, were erected during different ages, and under Monarchs of different denominations, we find the same deities invoked in all, and we have every reason to believe that the doctrines taught and practised in the days of the Ptolemies, and at the period of the Persian invasion, differed in no material point, from those which were promulgated by the Pharaohs in the time of Abraham. On returning to the cand'gia, we were again solicited for *charms* and *backscheesh*, and beset by venders of Scarabæi, tear bottles, and alabaster vessels for holding the "*Surmeh*," or collyrium for the eyes.*

Having once more bade adieu to Mr. Bonomi, we took our departure for Balleyanèh, whence we made a farewell trip to *the tomb of Osiris* at Abydos—or rather I should say, to the palace of Memnon: we had a delightful excursion, and afterwards proceeded to D'girgeh for the night. On leaving Dendera, the Arabs cautioned Bradford about the crocodiles, which are very numerous in that neighbourhood, and we saw several: for, being an excellent swimmer, his delight was to gambol about in the water with little Ali on his back, and sometimes he was rather too venturesome.† Browne mentions the case of a young man who had

* The Scarabæus or beetle was a type of Spring, fecundity, and the month preceding that during which the Nile rises. It implied futurity, and was an emblem of a future state and the resurrection; hence fac-similes were made of green, or iron stone, or jasper, and worn by the soldiers and others as amulets; which accounts for their being so plentiful.

† Mrs. Trollope, speaking of the boldness of these animals, states in her account of America, that a crocodile and her young ones entered a hut, and destroyed a woman and her infant when asleep. The ancient method of killing crocodiles was to bait a hook with a chine of pork, and let it down from the top of a bank: a young pig being then made to squeak, the crocodile would come out, and seeing the chine would seize it voraciously; whereupon, being drawn ashore, the huntsmen endeavoured to plaster the creature's eyes with mud; and unless they could succeed in doing so, the affair generally became very troublesome.—Herodotus ii. 70.

his leg bitten off at this very spot: and such accidents are not uncommon. I need not detain the reader with an account of our journey back to Cairo, having already given a sketch of the chief towns, and condition of the people; and from what has been said, I trust a general idea may be formed of the scenery and mode of travelling: our principal halting places were D'girgeh, Es-Siout, Manfalout, Beni-Hassan, Minyeh, and Beni-Soueff: we revisited every spot of interest, and went wherever we pleased without molestation, although the country was excited, owing to the extreme vigilance of the Authorities, the rigorous system of recruiting which was going on, and the active measures taken to determine the population of each district, and collect the taxes; to those who had money, provisions were cheap: at Akhmim, four live pigeons were sold for a piastre, fifty-eight eggs, the same, and sixteen cakes of good bread: forty onions or a quart of fresh milk might be had for about a farthing: the price increased as we approached the Capital, and the poor lived chiefly upon lentils; the onions are remarkably white and small, and much milder than those of Europe, but they deteriorate by transplantation: they are particularly fine when roasted over a charcoal fire, and the Israelites, it is said, admired them much. In conformity with a very ancient custom,—on the first day of the season called *Qh'ramsin*, or of *Aries*, the Egyptian women assemble all the children at sun-rise, "*to smell the zephyr*," as they say—a ceremony in which they present their offspring with a tender onion, that they may inhale the fragrant odour: but for what reason, I never heard, and thus, one of Egypt's former gods has become an essential ingredient in every dish!

The lettuce is cultivated for its oil, which is used for

burning and anointing; grapes too are grown as high as Esnèh, but they are very seldom met with. In Upper Egypt, the women are placed in the corn-fields to frighten away the birds with a rattle: the doves and pigeons are very numerous, and the dung is collected and sold at a high price as manure: they seem to prefer the mimosa to the date-trees: hence the latter are thought to be insalubrious. We continued to see a great deal of misery and disease, and I was frequently detained some time, administering to the necessities of the people. At Es-Sioût we found a number of slaves reposing on their arrival from Dar Foor; they seemed dejected and ill, many of them extremely feeble, and several boat-loads of Negroes passed us from time to time, during our sojourn on the Nile, huddled up together like sheep, under a broiling sun. We took our siesta as usual, during the extreme heat; and lived, as nearly as possible, as the natives; by which means we preserved our health: there was an elastic fragrance in the air which imparted a corresponding buoyancy to our spirits; the mornings and evenings were lovely, and certainly, of all travelling, nothing can compare with that on the Nile. Now and then, the Pascha's Officers attempted to intercept our progress by pretending that they must see if we had any merchandise on board, and would sometimes ask impertinent questions in the hope of receiving *backscheesh:* but such discussions generally ended in an appeal to his Highness's firmaun, and a significant *hint* that they had no authority to offer any impediment to European travellers: on which they would excuse themselves by pretending that they did not *recognize the English colours.* On one occasion, being hailed by them from the shore, we refused to bring to, or take

any notice of them : whereupon, a couple of Janizaries armed up to the eyes, put off in Government cand'gias well manned, to pursue us. Having fast boats, a fair start, and a stiff breeze, we kept before the wind, and desired the Captains (who sat trembling in their skins for the consequences) to order out all the oars, and at the same time we promised each of the crews a sheep if they would give these "Jacks in office" a *good run.* We kept them at it some time ; at last, finding that they were gaining upon us, we shewed our colours *at the stern*, which we had purposely concealed before, so judging that it would be a profitless expedition, if even they came up with us, they very wisely, put about, and gave up the chase : but they were *very angry.* The distance from Khenèh to Cairo may be accomplished upon the average, in twelve days—that is, allowing proper time for the men to rest ; but then it affords very little opportunity for seeing any thing on shore, the wind being for the most part contrary ; and scarcely a day passes without being obliged to track or row.*

* Irwin made a very interesting journey by land to Cairo. His route lay on the right side of the Nile, over a mountainous country intersected by valleys, and strewed with alabaster, porphyry and granite. Some of the heights are bold and precipitous, crowned with dazzling masses of rock-crystal : there is one chasm which appears to have been the effect of an earthquake ; it is about 300 yards long, 100 wide, and 100 deep : and in the centre, a single column of stone raises its head to the surface of the earth ! The Arabs believe that a treasure is hid beneath it, and have a tradition that "*none but a Christian's hand can remove the stone to come at it !*" The spot in which it is situated is called the *Gulf of Somah.*"

"Hills peep o'er hills, and alps on alps arise !"

Beyond this, there is an extensive plain bounded on all sides by lofty mountains, whose tops are in the clouds ; sometimes the soil is rich, at others barren, but there is abundance of water, and there are hares, quails, deer, and fragrant shrubs. The scenery is very grand, and there are many traces of former cultivation ; but this district is seldon visited, and very little is known about it. Of course the journey must be made on dromedaries.—See Irwin's Travels, vol. i. p. 28.—On the subject of *highways*, see Burder's Oriental Customs, p. 340.

Arrived at Beni-Soueff, the traveller will have no difficulty in procuring dromedaries to proceed to the vineyards and rose gardens of the *Fayoum*, if so disposed: or he may land on the opposite side of the river, and make an excursion along the Valley of Arba (*the Chariots*) to the D'gebel Kolsoum, a portion of the romantic country traversed by Irwin, and which appears to have been once highly cultivated: the road to it, as the name implies, was doubtless one of the chief thoroughfares to the Gulf of Suez, and it was probably by this route that the Theban warriors proceeded in their *cars* to Jerusalem. Homer has given us an admirable description of the Egyptian war-chariots, and many allusions are also made to them in the sacred writings, which afford a further illustration of the subjects depicted on the walls of the heathen temples.* Beni-Soueff is always a cheerful place; for in addition to the number of persons moving about, soldiers are to be seen drilling in front of the barracks, and marching to very good music: the precincts of the town are enlivened by sudden flights of pigeons: the bazaar and the quay present groups of living objects, and the surface of the river is continually diversified by the passing craft. The banks are fertile, and clothed with luxuriant crops; and a little to the north, are extensive sugar plantations, which our crew did not fail to pilfer, glorying in the dexterity with which they evaded the vigilance of the overseers. We saw a

* See the Iliad v. viii. x. xii. and xxiii; Isaiah xxxi. 1; xxxvi. 9; 1 Kings xxii. 34; 1 Chron. xii. 2; 2 Chron. ix. 28; xii. 3; xxxv. 23, 24; Nahum iii. 2, 3; Exod. xv. 19. Chariots and horses, which were forbidden in the Land of Judea, because they begat ostentation and pride (Deut. xvii. 16.) would seem to have been introduced there by Solomon, from Egypt. 1 Kings iv. 26; x. 26; xii. 4; and xviii. 44; Song of Sol. i. 9; and Judges xviii. 21.

herd of buffaloes cooling themselves up to the neck in the stream, occasionally dipping their heads under, to get rid of the flies which darkened the air above them. The following morning, we came in sight of the "*False Pyramid*," which is visible at a great distance, looking like a tent in the wilderness: the western shores were crowned with picturesque knots of acacia, tamarisk groves, and palms, skirting plantations of indigo, and fields of grain: the creaking of the Persian wheels was more frequent, and the gradual narrowing of the valley reminded us of the near approach of the Mokattam in the vicinity of Cairo. Already the land on the Arabian side had become shelving, more precipitous, and ridgy; and the fleas, which in Upper Egypt and Nubia, had deserted us, now began to be as nimble as ever, and jumped about, delighted at our return. Landing on the western shores, we procured donkeys, and quitted the river for the purpose of having a long ramble among the fertile districts of Sakharah and Dahshour, and of re-visiting the Pyramids. The Bah'r Youssouff, from absolute neglect, appeared to be fast filling up, and I understand, during the very hot months, it is reduced to very little more than a chain of shallow ponds, which are some distance asunder. The groves of mimosa, which surround the scattered villages in its vicinity, afford a delightful shade, and the soil is such as would repay the industrious husbandman, if free labour were properly encouraged: I apprehend we can form but a poor idea of the once flourishing condition of this country; for notwithstanding the exertions at present making, a great deal of available land is allowed to run to waste; and that which is cultivated, is subject to every variety

of extortion.* We were prevented entering the Pyramids on this occasion, by the stupidity of Mohammed, who, having neglected to purchase wax tapers at Beni-Soueff, brought a quantity of tallow candles instead: the consequence was, that when we reached the ground, they were all melted. He might have expected nothing less. I have already had occasion to speak of the Pyramids of this district, and I have ventured to express an opinion concerning the site of Memphis, reasoning more from the collective evidence of ancient writers, and the topography of the neighbourhood, than from any architectural remains. I conceive that the present aspect of these shores, for miles, bears sufficient indication of the site of a large town, and I imagine that the various Pyramids were situated just without the walls. Proceeding from the river to any one of them, we have to pass over mounds of earth and stony irregularities, covered with vegetation and shady groves, between which and the *vicinity* of the Pyramids, are several elevated *causeways*, † imagined to have been thrown up as a defence from

* "If the prospect of inanimate Nature was exhilarating," says Mr. St. John, "the pleasure derived from it was frequently damped by spectacles which a country afflicted with the plague of despotism could alone supply: troops of men, torn violently from their homes, marching away under the surveillance of foreign mercenaries, while their wives and children, menaced with penury and want, followed them with sobbing and lamentation, as long as their strength would permit, and then returned, widowed and fatherless, to their villages. Poverty we had beheld in every shape, until it had ceased to excite attention; but in this rich and smiling part of the country, where Nature was bountiful, even to profusion, its evils seemed to be, even by that circumstance, greatly aggravated. We had elsewhere seen men feeding on lupines, and wild herbs, like cattle; emaciated women, with scarcely a rag to cover their waists, gliding like spectres through the ruined villages; and children, naked as when born, sallow, squalid, bloated, eyeless, too young to know their danger, with no mother to guard, no father to maintain them, sitting among the rubbish, infested with lizards, snakes, scorpions, and every noxious reptile, subsisting on the spontaneous but precarious charity of the poor!" Egypt and Mohammed Ali, vol. ii. p. 276.

† See Isaiah lxii. 10.

the inundations: nevertheless, they look like ancient terraces, and may have been boundary walls, similar to those which enclose the temples. In my humble opinion, we should take too limited a view of the city of Noph, were we to fix the site either at Ghizeh or at Myt-Rahynêh, as it most probably included both.* The desert has encroached considerably; but there is a great deal of parched soil which only requires irrigation, to bring forth abundantly. In the course of our rambles, we saw several lizards and snakes, and were, as usual, saluted by the dogs, and the wretched fellahs, who in this neighbourhood, are said to be equally ferocious: for both are badly fed and ill-treated; and the latter being in constant communication with the Moghrebins of the wilderness, are perhaps unjustly suspected of evil, especially as they are sharp-featured, and never stir abroad without a knife and a *naboot*.† Returning to the cand'gias, we again set sail, but landed at Ghizeh to see the process of *artificial Egg-Hatching*, described many centuries ago, by Aristotle, and various other Greek and Roman authors—particularly Diodorus Siculus, Antigonus, and Pliny. It is very simple: all that is necessary being to imitate Nature, by applying a moderate heat equally to all parts of the egg. This is easily accomplished; and in various parts of Egypt, *egg-ovens* have been constructed, in which several thousand chickens are produced in the course of the year. The eggs are placed on shelves (so as not to touch one another) in a series of low, arched chambers or recesses, communicating with passages by openings imperfectly closed with mats, and so arranged, that the eggs may be turned five or

* See page 308 and 364.

† A species of long, heavy stick.

six times every twenty-four hours: the floors on which they are placed, have apertures or gratings, and are lightly covered with camel's dung, flax pullings, and any other flocculent substance: smouldering dung fires are then made at the higher extremities of the upper chambers, by which a close temperature is kept up, the maximum not exceeding 80°, and being gradually reduced as the hatching proceeds: the smoke escapes by vents: the longest time required is twenty-two days, and it is curious to observe the changes as they take place: we see the fresh eggs, which are white, slowly turning yellow, until at last they crack, and an organized being begins to appear. As soon as the creature bursts the bonds of its prison-house, it is transferred to an adjoining cell, and thence, by degrees, to cooler chambers, where may be seen thousands of unfledged chickens nestling together for warmth, without any hen to gather them under her wings—and chirping in unconscious innocence of the fate which awaits them:—the proper period for these operations is from the end of January until June: the ovens are considered public property: anybody may send eggs to be hatched, an arrangement being previously entered into, according to the number; but upon the average, one-third are lost.*

* Those who are curious upon this subject, will do well to inspect the "*Ecclesiobion*," a contrivance which has been some time exhibited in London, and is considered an improvement on the Egyptian mode of hatching in ovens. The apparatus is heated by steam, and is divided into compartments, that the temperature may be duly regulated. There is also a machine in which eggs of every date, from the time of their being laid, until twenty-one days old, are so placed that by means of a strong artificial light, they are rendered transparent, and the spectator can observe the progress from the earliest origin of life, until the escape of the young bird from the ovum. One side of the large room in which the process is exhibited, is set apart for the new generation, and has the appearance of a miniature poultry-yard.

The increasing number and variety of objects which now arrested our attention, announced the vicinity of the Imperial suburbs: the banks were enlivened by military, and adorned with plantations and gardens, the summer retreats of Fostât; then we saw the Government schools,* the palace of Ibrahim Pascha, the Island of Er-Rhóudah, the Canal, the village of Embábeh, and finally, the masts and buildings of Boolak. The Quay was crowded with people, and the arrival of two large cand'gias attracted more; curiosity was excited, and no sooner did we step ashore, than our troubles began; we were pestered by the beggars, jostled by *facchini*, and interrogated by custom-house inquisitors, all eager for a job, and—*backscheesh:*† so to settle the business, we dispatched Mohammed (decked out in full Janizary attire, that he might not be intercepted) with a note to the British Consul, announcing our arrival, and soliciting the further aid of Osman, whose brawny limbs soon distinguished him from the multitude of scraggy adventurers, hucksters, and idlers that had been drawn to the spot. He found me disputing with the Pascha's people, who were trying to extort a heavy tax for little Ali. I told them that "in the first place, the child was no longer *a slave;* and that if he had been, he must be considered the property of a private person, and not of a *slave dealer;* therefore they were not entitled to any duty, and should receive none." As soon as they saw Osman, they knew the case was hopeless; so they gave up the point, and grew *civil!*

* Vide Appendix.

† The abject state of the beggars of Cairo is curiously contrasted with the thriving condition of a London *tramper* in the time of Elizabeth—of whom a writer of the day observes, "in every man's kitchen is his meat drest; in every man's cellar lyes his beere; and the best men's purses keep a penny for him to spend!"—See "The Bellman of London," published in 1608.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ROUTE FROM CAIRO TO SUEZ — THE PENINSU
OF SINAI — THE WANDERINGS OF THE ISRAELIT
— THE BEDOUEEN ARABS — ORIENTAL LEPROSY
THE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE—SECOND VISIT TO ALE
ANDRIA — OPIUM EATING — ZOAN : PELUSIUM : B
BASTIS : LAKE MENZALEH — THE SOURCES AND I
UNDATION OF THE NILE—ANCIENT WRITINGS : TI
PAPYRUS — AGRICULTURE — DAMIETTA : ITS MAN
FACTURES AND FORTIFICATIONS—DEPARTURE FO
PALESTINE—CONCLUSION.

On arriving at Cairo, we proceeded to our old quarte
for a short time previously to crossing the desert
Mount Sinai and the Red Sea ; and I determined upo
leaving my young protegè in charge of Mrs. Bell o
landlady, until our return. We availed ourselves
Osman's services during our stay, and through th
instrumentality of the English Consul, obtained
letter of introduction from the resident Greek P
triarch to the monks of the Convent of St. C
therine.

Taking leave of our late companions, Messrs. Robi
son and Maltass, we travelled by dromedaries to Sue
pitching our tent always during the extreme heat an

at midnight.* The route from Cairo to Suez lies nearly due east: there are three roads: the centre one is hard and rocky, sufficiently so to admit of Napoleon conveying heavy guns across: the other two are sandy. To the south, are seen the mountains called the *D'gebel Adaka*, marking, it is supposed, the route of the Israelites.† We quitted the town by the "*Bab-el-Nas'r*,"‡ and in the course of a few hours, reached the *Birket el Had'gj* "the lake of the Pilgrims," where we stopped to take in water, as we were now entering upon the desert, and there is no other watering place.§ Passing on the right of the *Huhebi* mountains, we continued our journey without interruption, for about nine hours, when descending a little, we began to approach the valley of the Red Sea, the first intimation of which is a rude-looking building called the *Kalaat Ad'jirood*, "the Castle of Ad'jirood." Near it, is a tank of brackish water, where we found a caravan setting out for Mis'r, a set of insolent Arabs who were disposed to be very troublesome. After a short halt, we continued along the

	Dol.	Piast.
* Expenses—4 Dromedaries from Cairo to Suez.....	8	0
Passage from Suez to Tor for 3 persons (one a servant)	6	0
4 Dromedaries from Tor to the Convent at Mt. Sinai..	6	10
Ditto from the Convent to Suez (7 days)	12	0
Ditto from Suez to Cairo.....	5	0
Saddle Bags for Baggage, 3 dol.—Water Bags, 2 dol...	5	0
A tent for two persons (second hand)	4	0

† See Gen. xiv. 2, 3.—and xxiv.

‡ The inscription over the *Bab-el-Nas'r* contains no date; it is this: "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his Prophet, and Ali the friend of God—May the Divine Grace rest upon both!"

§ To the left of this route, is the situation of the celebrated canal formed in the days of Sesostris, between the Nile and the Red Sea. Its width was 100 cubits, and it was deep enough for the largest vessels known in those days. In later times it was repaired by the Ptolemies, and subsequently by the Romans, in the reign of Trajan; it was opened again by the Khaliph Omar, but not a vestige of it is now to be seen. Vide Strabo, B. xvii.

plain, round the head of the Bay, a most welcome object to the eye of a weary traveller. In the course of three hours, we reached a spring of better water, whence we could easily descry the buildings of Suez, in the midst of earthy irregularities, extending down to the sea. After refreshing man and beast, we again set forward; and at the expiration of another hour, pitched our tent under the walls of the town, which were defended by square and round towers: the garrison consisted of about sixty men: the harbour was choked up with sand, and at low water, fordable, so that those who embark here for India are obliged to be conveyed in boats. After some difficulty, having been obliged to call in the aid of the Governor, (see p. 402), we obtained a passage on board a crazy Arab vessel, for Tor, in company with a full cargo of Mohammedan fanatics, bound for D'gedda, but without either chart or compass, steering always by the stars. Here we witnessed a curious Bedoueen dance; the women arranging themselves in a row opposite the men, and then accompanying one another in a slow, side-long movement, as if about to fall, at the same time clapping their hands and singing. The Bedoueen Arabs are the only happy people that the traveller meets with: they are free and independent, and have a great contempt for those who bind themselves to one place.* Scheikh Ibrahim, the Chief of

* The tribes of the three Arabias—*Felix*, *Deserta*, *and Petræa*, all boast their descent from Ishmael, the son of Hagar, (Gen. xxi. 18). The term *bedw* means a country without habitation. When the tribes elect their Chief, they swear that they will resist the Turks, and never live in a town or castle, but always in tents and the open desert, as their great progenitor Kedar did. They are chiefly the followers of Ali, who was the fourth Khaliph after Mohammed, and began his reign in the 35th year of the Hegira, A. D. 655. They may be distinguished by the form and colour of their turbans: they shave the head also entirely, without leaving a lock as other Mohammedans do.

the tribe, received us into his friendship: for having become his guests and shared his hospitality, we were *as brothers*. He furnished us with dromedaries, and we traversed the desert of Shur, and the wilderness of Zin, to Mount Horeb and Elim, and returned by the *Written Mountains* and the Ouadi Feirân to *Ain Moosa* and Suez, or as it was formerly called, *Kolzoum;* for three centuries and a half ago, there was no town where Suez now stands.

In the course of this journey, we sailed over the place where Pharaoh and his host were drowned: we drank of the waters of Midian, where Moses first saw his wife, and kept the flocks of her father Jethro: we wandered among the picturesque and romantic regions where the Israelites rebelled, and made unto themselves a molten calf, and we stood by the *Rock of Miribah*, from which the water was miraculously made to flow: ascending Mount Sinai, we entered the *Cave of Elijah*, and upon the highest summit, beheld the spot where Moses knelt, and received the commands of God: from the projecting pinnacles of Horeb, we looked down upon the plains of Riphidim, where Joshua discomfited Amalek, the rugged passes of Petra, and the Gulf of Akaba; and in the valley where the convent now stands, we approached with reverence the *Holy Ground* from which the Almighty was pleased first to manifest Himself to the Jewish Lawgiver, and send him forth on his *Divine Mission*.* And here

* The various subjects here referred to are described in the Book of Exodus. chap. ii. iii. iv. and xiv. to xxi. See also chap. xxxii.—and 1 Kings xix. When Justinian founded the convent at Mount Sinai, he decreed that a certain number of the Arabs and their families should be supported by the monks, if they would work in the convent garden, and cultivate a few little enclosed spots in the neighbourhood where there is soil. The Bedoueens now come in great numbers, and pretend that they are all *descendants* of these families, and demand provisions and money, and frequently stop the supplies which are sent

let the sceptic smile *if he will*, let him traverse this remarkable district with a light heart, and ridicule the marvellous tales related by the superstitious recluse, *if he will*,—but, if I mistake not, he will return home more seriously disposed than he came, and he will have seen enough to induce him to read his Bible with an unprejudiced and *humble* mind! These, and many other subjects connected with a journey of such interest and extent, I cannot even glance at in this place, having already exceeded the limits at first proposed.

Soon after we reached Cairo, Mr. Bradford left me, with the intention of proceeding to France by the first opportunity, after a short visit to Jerusalem. I advised him to take Mohammed, as I could do without him for a few weeks, and we agreed to meet again at Paris. I had now had some experience as an Oriental traveller, and felt at home among the Arabs; being left without a servant, I was thrown upon my own resources, and resolved to devote my whole time to the sick; my connection with the merchants, Galloway Bey, Osman, and more especially with *Aboo Degg'n*, (Père de Barbe, otherwise Dr. Dussap) whose experience and philanthropy had gained him the good will of all, facilitated the object which I had in view; the latter gave me considerable information about the climate and diseases of the East, and took me to see

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to the convent from Cairo. The monks have complained to Mohammed Ali repeatedly, but he has not power to prevent such aggressions. An attack of this kind was made while we were there; the Arabs threw down great stones from the mountain sides, and fired their match-locks into the garden, &c. The monks have a couple of guns, but it would be dangerous to use them, and they are obliged to satisfy the Arabs as well as they can. After a few days, we engaged with some of the same tribe to conduct us across the desert to Suez. We *ate bread with them:* after which, we had nothing to fear: we were their guests, and quite in their power for seven days; but I never felt more secure in my life.

many important cases: indeed he was very glad of my assistance, being the only physician in Cairo who was really worthy of confidence, and being continually applied to by the Arabs. At Aboo-Zabel, about four hours distant, on the confines of the desert, beyond Heliopolis, near where they have been boring for water, Mohammed Ali founded a medical school, and a military hospital; but unfortunately in this, as in every thing else in this country, the best intentions are in a great degree, thwarted by the chicanery of certain individuals connected with them. Some credit is due to Mons. Clot (otherwise Clot Bey,) for having made the first attempt to overcome the prejudices of the Mussulmauns in regard to surgery and anatomy; for the difficulties with which he had to contend must have been very great; nevertheless, the Ecôle de Medicine is a very different thing from that which it has been represented to be. I will hope that things are better managed now than they were. When the institution was opened, the Pascha appointed with eagerness any body who chose to apply, and thus it appears, became the dupe of needy adventurers; there were, however, two Professors, (Dr. Felix Rivière of Paris, and Dr. Silvestre Cherubini of Brescia in Lombardy) who more particularly attracted my notice, as men of respectability and talent; these complained to me of the indignities which were every day heaped upon them, being "obliged to associate with a set of men as colleagues, who confessed that they only came for the piastres, and knew little or nothing of their profession;" added to which, that their habits and feelings were such as "they could neither admire nor approve:" the Pascha, they said, was "always in arrears with them, and they could get nothing done;" they left at last in

disgust. They informed me that during the first four years, they did not get through a single course of lectures, that the *Pharmacie* was often destitute of the most common drugs, such as senna, gum-arabic, and opium, and that during the last three months, they had not had a leech at the hospital. They attributed all this negligence to the *Medecin en Chèf*, who had been "repeatedly applied to, and nothing could be done without his orders." "The students," they said, "were from the age of twelve to forty, and were supported by the Viceroy, being intended for the army; some of them, aware that a great deal was expected, complained to the Authorities that they had learned very little; on which, M. Clot proposed a public examination as soon as Ibrahim Pascha should return to the Capital, and in the mean time, put a list of questions and answers into the hands of the pupils, that they might prepare for the event. When the day arrived, His Highness expressed himself highly delighted with the readiness with which the young men responded, and complimented the learned Professor on the progress which they had made;"—during the late campaigns, however, the Commander-in-Chief had, doubtless, an opportunity of ascertaining their *real* merits. As regards the system pursued, all the students, of whatever period, were compelled to attend the same lectures; thus, those of the first year had to listen to the physiological teacher although quite unacquainted with anatomy. The edifice was a good one, and there was no want of cleanliness: attached was a garden containing medicinal plants, but the form and situation of the hospital were bad; several of the wards were imperfectly ventilated and smelt close: some were even offensive. This building should consist of one

long range, the chambers communicating by doors; there would then be a free circulation of air, whereas it is shut in by a high wall. I understand M. Clot enjoys the entire confidence of Mohammed Ali, who of course, cannot be a judge of what is best in such matters; he has a great deal of tact and mannerism, and seems to have played his cards pretty well. He was very polite, and made me acquainted with himself and his proceedings in a few minutes.* During my residence in Egypt, I saw a great deal of Oriental Leprosy: there was a well known Leper who called himself Scheikh Hassan, a most deplorable object who used to beg at the corner of a street: the disease had been progressing slowly for twenty years: his limbs were shrivelled, his features distorted: he had lost one eye, and could see very little with the other; he had scarcely a tooth left, and was covered with white blotches from head to foot; yet his general health was good; he had collected a great deal of money, and had *two wives!* With some difficulty, I prevailed on him to come to my lodgings that I might take a sketch of him. At first he said if he exposed his head to a Christian's gaze, he should die,—then he feared the influence of the *Evil Eye*, urging that it was forbidden to take the likeness of any thing upon earth, and that he should bring upon himself the malevolence of the *Fairies;* and lastly, he thought I wanted his portrait for the Pascha, that he might be *known again!* Money, however, overcame all scruples!†

* Concerning the Franks generally, see Vol. I. p. 128.

† I may mention also, the case of a child of nine years, who was in a dying state when I was called to him: the features were much distorted, and the nose and mouth nearly *eaten away:* he was first attacked when two years old: but his general health had very recently began to be impaired, owing, as was thought, to the system being lowered by aperients of aloes, mastich and sulphur, which had been given him at the instigation of some friend: for he grew rapidly ill,

The origin of this frightful malady has been traced to Egypt, whence it gradually spread to all the countries of the East. It was transported by the Phœnicians into Greece: it followed the Romans on their return from Asia, and from the 12th to near the end of the 16th century, was the terror and scourge of Europe; being introduced there a second time by the Crusaders. It seems invariably to have attacked those chiefly who lived on rancid food, and stale fish, breathing at the same time, insalubrious air: hence, islanders, who depend on their fisheries for support, have been peculiarly prone to it. It exists to a frightful extent, in the south and western parts of Iceland, and has been admirably described by Henderson.* It is unquestionably one of the most terrible afflictions of the human race: though not always equally fatal: the patient may linger on to fifty and sixty years of age, covered with livid blotches, rents, and scars, or glassy-looking scales, intersected by reddish streaks, and large white spots: the hair falls off, the body emaciates, the mind is impaired, and often, an unctuous fluid exudes from the skin and nails, which is offensive and irritating: the look is wild and haggard, the features distorted, and at last, ulcers break out, and death, the long-wished for deliverer, puts an end to the wretched man's suffering. There are so many varieties of the disease, and so many different names have been given to each, that we no longer wonder at the discrepant accounts that have

and took no food for nine days. I found him in a state of extreme emaciation, his ribs nearly protruding; he breathed with difficulty, and life was gradually becoming extinct. The mother was in perfect health, and there were no proofs of hereditary taint, infection, or contagion; though for the most part, it is otherwise, at least as regards the former.

* See "A Journal of a Residence in Iceland," 2d Edition, p. 231 to 237.

been published. Frequent allusions are made to it in the Bible; and as Mr. Henderson justly observes—It is evident, from the complaints uttered by Job, the general strain of argument used by his friends, and other circumstances, that that pious man was afflicted with one of the worst forms of Oriental Leprosy. In chap. ii. at the 7th verse, he is said to have been smitten with "a malignant ulceration," (shehin râ) or as it stands in the English version, "with *sore boils* from the sole of his foot unto his crown;" and as this disease was both dreadful in its symptoms, and incurable, it was viewed by the ancients as a peculiar punishment inflicted by God on such as were guilty of some flagrant act of wickedness; and it was called by the Hebrews "*nega tzeraath*—the stroke of the scourge." Hence, Job's wife, viewing his recovery as impossible, bids him "bless God, and die!" His being unable to make any further use of his fingers, the corroded, stiff, cloddy, cracked, and loathsome state of his skin, the fœtidness of his breath, the gloominess of his looks, the pain in his bones, his wearisome nights and terrific dreams, his wishing for death, and his being shunned by his intimate friends and relatives—these and other characteristic points enumerated, all shew that the Patriarch was afflicted with the true Arabian Leprosy: moreover, one of the Hexaplar versions actually has ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΙ, *the Elephantiasis* (Job ii. 7.) and this loathsome affection is still common at Damascus, in the vicinity of which, Job is supposed to have resided.* Leprosy is not always attended with pain: it commences with a pale, reddish, tumid spot in some part

* See Job ii. 8.—vi. 8 to 11.—vii. 3 to 17.—x. i.—xiii. 28.—xvi. 8 to 17.—xvii. 1.—xix. 13 to 27.—and xxx. 17. Compare these with the description given of the *True Leprosy* in Levit. xiii. and xiv. See also 2 Kings vii. 3.—and 2 Chron. xxvi.

of the body, which remains stationary for some time: others then make their appearance, and at last an eruption, which proceeds *insidiously* and becomes chronic. In the mean while, the constitution is undermined, and it may justly be said that a person labouring from inveterate Leprosy, resembles, as the Icelanders designate it, "a rancid, putrifying corpse;" and in the East, it is significantly styled "the first-born of death!" an appellation which the following melancholy account, communicated by a correspondent in India, fully justifies.

"Being upon a *shirkar* expedition, upon elephants, we pitched our tents near a small *chowkee*, named 'Rhanneserge,' about twenty miles from the town of Jellasore, which is situate on the high road to Juggernaut, and taking advantage of the coolness of the morning, we proceeded on our route towards the heavy jungles which lie in the rear of the village of Dantoon, which stands equi-distant between the two aforenamed stations. As we proceeded onward, our attention was directed to a human object lying on the road-side, extended upon the arid turf. He was motionless, and evinced no signs of life; but on our hailing him, he raised one of his arms, which was white and withered, which immediately convinced us that he was *a Leper*. We descended from our elephants, and approached this miserable object of humanity. He was partially shrouded by a filthy sheet, which was the colour of the earth on which he lay. His bones were protruding through his skin, for flesh he had none, and the nails of his fingers were long and incurved, precisely resembling the talons of a bird of prey. The fore joints of his toes were completely corroded away, and large maggots were to be seen moving within the sockets of the joints, which appeared eating their way into his feet.

He was utterly unable to raise himself from the ground, and could but faintly articulate to the few questions we put to him. A cocoa-nut shell lay by his side, from which he had been accustomed to drink; but upon enquiry, we found that he had neither money nor food. He told us that he had come all the way from Hourah, opposite Calcutta, was of the potter's caste, (a very low one), and that he was a pilgrim on his road to Juggernaut. We poured some brandy into his humble goblet, and applied it to his lips; but he was unable to swallow much of it. It was utterly impossible to afford him any relief; for none of our servants could be prevailed upon to go near him, and money was of no avail to him, as he could make no use of it. We therefore abandoned him to the dismal and distressing fate, which thousands and tens of thousands of pilgrims like himself had shared before him. As there is a small Company's 'bungalow' at the town of Dantoon, for the accommodation of *dak* travellers on that road, we slept there during that night, and on the following morning, at day-break, left for our tents at Rhanneserge. On passing the spot where we but the day before, had communed with a living being like ourselves, a strange contrast to the picture presented itself to the eye. Nothing but a scull and a few loose bones lay distributed around the tattered garments which had alone survived the body, that they, but on the yesterday, had covered. The jackals and the vultures had screened from the eye what the funeral 'pyre' and the grave were each unwilling to conceal."

Another of the appalling sights presented to view in the streets of Cairo, is the disease more strictly entitled *Elephantiasis*. It is of very frequent occurrence, and attacks males rather than females:

healthy, robust looking men are continually met, dragging after them a leg three times the natural size, and precisely resembling that of an elephant. No satisfactory reason has been assigned for it, and there does not appear to be any remedy. The Authorities have been in the habit of sending these two classes of patients to Syria, for several centuries: not because there are hospitals at Damascus for their reception, but from a superstitious veneration for the waters of *Abana and Pharpar*, added to a desire to get rid of them.* Herodotus informs us that formerly in Egypt, a physician usually confined his practice to one disease, and "The Babylonians," he says, "had *no physicians*, but carried their sick into a square, where it was thought they might get advice from any of the passers by who had suffered from the same complaint." "No one," he adds, "may pass a diseased individual so exposed, in silence, or without enquiring into all the symptoms of his case." The same custom of exhibiting the sick to the public, and of calling in the neighbours that they may receive the benefit of their experience, prevails extensively in the

* See the account of Naaman the Leper, 2 Kings, ch. v. Not to tire my readers with too much *physic*, I will merely allude to another curious disease common in these countries, particularly among the Negroes who have recently crossed the desert, or otherwise reduced the powers of life. I mean the "Guinea worm," (Ver de Medine, Dragoneau, or as the Egyptian's term it, "*Farentik.*") It is a living worm which grows to several inches in length, and is produced spontaneously, in the cellular substance beneath the skin, particularly in that of the extremities. It only occurs in those who are in a state of debility; but the curious part of the story is, that surgeons who have handled these patients, have, *without doubt*, been attacked in the same way. The Africans get rid of it by making a small longitudinal incision over the worm, and then insinuating a little piece of stick with a lump of lead attached, the weight of which gradually draws it out: Europeans improve upon this, by making one coil of the worm round the stick every day until it is removed; if force be employed, the worm will break.

present day, in Egypt, although there is no law on the subject.

It now became an important consideration with me, what I should do with my little black boy, whilst I was travelling in Syria. I had a long and perilous journey before me, and to take him with me was out of the question. At last, I determined on sending him direct to England, in the charge of Captain Riches and his wife, who fortunately were at Alexandria with "the Bristol," waiting for a cargo of cotton. I set out immediately; for it so happened, that whilst I was revolving these things, Mohammed returned, Mr. Bradford having, to my great surprise, dismissed him at Damietta, and embarked for Jaffa *alone*. I could not help thinking that this was very imprudent, and so the result proved. I had a most delightful sail from Cairo to Rosetta, and arrived on the evening of the third day, notwithstanding the wind continued blowing from the N. W. I passed the evening and the following day, in company with Mr. Barker's family, who were rusticating at their chateau on the Nile. In the mean time, Mohammed procured donkeys, and at two o'clock, we again set forward. Little Ali was in the full enjoyment of childhood's sound repose, and he was actually carried from the cand'gia, and placed in my arms upon a donkey, without waking. We threaded the dingy avenues of the town, without impediment, until we reached the western gates. Here we were challenged by the guards, who were extremely insolent, and refused to let us pass, notwithstanding we had an order: this I believe was from sheer laziness: most of them were fast asleep, and annoyed at being disturbed. I was therefore obliged to be very resolute, threatening I know not what terrible things—*the* "*Koorbasch*"

was nothing to them—and it was not until I turned to go back, to report their conduct to the Governor, that they repented, and advanced to unbar the doors. I was impatient at delay, for it was now the end of June, and the nights were short: nevertheless, we crossed the Rosetta sands before sun-rise, and skirting the sea-shore, reached the Ferry before the heat of the day began. Here we halted for the second time, took a bath in the Canopic Branch of the Nile, laid in a fresh supply of water, and after a short sleep, recommenced our journey. Before us, lay a wide extended plain, on the surface of which, the undulating currents, which so often deceive the Eastern traveller, were sporting, as if in mockery of our disappointment. "The snow that blinds the eyes, they say, is bad, but the sands that mislead the feet, and tantalize the soul, are *worse;* for they require considerable skill even in a guide, by daylight." Sloping banks and many coloured hillocks, with here and there, an abortive attempt at vegetation, surrounded us on every side: we saw several chamelions, and now and then, a solitary bird of prey hovering in the air. At last, we came in sight of the Bay of Aboukir, and refreshed ourselves with a *pastek* or water-melon, which we had just purchased of some women who were setting out with a caravan from Alexandria. I never enjoyed a greater luxury in my life; for we were chafed, and parched with thirst, and the poor child, who was constantly watching the shifting and illusive landscapes occasioned by the *mirage*, could not be convinced that there was not a village, and *plenty of water*, if we would only go to it. We availed ourselves of as much shelter as could be obtained from a group of stunted palm-trees, and covering ourselves with a *burnoos*, soon fell asleep. When the

sun had declined an hour from the meridian, we resumed our seats, and halting only at the khan, to dispatch a *find'gian* of coffee, and a single *t'chibou'que*, we approached the gates of Alexandria, but did not enter them, thinking it better to go direct to the *Mahmoudieh*, or landing-place, and put Ali on board "the Bristol" at once. We were just stepping into one of the shore boats, when a tall, athletic Negro touched me on the shoulder, and asked for my *teskerêh*, at the same time demanding a tax for *the slave:* I resented both, but having in my hurry, *given up the teskerêh* to the guards at Rosetta, instead of *shewing it*, I was under the necessity of going, feverish and excited as I was, to the custom-house, where I deposited my baggage, and then proceeded with Ali to the British Consulate: the poor child was so fatigued that, in two minutes, he was in a sound sleep upon the Divan. Selim the Janizary conveyed him on board "the Bristol;" I followed the same evening, and took up my residence there for a few weeks, to enjoy the sea breezes. My services were put in requisition, as soon as it was known that I had arrived, but my appearance was so changed since my last visit, that several of my acquaintances did not recognise me. There was as usual, plenty of sickness and plenty of filth, but no epidemic: the fortifications were fast progressing, and the dock yard and arsenal offered a scene of bustle and confusion: the Egyptian fleet was continually cruizing about, and one day, there was a sham fight:—the Pascha's intentions were obvious!

During this visit, I saw a great deal of the Rev. Mr. Wolff, the Missionary, and heard a great deal more: he distinguished himself by his love of disputation, and enthusiasm, which I could not help

thinking, were injurious to the cause of Christianity. I believe him to have been good-natured and sincere; but he was too ardent and eccentric, ever to make converts. A missionary, I conceive, should be persevering, mild, and gently persuasive, endearing in manner, and not given to acrimonious controversy, he will then gain friends; the reverse will only kindle animosity, excite the prejudices of a bad education, and call forth the superstitious zeal of the fanatic, which may lead to violence and persecution, instead of deliberate enquiry, and patient contemplation. He should exercise judgment and forbearance, remembering how difficult it is, even in civilized society, to counteract the force of early impressions; it is not to be done by sweeping assertions: a dogmatic manner will neither reach the heart, nor convince the understanding. He is the best reasoner who, while he elicits an acknowledgment of error, will not *appear* to do so, and who especially refrains from every thing which may call forth the imperfections of our nature. Mr. Wolff's conduct excited the jealousy of the Ulemah: they declared that "he must either be very wicked or mad, and that if he were allowed to live, he should be *locked up*." Mohammed Ali then informed the Consul that our friend's life was in danger, and advised that he should be sent away. At first, Mr. Wolff rather gloried in the prospect of *martyrdom;* but being told that some men were lying in wait for him, consented to take his departure for Rhodes, where he immediately began to distribute religious tracts in the bazaars: the whole place was in commotion in consequence; and Mr. Wilkinson, the Consul, prevailed on him to go to Smyrna; thence he sailed in a Greek Kaïque for Salonica; but one day,

being chased, as he thought, by *a pirate*, he insisted on the sailors pulling for land: there was probably some manœuvring on the part of the crew, for he scrambled over the banks, leaving his clothes and his bibles on board, and after wandering about for three days, without food, presented himself before the Governor at Salonica, in a piteous plight, cut and bleeding from the thorns and rocks, to the no small amusement of the Mussulmaun Authorities, who fed and clothed him, and sent him, by his own desire, to Malta. Two English travellers, passing through St. Jean d'Acre, ascertained that the Prior, who was at heart a Protestant, was very anxious to get away: his story was briefly as follows:—He was called Padre Michaelis, and belonged to a family of note, at Rome: when about to enter the church, he discovered principles opposed to the Romish creed, and it was only by great interest, and upon condition that he should reside abroad, that he was admitted to holy orders. He was accordingly sent to Candia, where he established a school among the Greeks: the other resident monks made this known in Italy, and he was withdrawn; family interest, however, again befriended him, and he was appointed Prior of the convent at Aleppo, where, with equal zeal, he set about organizing another school; his conduct being watched, after various fruitless remonstrances, he was transferred to the convent at St. Jean d'Acre, which appointment being more lucrative, could only have been given him as a bribe. Here, having no associates but ignorant bigots, he resolved to take his departure, the first opportunity. This being related to Mr. Wolff, who was then at Cyprus, in less than twenty-four hours, he dispatched a boat with a letter to be secretly delivered

by a trust-worthy person, to Padre Michaelis, who packed up his papers, and what valuables he possessed, and came away in the night. Our excellent friend then sent him to Smyrna, at his own expense, whence he embarked for England, and became, I understand, a Protestant missionary. This transaction did Mr. Wolff infinite credit: he has since made the overland journey to India: a friend of mine saw him set out at Constantinople, without a *parah* in his pocket, intending to *beg his way* through Persia;—he did so, and arrived safely, after enduring every species of hardship and privation. He was seized by the Toorkomans, and severely beaten; he was fed on husks, and being tied to a horse's tail, was dragged across the dreary wilds of Bokhara, where he was liberated by the late Sir Alexander Burnes, from the most ignominious and cruel bondage. He then returned to Europe, and nothing daunted, set out upon an equally perilous journey to Abyssinia, leaving Lady Georgiana Walpole, his wife, at Malta.* How much of his plan he was enabled to put in execution, I know not, but he found his way back to England, and I believe is still as zealous and indefatigable as ever. No man, I conceive, has voluntarily endured greater hardships, or had more hair-breadth escapes than Mr. Wolff; his perseverance and moral courage are inconceivable: his character is most exemplary, and he is influenced by a strong sense of religious duty: he is a first-rate Oriental scholar, and we cannot help admiring him for his learning and his fortitude.†

* He embarked in January 1837, on board "*the African*" steamer for Alexandria, his object being to penetrate into Abyssinia and Timbuctoo, preaching the Gospel to the Jews and Mohammedans in Egypt, Yemen, and all the countries through which he would have to pass.

† In a letter addressed to Sir Alexander Burnes, inserted in the Madras

I have already spoken of the ferocity of the dogs: they are not only the scavengers of the Pascha's highways, when hard pressed, they will attack a child, and it is dangerous for a man to fall asleep in lonely situations. An English sailor having been discharged, was returning to his ship to receive his wages; being drunk, and the sea running high, he fell overboard; before the Arab could put his boat about, the man sunk, and his body was found, two days afterwards, half devoured by the dogs, having been stripped of the clothes by the fellahs: his comrades buried the mangled corpse, and it was as much as they could do to defend themselves the while, from the attacks of these wild animals. In like manner, little Ali was one night severely bitten in the arm by a large rat. It is curious to observe the sagacity of the dogs in the towns, where they pick up a few scraps from the people: they prowl about, and each has his own *beat;* and if a dog is found *poaching upon his neighbour's manor*, the rest make common cause, and attack him. Many improvements are taking place in Alexandria; and some of the thoroughfares have been widened; but it will never be free from malignant fever, until it is properly *drained.* Having made the tour of all the interesting places, and taken leave of Mr. Gliddon's family, and other kind friends, I prepared to recross the wilderness.

Gazette of July 24, 1833, Mr. Wolff states that "he considered the doctrine of Christianity at seven, was convinced of its truth at eight, and was baptized at sixteen years of age"—on which the editor of the Gazette observes—"we certainly do hear of instances of precocious talent,—but Mr. Wolff, according to his own shewing, must be infinitely more indebted to Nature than any man has been before him, or than any individual perhaps will be again; and though we are extremely sceptical in our belief of the exercise of any miraculous power in these times, we yet perfectly agree with Mr. Wolff that his conversion at so early an age, was *a very singular one indeed!*"—See Vol. I. p. 104.

I entered my little boy as a passenger on b
"the Bristol" in the name of *Ali Hassanyn*, to w
I added the surname of *Felix*, in consideration o
happy condition. The captain and his wife were
very fond of him, and had him baptized at Liverp
I did not see the child again for fifteen months
would then often speak of *Mamma Riches*, and I
no reason to regret having placed him under her c
nevertheless, it required some resolution to part
one in whose welfare I had taken so much conc
there is that in the innocent affection of a little
which we know to be entirely dependent upon
although not our own by consanguinity, which enc
us to each other, and I will not say, but much
strove to conceal my feelings, I passed over the ves
side with a heavy heart, and when I reached the
el Raschid which opened upon the desert, I pause
take a lingering look of a place in which I now
a very considerable interest. I was never of a me
choly turn of mind, but there are times when glo
thoughts will arise to all. I was on the eve of
departure for an unsettled country, and had many
to run: the remonstrances of my friends at M
rushed upon my recollection, and I could not tell
perhaps this little orphan Negro that I was now sen
to England, was destined to become the consolatio
my own parents whom I might never see again.
why be sorrowful? I had experienced so n
mercies, that I felt it would be a sin to doubt
future Providence of God. I resigned myself,
child and them cheerfully to Him who alone
power to protect, and who assuredly *will* protec
we trust and fear not! I halted at the khan
Abercrombie's grave, as on a former occasion, w

Bradford was with me. Poor fellow! I little thought that he was then lying sick at Jerusalem, praying for me to come and help him! It will easily be conceived that, under the circumstances, a journey in the desert was doubly tedious. I started again before day-light, and having crossed the ferry, fancied many a time and oft, that I beheld the walls and towering palms of Rosetta, but alas! "the *Mirage* which deceives so often, as often deceives again!" and it was nearly six o'clock, before I reached my place of destination—as Sir F. Henniker would say, "*impatiens solis atque pulveris!*" As there are no inns, I slept that night at the Consulate house; and the following afternoon, took my final leave of its hospitable tenants, embarking once more for the Imperial City. Mohammed Ali erected some rice mills at Rosetta, at very considerable expense, the object of which was, to free the rice of the husk by means of steam; but from bad management or otherwise, they were only found to spoil the grain, and have since been suffered to go to ruin. In 1839, Messrs. Joyce and Hill were allowed to establish steam-boats on the Nile; several English, and one French firm of the name of Pache purchased land near the canal, and four other Europeans had authority to open a tannery which would employ about 200 Arabs: but there is no encouragement given to any settlers, because, as I have before stated, the Pascha holds all the trade in his own hands. On an old tower, a little to the right of Aboo Mandoor, he has set up a telegraph, and the manufacture of Taboosches (red caps) which was formerly monopolized by the Tunisians, is now carried on extensively at Fouah,* under

* This factory employs about 2000 workmen, and can produce 600 caps a-week: the best are made of the finest European wool, which is spun by

the superintendence *nominally* of his son Ibrahim Pascha, as also that of the "*Zaboots*,"—a species of coarse woollen cloak which is worn by the *Nizam*.

Taking advantage of a fine north-westerly breeze, and a brilliant atmosphere, we continued under canvass all night: the first day, we fetched Niklêh, the second, Wardan, and arrived at Boolak on the afternoon of the third. I now began to think seriously of departing for Syria, and engaged Mohammed to accompany me: but had some difficulty in getting the Pascha's permission, an order having been issued that "no Arab should leave the country, *under pain of death!*" The delay which this occasioned, gave me an opportunity of making a few more rounds with Dr. Dussap; we visited the Armenian Convent together, and many other objects of interest. I was happy to learn that the practice of opium-eating is diminishing. The poppy is cultivated chiefly in Asia Minor, and in some districts, grows spontaneously, as at Afiouru Hassa Hissar. But in Turkey and China many of the shops have been put down.*

The 25th of July found me once more on the road to Boolak, where I embarked for Damietta, being

women, and netted into shape by girls; they are then washed, brushed, shrunk to half their size, and dyed: after which, they are mounted with blue silk, marked, and pressed.

* Professed opium-eaters have been known to consume 200 and 300 grains daily; and Monsieur de Quincey, the author of the "*Confessions*," tells us that he has himself taken 320 *grains at one time!* patients have come under my notice who swallowed a liqueur glass of laudanum twice a-day, and one lady allowed herself regularly a pint a-week. When persevered in habitually, opium so destroys the digestive organs, that after a time, corrosive sublimate may even be taken in large doses with impunity. When smoked, it produces a haggard and pasty countenance; and if used to excess in any way, it will terminate life, either by paralysis, mania, convulsions, or delirium tremens. See an admirable account of the "*Theriakee Tchartchee*," the place where the lovers of opium used to resort at Constantinople. Hope's Anastasius, vol. i. p. 215. See also the writings of Sir John Chardin.

constrained at last, to take my leave of this delightful climate. The general aspect of Cairo is a curious amalgamation of poverty, disease, and filth, bustle, lamentation, toil, sensuality, degradation, luxury, and fanaticism. "It is an epitome," says Mr. St. John, "of the whole eastern world. There, as in a hot-bed, flourish all those vices which have proved the bane of the vast, but short lived despotisms of the East. Corruption, if not universal, is so general, that it seems to exhibit itself *every where*." It is certainly true that every thing which meets the eye of the enlightened stranger, is strikingly contrasted with that which he is accustomed to behold in the civilized world: but with such it will not do to compare; and it is too often the case, that what at first makes a favourable impression, leaves a vapourish insipidity, or is proved on a further acquaintance, to have been masqued, and arrayed in the fictitious garb of hypocrisy. The traveller may derive both amusement and instruction from the scenes of every-day life; for there is abundant opportunity for observing human nature: the European settlers are for the most part, demoralized, and those who hold appointments under Government, are with some exceptions, parasites and paupers, seeking to enrich themselves at the Pascha's expense, regardless of the true interest of their master. But the ideas of the natives are gradually expanding, and Providence working on the large scale, takes advantage of the machinations of the profligate to diffuse blessings upon the earth, and evil is rendered subservient to good.

We lingered some time off the gardens of Shoobra, as the distant minarets of Mis'r lessened upon the sight, and we dropped gently down the stream, anxious to take another and another view of the Pyramids, which

shone majestically forward upon the horizon, as the last gleams of the sun shot through the western sky. As the moon arose, a strong northerly breeze sprung up, and we made but little progress; but we entered the Eastern, i. e. the *Pathmetic or Bucolic* branch of the Nile, and the men not being allowed to track after sunset, moored near the entrance of the ancient canal of *Moez*, which once joined the *Tanitic* and *Pelusiac* arms, (now cut short by the *Lake Menzaleh*,) and on the latter of which, the *City of Bubastis* was situated, famous for the worship of *cats*, because Diana, who was the chief deity of the place, was said to have transformed herself into a cat when the gods fled into Egypt.* These animals are still held in estimation by the Arabs: they are never destroyed, but a place is appointed for them at the house of the Cadi, where they are regularly fed, and may be seen in great numbers. The wind dropped after midnight, the dew fell fast, and as morning dawned, we found ourselves enveloped in a cloud of hovering vapour, which was soon dissipated by the sun, and it became extremely hot. Mansoura, *the place of victory*, is one of the most agreeable towns in Egypt: it is surrounded by gardens, and contains several mosques: it has a considerable population, and furnishes a large quantity of sal-ammoniac: it is interesting, moreover, as the place where the Saracens defeated St. Louis in 1250, and took him prisoner. The distance by the canal to *Menzaleh* may be travelled in about three days. This celebrated lake is estimated at thirty miles in length, and is famous for the *Burri*, a species of mullet, which is salted and dried for exportation, and for the common people: it is used also by the Greeks and Latins on

* Herod. ii. c. 59, 137 and 154; Ovid. Met. 9. v. 690.

fast days; but it is insipid, and affords an unsatisfactory meal. There is excellent shooting here in the autumn and winter, when the islands abound in waterfowl, which the fishermen catch and convey to the markets.* Ancient *Tanis*, *Zoan*, or *Thennesus*, stood at the western corner of the lake; but nothing now remains of a city, which in the middle ages, was enriched by its manufactories and fisheries, and which in the ninth century, contained as many as 30,000 Christians. *Pelusium*, which was once the Key of Egypt, on the Phœnician side, has also quite disappeared. The scenery of this branch of the river is similar to that of Rosetta: the towns are not quite so numerous; but both banks are fertile and well-watered. In no part does the stream exceed 700 yards in width, or measure less than 100 yards; and the mounds of earth by which one village communicates with another during the period of the inundation, are referred by some to Archimedes. When the river makes a sudden bend, and two currents meet, the waters sometimes flow with such fury, even when there is but little wind, that they occasion eddies almost amounting to whirlpools; so that if the already overhanging cliffs consist of sand, they are undermined, and at intervals, huge masses are precipitated like avalanches, into the

* This lake is covered with pelicans: they look like swans, arranging themselves in rows on the water. They scream and beat their wings, and have a soft but thick white plumage, more or less tinged with pink or rose-colour. The pelican is the largest bird known by the Arabs, who call it *Ghamāl-el-Bah'r*, "the river camel,"—and eat the flesh, which is said to be like coarse beef to the taste, but unpalatable, oily, and fishy, and of a rank smell. The other birds of the Delta are chiefly snipes, curlews, wild ducks, widgeons, doves, grey and green plovers, partridges, quails, storks, herons, and the white ibis or paddy bird, whose arrival, breeding season, and departure, corresponding with the fertilizing *inundation* and subsidence of the Nile waters, the ancient Egyptians adopted it as the symbol of that auspicious event. See Blumenbach's Nat. Hist. p. 121. Also, Vol. I. page 250.

foaming torrent, overwhelming whatever is passing at the time. There are three methods of irrigating the land:—1, by the Persian wheel: 2, by windmills: and 3, by chain pumps. All over the country, officers are appointed to inspect canals, dykes, and banks—for the most part negligent and ignorant men, and the Pascha has lately taken the subject into consideration. But the greatest of all blessings to the Egyptians is *the annual overflowing of the river:* as fast as the waters retire, the seed is sown, and not unfrequently three, and even four crops a-year are gathered: wheat sown in November is reaped in February.* The rainy season is most joyfully anticipated by all ranks, as may easily be conceived, if we reflect that for eight or nine months together, the soil is parched for want of even a refreshing shower, and that in the interior, it rains about once in four or five years: but no sooner does the rain come, than vegetation begins, and the whole surface of the land becomes green, the face of Nature is changed, the earth brings forth her increase, and abundance of everything is furnished to the anxious husbandman.† It is truly astonishing with what rapidity things grow: I could scarcely believe my own senses, and David might well say, when

* Herodotus asserts that "when the river retires, the fellahs sow the seed while the mud is yet soft; and that they then drive animals over it, *to tread it in*, without ploughing, or even loosening the soil"—a system which may occasionally be seen still: but "the people," he adds, "who possess the country below *Memphis*, of all mankind, and even of all the Egyptians, enjoy the fruits of the earth with the smallest labour: they have no occasion for the process, nor the instruments of agriculture, usual and necessary in other countries. As soon as the river has spread itself over their lands, and returned to its bed, each man scatters the seed over his ground, and *waits patiently* for the harvest." Euterpe xiv. See Vol. I. page 386.

† There is now and then a slight shower at Cairo and on the coast, but I only remember two instances of rain in Upper Egypt, and then only for about half an hour; but the *dew* fell thickly almost every night. Compare Deut. xi. 10 to 12. with Ezek. xxxii. 15. and Zech. xiv. 18.

speaking of the Messiah, "they of the city shall flourish like the earth"—the simile was a good one: for as the soul of man is raised from spiritual darkness to the glories of eternity, by the grateful influence of our Redeemer's love, so in like manner, are the rich products of the earth renewed and multiplied, and sent forth from the darkness which concealed them, rejoicing in all the splendid variety of dress and loveliness of form which, as Pagans taught, the skill of Flora, Ceres, and Proserpine contrived, when Eolus shut up the winds, and Jupiter propitious, cheered the thirsty soil with balmy showers. There is something very beautiful too in the idea that the ancients entertained of the fair Nymph being given to her Liege Lord in Tartarus, during one-half of the year, and restored to the arms of her despairing mother in Heaven, during the other. When the Nile does not rise sufficiently, scarcity and famine result: if it rises too much, whole villages are swept away, and the country is laid waste. The inundation is caused by the heavy rains in the South. The Nile is formed by the junction of two rivers, the *Bah'r el Abiad* or White River, so called from being impregnated with white clay: it is sweet and flows with great power, joining the *Bah'r el Azarek* or Blue River, in lat. 16° N. The former rises among the *D'gebel Komri* or Mountains of the Moon, the latter by several sources, (one of which is very considerable, the *Bah'r el Tacazze,*) from the Hill Country and Table Lands of Abyssinia. The rainy season setting in in the month of April, these various streams begin to swell, and in June are full: the Nile then rises, generally about the 12th, i. e. the feast of St. Michael: the water, which was greenish, becomes red early in July; after which, it increases

rapidly, and by the middle of August, has reacl
half its height: it attains the *maximum* by the enc
September, is nearly stationary until the middle
October, sinks to one-half by the 10th of Novemb
and is at its *minimum* again in April. It may v
truth be said to flow 1000 miles without a sin
tributary stream. In Upper Egypt, the swellings v
from thirty to thirty-five feet—at Cairo, twenty-th
feet—and in the Delta about four feet—and althou
its entire course cannot be less than 2000 miles,
average rate of increase is the same as it was 5(
years ago, viz. about four inches a-day. The *Mik*
or Nilometer at Er-Rhóudah, is simply a gradua
octagonal column: it stands in a deep basin ab
twenty feet square; but it is out of repair, and
lower part is concealed by the ruins of an adjac
building. The Delta was once famous for the p
paration of *scrolls*, and it is probable that the volu
in the Alexandrian library were illuminated M
parchments,* or *Papyri*, made of a three-corne
tufted rush or reed, which was grown extensively
the brooks and dykes of Lower Egypt; though th
is very little of it now to be seen, owing to the sal
effluvia from the salt lakes; the Papyrus rose form
to the height of seven feet, and had a stem an i
thick: saccharine matter was obtained from the jui
the harder parts were made into cups, and ribs
boats; those which were soft furnished the Egypti
with ropes and sails, cloth, sandals, and wicks
lamps; the people had a method of pressing the pa
together so closely, that the point of union could not

* The mosques and convents contain many such, and if examined, m
prove valuable. See Ezek. ii. 9, 10; Isaiah viii. 1; xxxiv. 4; Ezra vi. 2;
Rev. vi. 14. See Vol. I. page 242.

detected; and we are told, that there was a *paper*-manufactory at Memphis: the Arabs now call the Papyrus "el Berdî," and *el Babir*—and for a long time, we had no *paper* but such as came from Egypt: paper was first made of rags about the close of the eleventh century.*

The rice grounds of Egypt are, I may say, exclusively in the Delta: for rice is a plant that requires a great deal of sun and abundance of water. The seed is literally sown *in the water*, which explains the passage in Ecclesiastes—"Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days." In other words, he who seeks to do well, and engages in any good work, shall assuredly meet his reward in due season. The plant soon shows itself, and keeps pace with the inundation; it is seldom entirely hid. The grain is put into the ground from March to May; when the young plants are two feet high, they are transplanted, and are generally six months coming to maturity. I know of no situation better calculated to give a person a taste for agriculture, than the Delta;

* Formerly, very few persons could write at all; matters of the first importance only were recorded; and, as these were intended to endure for ever, they were engraven on stone or brass: the earliest specimen that we are acquainted with was that of the ten commandments; Exod. xxxi. and xxxiv; and secondly, the practice referred to by Job xix. 23 and 24:—but though Job wished that his words might be recorded *for ever*, he forgot that they might not *always be understood*—witness the inscriptions on the sculptured rocks at Philoe and Mount Sinai! The Scriptures afford us many other illustrations: thus we have tablets of wood, Isaiah xxx. 8; Heb. ii. 2; Luke i. 63. Drawings on tiles, Ezek. iv. 1. and many such have been found at the Island of Elephantina. Records on lead, Job xix. 24. Stamped bricks, both in Egypt and Babylon—and the laws of the Romans were cut in tables of brass, 1 Maccab. viii. 22; xiv. 18. To the unlearned, a system of hieroglyphics, in which signs are substituted for words, would be the most simple and comprehensive; and we find it adopted by other nations as well as the Egyptians: the North American Indians, for example, the Mexicans, and the Chinese, whose alphabet is said to contain 50,000 symbols, or signs. The introduction of other characters is ascribed to the Phœnicians. See Exod. xvii. 14. See also Vol. I. page 175.

and in the early ages, we find that Kings and Nobles regarded it as the most honourable employment; the possession of flocks and herds too, often constituted their chief wealth. Cain "*tilled the ground*"—Abel "*kept sheep*"—most of the Judges and Kings of Israel were similarly employed; when the Angel appeared to Gideon, he found him "*threshing:*" (Judges vi. 2.) Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were all "*shepherds.*" (Genesis xxvi. 12.) Moses "*kept the flocks and herds* of his father-in-law" on Mount Horeb: (Exod. iii. 1, 2.) After Saul was appointed King, he "*looked after his father's cattle:*" (1 Sam. xi. 5.) David was *a shepherd* in his youth, and wrote the twenty-third psalm when "*watching his sheep:*" those of the Israelites who could not afford to buy land, rented it of others; and I trust the day is not distant, when their deluded descendants will have an opportunity of doing the same in their own highly favoured country: lastly, in more modern times, the Roman General Cincinnatus preferred the ploughshare to the sword and sceptre, though ready, even in his eightieth year, to resign the one or the other, and exert himself for his country's good.

Damietta is a cheerful and very considerable town, at the bend of the river, about eight miles from the sea: it is of a crescent-like form, and contains a great number of mosques, an excellent bazaar, a commodious quay with magazines and khans for the merchants, and is surrounded by beautiful gardens, shrubberies, and orchards, which contain orange and citron groves, mulberry trees and dates, the tamarisk, the fig, the sycamore, the mimosa, and scammony; and in the neighbourhood, are extensive rice grounds, tobacco and sugar plantations, the papyrus, and various kinds of grain, with hedge-rows of

prickly pear and plantain: the houses are lofty, and built of brick; the cafés and kiosks are numerous, and there is still a great deal of business. *Dimyat* has long been famous for its manufacture of leather and wearing apparel, especially a kind of white striped linen which is known in Europe as *Dimity*. After the fall of Pelusium, this city was considered *the strength of Egypt*, and attracted the notice of the Crusaders, who laid it low, and reduced the population from 70,000 to 3000. Its fortifications were once considerable, but they have been reduced during *troublous times*. Mohammed Bey Aboo d'Hahab, fearing the incursions of the Russians, is said to have built a tower which is still to be seen near the shore, commanding the mouth of the river; and there are two others to the eastward, which formed part of an ancient Saracen castle: these have lately been repaired and strengthened by Mohammed Ali, who, expecting an invasion, had the whole line of coast surveyed, and, assisted by French engineers, erected barracks, and made such arrangements as would have enabled him to offer a desperate resistance—that is, if he could have depended on the troops, which is doubtful; for his long continued oppression has effectually cancelled the ill feeling which the former excesses of Europeans had excited in the minds of the Arabs, who did not hesitate to declare to me that they would rise in favour of the Franks if they had an opportunity; and they continually said "why do not the *Inglitz* come here?" There were at that time, 60,000 men on the coast, including the *Land-wehr*, who were, many of them, inexperienced youths; drilling was going forward in all directions, and the same cruel measures were adopted here, as elsewhere.

I met with great civilities from the English Consul, who was a Roman Catholic Arab, an intelligent man, but retaining some of the prejudices of education. "I know of no creed," said he, "that is so truly Christian as that of the English Protestants, and of all Christians there are none so unostentatiously sincere and pious, — yet for all the world I would not become a Protestant — *because* I was born and bred a Papist; and it would be a shame and disgrace in me to turn apostate!" All I could say, failed to convince him of the fallaciousness of such reasoning; yet he introduced the subject himself, and seemed anxious for information. At his request, I visited several who were sick, and went one evening, attended by a Negro Janizary, to *L'Esbeh*, a small settlement at the mouth of the river, to the hare'em of a friend of his, whose wife, a Levantine of great beauty, was in great distress about her child, who was very ill. This expedition exposed us to some risk; for the guards had orders to fire upon any who passed under the batteries after sunset. We were heard, and challenged by the sentries; we were silent as the grave, and for some time lay upon our oars in breathless suspense, expecting every moment to see a six-pound shot fly over our heads; but this I suppose was too much trouble, so we passed stealthily on, floating down with the current, which, the nearer we approached the *Bogaz*, increased in strength. My sable companion was as talented as any European might be; he spoke several languages, stood six feet high, and seemed a well disposed man. The *Bogaz* or mouth of the Port, is very difficult of access, in consequence of a bar or reef of rocks, which can only be crossed in fine weather, and by craft drawing at most three or four feet water. Even in winter,

there are only ten feet, and the whole of the coast is white with surf and broken water. There is no sort of protection for larger vessels; they can only anchor in the open roads, and if they slip their cables, with a northerly gale, go to pieces they must. Even the *maashes* and *d'germs* which trade between the Nile and Alexandria, Cyprus and Syria, are obliged to have their cargo carried outside in boats, which might be obviated if the channel were properly cleared, and a pier or break-water were erected on the rocks. The *Bogaz* is examined every morning by the Captain of the Port. I was detained here, day after day, completely weather-bound, although the wind was moderate; and I had availed myself of the only opportunity which offered of getting to Palestine. I embarked for Jaffa on the 2nd of August (the anniversary of the battle of the Nile) on board a large Arab craft carrying three latteen sails, and dropped down to L'Esbeh with several boats in tow, variously laden. As the tide was flowing, the breakers upon the reef looked grand: there was very little subordination among the crew; each in turn thought himself entitled to *direct*, and a pretty scene of confusion ensued—for as the Arabs say, "*He who is not afraid of the Bogaz, does not fear God!*" However, after some difficulty and plenty of *talk*, scrambling, and recrimination, we found ourselves clear of the rocks, and brought-to in seven fathoms water, while the boats came alongside, and the freight was stowed. We had beautiful weather, and steering by the stars, landed at Jaffa on the third day, at sunset. A number of people crowded upon the rocks, and boats came out; there was a heavy swell in the roads, and the landing was bad; for there is no harbour. The first person I saw almost, was

Monsieur de Breuverie, who had just arrived from Suez, and was now expecting his friend Cadelvène from Alexandria, where he had been to recruit after a dangerous illness in the desert. He asked me gravely if I had heard any thing of Bradford, and announced the melancholy tidings of his death. This was indeed a severe blow—a sad termination to the journey which I had otherwise so happily completed, especially as I had reason to fear that the young man had not met with his death fairly, and this determined me to go at once to Signor Damiani the English Consul, and investigate the affair. Here I was received with hospitality and kindness, and learned that my poor friend had taken up his residence at the house of the French Consul, and having no servant, prevailed on the Consul's son to go with him to Jerusalem, where he lingered and died.* I have been graciously permitted to record the event, and I trust I am not insensible of the great and signal mercies which I have experienced. It has fallen to my lot to describe the condition of the country which we visited together, and I am certain that if Mr. Bradford had been spared,

* See p. 47, also Vol. I. p. 13, and Appendix. As I contemplated a journey to the Dead Sea, a very unruly district, I hired an extra servant, a Syrian Christian who travelled with Sir F. Henniker, and was with him when he was attacked. We set out the next afternoon, accompanied by Monsieur de Breuverie, passed the night at the Convent at Ramlah or *Arimathæa*, and reached Jerusalem the next day. Having traversed the whole of Palestine, and Syria,§ I embarked for Cyprus, and afterwards for Rhodes. I then went to Asia Minor, and after great privation and fatigue, arrived at Ephesus, Smyrna, and Constantinople; I set out again the following year, and sailing from the Dardanelles, passed through the Archipelago, once more to the Ionian Islands and Trieste, and after receiving the congratulations of my kind friends at Vienna, returned to England, viâ Munich, Strasburg and Paris, landing (curiously enough) on *the second of August*, after an absence of four years.

§ See the Author's account of his journey from Jerusalem to Jericho, published in "the Amulet" for 1834, entitled "*The Pass of Abdomim.*"

he would have borne me out in the statements which I have made. I hold it to be a paramount duty in every author not to conceal his real sentiments; and if I have had occasion to speak disparagingly of others, I have judged them only *as public characters*, and I trust impartially. I have reviewed the Pascha's actions with the same frankness with which they will be canvassed when he is dead, and I cannot agree with those who, bearing in mind the tyranny of the Pharaohs, think it right to *slur* over his errors, and say, that because the Egyptians have always been a suffering people—"taking him all in all, the reigning Pascha is quite as enlightened, and every whit as merciful, as the ancient Monarchs were." It is no compliment to Mohammed Ali to compare him with despots who lived in an age of idolatry and superstition, and who, notwithstanding their boasted wisdom, were never taught that "it is sweet and lovely to do unto others, as we would that others should do unto us," — a principle which every Missionary knows the most depraved heathen is able to appreciate, and which has made more converts to Christianity perhaps, than any other. The Pharaohs of Egypt never had the advantages which Mohammed Ali has had: the doctrines set forth in the Khoran, *if conscientiously practised*, would render any man happy: virtue is not confined to Christians: many of the great Mussulmaun Princes were noble, just, and brave, and inferior to none of the Authorities of the earth: we need not therefore take the Viceroy from his own sphere: let him be compared with *Salah ed Din*, and other Heroes who professed the same religious tenets, making allowance, however, for the difference of the time in which they lived.

The present race of Egyptians are unquestionably

a fine people, but the energies of their mind dormant, or are engaged only in the exercise of cunning which is essential to their existence, and wl will enable them in some degree, to cope with artful scheming of their oppressors, and we cai wonder that they have recourse to those stratag which necessity never fails to invent to supply emergencies of the moment. The despot loves justice nor mercy: he acts not from the love of vir he is guided only by passion, and policy is his predc nant principle; nevertheless, we do not unfreque hear of the most summary acts of justice on the of those whose province it is to determine the disp of their neighbours, and whose look is so terrible they often detect the guilty by the very first glanc their eye. In despotic countries, it is the misfor of the Chief Rulers to be surrounded by sycoph who are alike devoid of principle and feeling. classes may be said to live by their wits: dupl and roguery are regarded as virtues: the art of posing upon the credulity of others, whether by a ment, flattery, or a bribe, is considered essentia happiness, and it is taught and practised from cradle: it is astonishing too, what tact and add some of the Orientals display in this respect, when important object is to be gained. It would be ur to attribute all the cruelties that are perpetrated the reigning Monarch, who, it may be, is kept in ig rance of the actual state of his people, and is poss himself at the mercy of the very officers in whom has most confidence, and whose services he is c pelled to reward, by conniving at the atrocities commit—in order that he may secure the subsidies requires, to enable him to repel foreign invasion,

keep his own people in subjection. The Egyptians are well disposed, and may be easily led; but the case is different with the mountaineers of Syria and the "*Chuder-Nisheens*," i. e. the tent-livers of Ethiopia, the indomitable, and crafty descendants of Cush,—with many of whom *might is right*, and who are accustomed to think and act, and feel, very differently from those of more civilized lands, where the rights of the subject are freely discussed. The passions of such men, when fairly roused, are not always to be subdued by violence; nevertheless, mild measures suddenly introduced among barbarians, seldom effect any lasting benefit: they would be attributed to fear; and insubordination, excess, and riot might be expected: commerce and agriculture would suffer; and the resources of the country would fail: discontent and rebellion would then follow as a matter of course. Savage nations are easily excited; and if not cruel, are at least ready to resent an injury: they are, many of them, brave and virtuous, accustomed to war, hardy, and though not subdued without a severe struggle for liberty, they have not unfrequently become the vassals at last, of some austere neighbouring Power, through the injudicious extension of kindness to them, by a Prince, who, for want of firmness and judgment, may have fallen a sacrifice to his own indiscriminate generosity.

He who would tame the wild horse, however noble its nature, must use harsh measures at first, in order to let the animal know and feel its own inferiority; he must be ridden with a tight rein, and constantly kept in check: should he suddenly attempt to break forth, he must be as suddenly controlled, and punished for his disobedience; he will then be humbled, and brought

under subjection: but once let him get an idea of his own power, and it will be vain to expect to subdue his spirit: it would be equally vain to take him from the woods or the plain, where he had been accustomed to range as freely as the air he breathed, and then hope to make him subservient to the will, by coaxing and caressing. It is possible that his sagacity and noble nature might teach him to appreciate such kindness; but the same sagacity would teach him to resist every attempt to deprive him of his liberty, and convince him that Man *has* the power to enforce his obedience: still less would he come quietly to the yoke, and consent to repay his kindness by a willing tender of his services! Just so it is by a wild and uncivilized people: their nature may be noble, and capable of receiving the best impressions: they may be highly gifted, and well disposed; but, for want of education, raw, prejudiced, and intemperate. A good Government may effect much with them; but they must first be *convinced* that the Legislative Power *has the means of enforcing its authority and commanding their respect.* Great firmness, talent, and discretion may be necessary, and even severity: but in order that a favourable and lasting impression may be made on their minds, *cruelty and injustice must be avoided,* or their temper will be spoiled. Like the horse, they must be brought to fear, ere they will submit to be controlled: for whatever virtues they may possess, there may be much that is evil to be rooted out. Like the horse, they would sooner range the fields, and eat of the fat of the land, if they could, than work. Indolence is more or less inherent in all mankind; and indolence if unchecked, favours the indulgence of every other bad propensity. He therefore who is placed at

the head of a semi-barbarous people, must be ever on the alert; he must watch with the eyes of the lynx, and employ the cunning of the fox, the courage of the lion, and the intelligence and strength of the elephant. Let him be mistrustful, but shrewd, severe but just, generous but discreet, firm, bold, and decisive: let him keep his word inviolate—in trifles as in things of importance—equally with the poor and with the rich: let him be hospitable and princely in all his dealings, yet waste nothing: let him set a good example, zealously shunning the counsel of the ungodly, and expect not from others what upon principle, he would shrink from performing himself! The man who will act thus, will not only strike terror into the minds of the wicked, but encourage the good: he will be regarded as the father of his country: fanaticism will be exercised in his favour; he will be looked up to by all for advice and support in the hour of danger, and his subjects will flock around him to defend, beneath his banners, the welfare of their Chief, their families, and their homes. On the other hand, how different would be the result to one who is pusillanimous and weak—whose vassals have never been taught to believe that he can *punish as well as reward*, and who have therefore, never learned *to respect his power?* "It is an abomination to Kings to commit wickedness; for the throne is established by righteousness." But however revolting it may be to the feelings of a truly good man to shed the blood of a fellow-creature, in the cause of justice, *if there is no other punishment equally efficacious*, he would do wrong to withhold the sword. Kings are the Almighty's Vicegerents upon earth: they are the avengers of wrongs, the protectors of the innocent: to them is given to slay and to save, to punish, en-

courage, and reward; and they will have to render an account of their stewardship hereafter, when summoned before the throne of the *King of Kings!* "When the righteous are in authority the people rejoice; but when the wicked bear rule, the people mourn." It is hard to govern a rebellious nation, who are at all times ready to oppress the just, and lay the land of their fathers waste; but as a good parent would chastise a son for his transgressions, so will a wise King, by judgment, establish the land;—for "the rod and reproof give wisdom." An upright Ruler will strike, and spare not; then will he bring blessings upon his people, and those that till the ground will eat the bread of cheerfulness and peace! The best of us are struggling with the infirmities of a fallen state: and as few, if any, are exempt from the vicissitudes of human life, every man, be his condition what it may, is entitled to his neighbour's commiseration. Excessive sympathy betokens a weak understanding; yet, to be insensible to the sufferings of our fellow creatures, is the sure characteristic of malignant passions.

"No radiant Pearl which crested Fortune wears,
No gem that twinkling, hangs from Beauty's ears,
Not the bright stars which Night's blue arch adorn,
Nor rising suns that gild the vernal Morn,
Shine with such lustre—as the Tear that breaks
For others' woe, down Virtue's manly cheeks."

DARWIN.

APPENDIX.

THE BISHOP OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND UNITED IN JERUSALEM.*

It has been advanced that it was unnecessary to appoint a Bishop for Palestine, *because there are so few resident Protestants:* but those who have read these volumes with attention will, I trust, perceive that such reasoning is erroneous. I have endeavoured to shew that Protestantism is rapidly extending: and if it were not, the fact that Moslems have learned to distinguish between Protestants and Papists, is sufficient argument for protecting the former against the intrusions of the latter. Until lately, Christianity was judged of by the ignorant fanatics assembled at the Holy City, who were regarded as idolaters, and despised by the Orientals on account of their intemperate proceedings: but they have now ascertained that such enthusiasts, so far from representing *all* who come under the denomination of Christians, like the Fakeers and Santons of the East, are even rejected by many excellent individuals who profess the same tenets. But they have also discovered that the English, the Germans, the Americans, and others whose piety and intelligence they now appreciate, constitute a numerous, influential, and increasing body of Christians, who abhor idolatry as much as they do themselves, and they respect us in consequence. As, then, every other class of Christians is represented in the Levant, and as even the Jews have their Rabbi—what would they think of the Protestants if they alone were indifferent about the importance of their religious creed? Egypt has now become the high road to India; its inhabitants are not ashamed to trade with us, and every year they will be thrown more and more in communication with us: are those then, whose commercial ardour may lead them to settle in the Levant, to be

* See Chapters II. and IV. pages 39—44 to 52, and 158 to 169 also Vol. I. pages 86, 342, and 359.

denied the same religious privileges which are granted to the Copts and Greeks? Is the Evangelical Church of Christ which endeavours to worship God in the same simplicity of form which our blessed Saviour himself taught in His sermon on the Mount, to be self-banished from the country where the doctrines which she professes were first disseminated? At a time when Palestine is over-run with Jesuits, who are using every exertion to undermine the philanthropic efforts of Protestant Missionaries, in order to establish the supremacy of the Pope, are the Elders of the Reformed Church to abandon their agents to the secret plottings of jealousy and intrigue? A correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* concludes an article on this subject with the following remarks: — "Through the activity of the Evangelical Missionaries, a number of Jews at Jerusalem had been converted to Christianity, including many distinguished men of learning, and thus had a small Evangelical congregation been formed at Jerusalem. Neither the Catholic nor the Greek Church can complain of having been despoiled, for these converts from Judaism belonged to neither. If, however, they fear to be outstripped by a greater extension of the Evangelical Church in Palestine, let them exert that mental and spiritual energy which God has given them, to awaken a conviction that the Christian doctrine and a Christian life are manifested by them in a greater degree of purity. From this noble contest they are in no way excluded, and in the place of those revolting dissensions and that selfish jealousy, which characterized the conduct of European nations in the Holy Land at the time of the Crusades, may we now behold the noblest emulation of which the world has ever had a knowledge. The establishment at Jerusalem of an Evangelical congregation with ecclesiastical endowments, and by the protection of England and Prussia, under the guardianship of the Porte, shielded against the oppressions to which Evangelical Christians have hitherto been exposed in the East, is a germ of Christianity from which great future results may be anticipated; but as at all times, a true spirit of Christian activity without, has served to quicken the fruits of faith within, so has this foundation in Jerusalem called into life one of the most momentous appearances ever witnessed by Europe. As two parents in their love towards their child, enter into a more exalted union, even so the Evangelical Churches of Prussia and England, hitherto divided, have in this filial Church (*Tochter kirche*) of Jerusalem tendered to each other the hand of true union. It is not contemplated, indeed, that the English Church should abandon her Institutions for those of Prussia, or the Prussian hers for those of England: but the two Churches, by their recent act, have mutually recognised that in their relations to each other, their constitutional forms are the non-essential, the union in spirit the essential; and their conviction of the existence of this true union they have practically manifested by the establishment of a filial Church, in which

the nomination of the ecclesiastics shall be vested alternately in Prussia and England; in which the Augsburg Confession and the Thirty-Nine Articles are recognised, as founded in an intimate community of faith; in which the rites of the English and Prussian Churches are to be accepted as the simultaneous expression of one and the same Evangelical Christianity. The conquest of Constantine, the fortifying of Paris, the expulsion of a Queen from Spain, and a hundred other events that our time has witnessed, may wear a more pompous look, and may at first glance, appear of greater importance than this small commencement of a united Evangelical congregation at Jerusalem; but, whoever is really acquainted with the affairs of the Levant, will recognise in this unostentatious commencement, the seed of an incalculably great development. The grain of mustard seed will be seen to grow up and to shoot forth its branches: nor can the present age show anything more truly great than this intimate recognition and approach to each other, of two brothers—the English nation and the most important race of Northern Germany—nothing nobler than this association of two brothers in the most exalted aim of man. England and Prussia have here found a point of union on which may the blessing of God rest!"

A full account of the precise objects which induced the British Government to co-operate in the King of Prussia's beneficent design, having been already published "by authority," it may suffice to state that the duty of the Bishop will be—"to superintend the English clergy and congregations in Syria, Chaldea, Egypt, and Abyssinia, and such other Protestant bodies as may hereafter place themselves under his Episcopal care, and be admitted into communion with his Church—to direct the efforts now making in those countries for the conversion of the Jews—and to enter into relations of amity with the Bishops of the Ancient Churches of the East." The funds required in addition to the 15,000*l.* advanced by the King of Prussia, are being rapidly raised in this country by voluntary contributions, and they are to be applied to the following purposes:—1. to complete the endowment of the Bishopric; and 2. to endow the office of Principal of the Episcopal College, about to be founded in the Holy City," the whole being under the especial administration and sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of London. It is hardly necessary to add, that previous to any active measures being taken, application was made to the Ottoman Government, and a strongly worded firmaun obtained in favour of the Christians of Jerusalem.

Bishop Alexander, his family, and suite, entered Jerusalem on the 21st of January, escorted by the Rev. Mr. Nicolayson, Colonel Rose, the British and American residents, the Bey, and a guard of honour; and it is not a little singular, that as the cavalcade passed under the Bethlehem Gate, they were unexpectedly saluted by the guns from the

batteries, announcing the eve of the great Turkish Festival—*the Kourban Bairam.* The next day, the Bishop inspected the site of the Protestant Church, and on the 23d he preached his introductory sermon, choosing for his text, the 15th verse of the 65th Chapter of Isaiah. It is gratifying to be able to report that up to the present time, the Bishop has met with no serious molestation, and the Turkish Authorities are very civil.*

JEWISH IGNORANCE OF CHRISTIANITY.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT OF THE STANDARD.)

It is a fact little known, that the Jews are in a sad state of ignorance with regard to the nature of Christianity. At a meeting held in Edinburgh, in aid of the London Society for the Conversion of the Jews, Bishop Alexander, who was then one of the Professors of King's College, himself a converted Jew, stated that the differences which still subsist between Christians and Jews would soon be removed by the free circulation of the Holy Scriptures. The Old Testament they possess in Hebrew, but few of them can read. The New Testament is scarcely known among them; indeed, few are aware of its existence. The Professor stated in what manner he himself had been converted. Twenty years since, he left Germany for England, with a view to take the place of Rabbi in a congregation of Jews. He had scarcely been a fortnight from home, when his attention was arrested by seeing large placards in the streets, announcing a meeting on behalf of the Jews. At that time, he knew so little of English that he could only make out the word "Jews" on the placard, and he asked a Jewish friend what was the meaning of it? His friend told him that it was a meeting of a Society which had for its object to "make the Jews Gentiles (that was his mode of viewing the question), and that they had translated the New Testament into the Hebrew language." This was the first time he (Professor Alexander) had ever heard of the New Testament, and, as he was curious to read it, he procured a copy in German, and the impression it made on him was altogether startling. The Professor avers that he had no idea before, that Christianity professed to be founded on Judaism, or that Jesus of Nazareth claimed to be the Messiah promised to their fathers. He mentioned these things to induce Christians to send the New Testament to the Jews. His was not a peculiar case, it was the case of the nation at large; and it ought to be borne in mind that the idea the Jews obtain of Christianity *from the*

* See page 50.

conduct of the people in most countries where they reside, is that of idolatry.

Mr. Hirschil, the Chief Rabbi of the Jews, has publicly declared that "in no part of the prayers, sermons, or the ceremonies of the Jews, is any allusion whatever made, much less any insult offered, to the religion of this or of any other country."

THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWS.

The following extracts are taken from *Der Orient*, a German newspaper. They seem to betoken a movement among the continental Jews in relation to the late crisis in Syria:—

"We have a country, the inheritance of our fathers, finer, more fruitful, better situate for commerce, than many of the most celebrated portions of the globe. Environed by the deep-delled Taurus, the lively shores of the Euphrates, the lofty steppes of Arabia, and of rocky Sinai, our country extends along the shores of the Mediterranean, crowned by the towering cedars of Lebanon, the source of a hundred rivulets and brooks, which spread fruitfulness over shady dales, and confer wealth on the contented inhabitants. A glorious land! situate at the furthest extremity of the sea which connects three-quarters of the globe, over which the Phœnicians, our brethren, sent their numerous fleets to the shores of Albion, and the rich coasts of Lithuania, near to both the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf; the perpetual courses of the traffic of the world, on the way from Persia and India to the Caspian and Black Sea; the central country of the commerce between the east and west.

"Every country has its peculiarity; every people their own nature. Syria, with its extensive surrounding plains unfavourable to regular cultivation, is a land of transit, of communication, of caravans. No people of the earth have lived so true to their calling from the first, as we have done. We are a trading people, born for the country where little food is necessary, and this is furnished by Nature almost spontaneously to the temperate inhabitants, but not for the heavy soils of the ruder north.

"In no country of the earth are our brethren so numerous as in Syria; in none do they live in as dense masses, so independent of the surrounding inhabitants: in none do they persevere so steadfastly in their faith in the promise of the fathers, as on the beautiful shores of the Orontes. In Damascus alone live near 60,000.—? (in Syria.) see p. 31.

"The Arab has maintained his language and his original country; on the Nile, in the deserts, as far as Sinai, and beyond Jordan, he feeds his flocks. In the elevated plains of Asia Minor, the Toorkoman has conquered for himself a second country, the birthplace of the Osman; but Syria and Palestine are depopulated. For centuries, the battle-field between the sons of Altai and of the Arabian wilderness, the inhabitants of the West and the half-nomadic Persians, none have been able to establish themselves and maintain their nationality; no nation can claim the name of Syrian. A chaotic mixture of all tribes and tongues, remnants of migration from north and south, they disturb one another in the possession of the glorious land where our fathers for so many centuries, emptied the cup of joy and wo, where every clod is drenched with the blood of our Heroes, when their bodies were buried under the ruins of Jerusalem.

"The power of our enemies is gone, the Angel of discord has long since mown down their mighty Hosts, and yet ye do not bestir yourselves, people of Jehovah! What hinders? Nothing but your own supineness.

"*Think you, that Mohammed Ali or the Sultan in Stamboul will not be convinced that it would be better for him to be the protector of a peaceful and wealthy people, than with infinite loss of men and money, to contend against the ever-repeated, mutually provoked insurrections of the Turks and Arabs, of whom neither the one nor the other are able to give prosperity to the country?*

"Our probation was long, in all countries, from the North Pole to the South! There is no trade, no Art, which we have not practised, no Science in which we cannot show splendid examples. Where will you find better proclaimers of civilization to the wild tribes of the East?

"People of Jehovah, raise yourselves from your thousand years' slumber! Rally round leaders; have really the will, a Moses will not be wanting. The rights of nations will never grow old; take possession of the land of your fathers; build a third time the temple on Zion, greater and more magnificent than ever. Trust in the Lord, who has led you safely through the vale of misery thousands of years. He also will not forsake you in your last conflict."

The Jewish people throughout the world have been, for a considerable period, *depressed in spirit*, in consequence of the failure of ancient prophecies; and it is not long since they appointed a *Day of Atonement*, when, it is said, they met to afflict their souls, and to humble themselves before the God of their fathers, against whom they confess, that they have greatly rebelled. It is, moreover, the impression of their Teachers and Guides, and of the serious Jews in general, that the century upon

which they have now entered (A.M. 5600, according to their computation) will be decisive as to their hopes as a nation.*

PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS IN THE EAST.

The following authenticated facts will serve to illustrate the cruelties to which the suspected Jews were exposed by the infuriated populace. They were first bastinadoed, and then placed in different cells, guarded by soldiers, who had orders to prevent them lying down or sleeping; and whenever they showed symptoms of drowsiness, they were beaten. The barber (the man who was first seized,) was then put to the torture. His head was placed in a machine, and by the application of a tourniquet, his eyes were made to start from their sockets. This led him to invent a story to appease his tormentors, which was, of course, denied by those whom it implicated. According to the report of the Austrian Consul, two of them expired under the pain to which they were subjected to extort a confession of their alleged guilt. "The barbarity of the torments inflicted on five others," says M. Merlat, "is so frightful, that a miracle of Providence can alone have saved them from death. They were flogged with rods: they were kept plunged for hours together in cold water, and * * * * Alas! their cries and groans were heard afar! Their ears were torn off, their faces flayed, and their chins, beards, and noses, burnt with red-hot irons. Soldiers, in compliance with orders, trod under foot their attenuated bodies; and small pincers were introduced into the flesh of one of them, under the nails of the feet and hands;" and this, notwithstanding the murders had never been proved, and although the medical men sent by the local Authorities to examine the bones found in the common sewer of the Jews' Quarter, declared that they were the bones of quadrupeds, and were in such a state, that they must have lain there a considerable time: — moreover, the missing parties disappeared in February, whereas the Easter of the Israelites occurred in the month of April.

A letter from Damascus, dated April 17th, 1840, set forth that the sons of Arari accused Mallim Raphael, (the Jew,) of sacrificing in his house, some years ago, a Christian, named *Gambros*, and that the Government, searching their dwelling, found the body, together with the bones of others. This Mallim Raphael is called "The King of Israel!"—the family, 120 years ago, being in relation with the Israelites of Constantinople, ruled indirectly all Syria by their influence, raising and displacing Paschas at their will. The brother of Raphael was

* See ante, Chap. II. and IV.

Haim, banker to the famous D'jezzar Pascha, who first cut off his nose, then an ear, and afterwards deprived him of an eye. Although thus mutilated, Haim was influential enough to cause (after the death of D'jezzar,) the nomination of Suleyman as Pascha of Acria, and after him, of Abd'Allah Pascha, who was rendered famous by Mohammed Ali and his son Ibrahim Pascha, when he lost the fortress of Acria. This Abd'Allah ungratefully caused his benefactor, Haim, to be thrown into the sea, when he was drowned, and gave many other proofs of his baseness: — he was a cowardly, pusillanimous debauché, old and decrepid in constitution, although numbering few years. According to report, Raphael, in the Jewish Quarter, was in the habit of dressing himself *in Royal Apparel*, like King David, and wearing a crown, while all were wont to pay him homage, as their lawful Sovereign. Gambros, (the supposed murdered man,) was a Catholic Copt of Upper Egypt, a man of immense wealth, who devoted himself entirely to Arabic literature. He collected an extensive library, travelled, and began to print a work on religion. Accordingly, he went to the convent on Mount Lebanon, where there is a printing press, and having occasion for some materials to complete his work, journeyed to Damascus, in 1837, but did not return, and his mysterious disappearance, like that of Padre Thomaso and his servant, has now been attributed to the Jews,—the calumny of which accusations was admirably treated in a letter published by M. Salvador, the celebrated author of the *Institutes of Moses*, and of which the following is an extract: —

"I lay aside the fact of the event itself. If a crime have been committed, let an impartial and prudent justice seek out its authors, and punish them. If the means resorted to for the discovery of the crime, be contrary to the dictates of humanity, and the first principles of the civilization of the 19th century, let all the Governments which possess influence along the coast of Asia, hasten to display firmness and generosity on behalf of the unhappy sufferers.

"In fact, when in the most enlightened countries of our Europe, we daily find our annals sullied by crimes, perpetrated under every pretext, by all classes and ranks of society, there would be nothing extraordinary in finding that frightful crimes had also been committed in a remote land, still plunged in barbarity and groaning under despotism. But the facts which I am about to recite, I intend principally for religious minds, whether weak or strong:—

"The odious insinuations propagated on the occasion of the affair of Damascus, and which are still being propagated in different parts of Europe, against the Jewish law and the general customs of the Jews, are the mere repetition of the absurd accusations directed against the Christian law itself, and against the Christians by their Pagan adversaries.

"Then, also, there existed in Asia inquisitorial Powers, vile informers,

deluded populations thirsting for emotions and vengeance, and victims from whom alleged confessions were extorted by atrocious tortures.

Behold, moreover, in what terms the early apologists of the Christian religion refuted those accusations. After a lapse of sixteen centuries, their words apply with an exactitude most remarkable to present circumstances.

"You charge us, who are Christians," said Athenagoras and Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, in the year 180 after Christ, "with three enormous crimes—viz. with being Atheists, with being incestuous like Œdipus, and with being Anthropophagi like Thyestes.

"If those crimes be proved, spare neither age nor sex .... But the object of those impostures is to render us odious, and to create new pretexts for persecuting us .... Inquire into our doctrine. Ask those who accuse us of killing men, and eating their flesh, if they speak conscientiously and as eye witnesses of the facts." (*Athenagoras*, sec. 3, 31, 35; *Theophilus*, 1—15.)

"Such is your account of Christians," exclaims, in turn, their apologist Minucius Felix in his *Octave*. "Is it not deplorable, you say, that the Christian sect, proscribed, frantic, composed of the refuse of mankind, and in rebellion against the gods, be united by crime and shameful disorders? ... You proclaim everywhere that Christians worship that which is most infamous to imagine; that in their mysterious assemblies, they cover a child with flour, murder him, and drink his blood. And, certainly, you add, fame would not credit those rumours, if they were unfounded; so many abominations would not be imputed to them if there was not some truth in them."—(*Minucius Felix*, 1st part.)

You see, Sir, that at all times, and in all ages, prejudices and persecutions have assumed the same forms, and employed the same means.

It is true that under the happy Empire of universal publicity, the world entertains no longer any serious apprehensions in that respect: still, the most ephemeral revival of certain prejudices may be momentarily attended with many evils which it is the general interest to ward off.

We must not forget that the Capitals of modern civilization, the city of Paris amongst others, witnessed, but a few years since, the terrible, though transitory, effects of one of those great popular prejudices.

With what feelings of horror were we not all seized, when, on the approach of the scourge brought to us from Asia, infuriated bands tore to pieces, (and in noonday,) a number of their fellow-creatures charged with having poisoned the air and the public fountains.

If those examples and recollections be deemed of some utility, let the organs of the press repeat them, and insure their reaching those classes of the people who require most to be enlightened. We may

always safely rely on the loyal co-operation of the press in matters interesting to humanity and public reason.

"Paris, May 10, 1840. "J. SALVADOR."

ADDRESS OF THE JEWS OF EGYPT TO MOHAMMED ALI.

THE nation of Israel hath not a Prince, hath not a State; her glories are buried by antiquity—her nationality is extinct.

Religion, Your Highness, governeth the conscience, but doth not divide nations. The Israelites of Damascus are your children, for God hath intrusted them to your Government. They are slandered by malice, and oppressed by cruelty; and to whom could they turn for justice if not to their lawful master?

The name of Mohammed Ali is high-sounding through the Universe; for in one hand, he beareth glory, and in the other, justice.

The Hebrews of Damascus are accused of an atrocious crime—a crime which is contrary to reason, contrary to their religious principles, contrary to truth, and still more so to history.

The Hebrews were the first who were commanded by God to abstain from blood, the first who banished human blood from the altars of God. The people of Israel have been unfortunate, it is true; but their character in adversity hath been stupendous, and men like Your Highness, whom God hath endowed with genius, pity them, but despise them not.

Of what are they accused? Of having killed a man, and taken his blood to make unleavened bread. This institution hath endured 4,000 years and more; for 4,000 years have the religious institutions of the Jews offered a field for research to the learned of all the world; and could such infamy remain undetected? Shame to him who could think it!

The Hebrews, Your Highness, *avoid* blood, and carry even to a prejudice this precept of their religion. They pour away that of animals, and do all they can to remove such a fluid from flesh before they taste it. Now, does it accord with reason that they would sacrifice a man and taste his blood?

This is false on the very face of it; but the old enmity of a person, too powerful in Syria, against every individual of our faith, gives credit to such a falsehood. Hence, Your Highness, the most respectable people of that country are tortured; blows without number are inflicted on their persons; newly invented and most severe tortures afflict the unhappy race, and these are the means to induce them to confess.

Surely such great suffering might extort a false confession from some of them, for, though there are many men who can face immediate death, there are but few who can endure torture; and in Damascus the tortures are greater than they have ever been in the world. Already have Israelites been known to confess themselves guilty, and afterwards their innocence hath been proved. Above 100 children are perishing in prison for want of food, and this is the way in which justice is administered to your people in Damascus.

We have frequently heard, Your Highness, that many letters have been received, not from the Hebrews of Damascus, but from honest followers of Christ, when conscience is afflicted by such cruelty. These letters declare the Hebrews innocent, and the Ministers of Your Highness unjust.

The Consuls of Austria and Denmark have received such notices. But we will not mention all the sympathizing narratives possessed by those of our faith.

Your Highness, we do not ask pity for those of our persuasion—we ask for justice; but let that be done by Your Highness, their just and severe father. To you alone hath God intrusted his power over these unfortunate people, and you alone have the right to govern them. Let them be brought before Your Highness, heard, and punished if they be guilty, or, if they be innocent, let their innocence be proclaimed aloud.

The question is of an ancient religion, that they wish to defile, and it seems that God hath destined for you an additional glory—that of freeing an oppressed nation."

"The individual here alluded to," observes the Paris correspondent of the *Times*, "and whom the Jews in Egypt dare not venture to name, is a Count Ratti Menton, Consul of France.

That the representative of France in the year 1840, should be imbued with prejudice, and the rancour of religious hatred and persecution, appeared so extraordinary, that I inquired who and what he was, and learned in reply, that he is a Legitimatist of the oldest and worst school—an adherent of the imbecile and fanatical party who, by their folly, brought about the revolution, and who, like his quondam masters, has 'learned nothing, and forgotten nothing.' He is represented, moreover, as a person who has everywhere rendered himself obnoxious. Sicily (where I believe he was a merchant) he was obliged to quit, from the unpopularity he acquired for himself, and he was removed by the French Government from Teflis, where he was Consul, at the express demand of Count Pahlen to Count Molé. That he should have endeavoured to do all the mischief he has done to the unhappy Jews is therefore not surprising; but that he should have the power to cause, at this time of day, a persecution such as that of which the Jews have been the object, in Damascus, is truly surprising. A letter from

Alexandria, (dated the 19th of April, 1840,) now before me, asserts that Colonel Hodges, the British Consul, had, immediately on receiving an intimation of what was passing at Damascus, repaired to the Pascha and demanded protection for the unhappy Jews."

BURCKHARDT'S GRAVE.*

John Lewis Burckhardt was a native of Lausanne. He distinguished himself at Leipsic and Göttingen, and was universally esteemed. He arrived in London in 1806, where he was introduced by Sir Joseph Banks to the Royal Society and the African Association, under whose auspices he afterwards travelled. He received his appointment in January 1809, having employed the interval at Cambridge and London, devoting himself to the study of Medicine, the principles of Science, and the Arabic language. He then resided two years and a half at Aleppo, associating with the neighbouring tribes, that he might become familiar with their habits and prejudices, and adapt his constitution, which was robust, by various self-imposed trials, to the influence of climate. He visited the Haouran, Damascus, Palmyra, Palestine, the Dead Sea, Petra, Sinai, and the Hedjaz. He assumed the costume of the natives, suffered his beard to grow, lived as they lived, and the better to promote the objects of Science, passed himself off for an Arab Scheikh, and pretended to adopt their religion—a species of deception which all are compelled to practise who associate with a rude and untutored people. On his return from Arabia, he went to Nubia, but he was not permitted to proceed to Central Africa, as proposed; for he died in 1817, and was buried as we have seen, at the skirt of the very desert which he was preparing to pass. On his death-bed, he frequently lamented that he should have been prevented carrying into effect the chief object of his mission, after having taken so long a time to prepare for it; but he bore his sufferings with fortitude, and was perfectly resigned to the will of the Almighty. He was attended during his illness, by Mr. Salt, Osman Effendi, and Dr. Richardson, who was in Egypt at the time, with Lord Belmore. It must be satisfactory to every Englishman to learn that everything was done for him that could be done, in his last moments, and that although he expressed a wish to be buried as a Mussulmaun—("for the Turks," said he, "*will* take my body, and perhaps you had better let them,")—he nevertheless, *died in the Christian Faith!* The story of his death as related by Mr. Salt, is truly affecting, and I trust there is no one who has ever experienced what it is to travel in

* See Vol. II. page 322.

uncivilized lands, or who knows what virtue means, who will begrudge this simple tribute to his memory. His funeral (as he desired) was Mohammedan, and conducted with all proper regard to the respectable rank which he had held in the eyes of the natives. His last thoughts were with his mother; he mentioned her and his home with the strongest emotion, and he left among other legacies, a thousand piastres to the poor at Zurich. Poor Scheikh Ibrahim—he was only thirty-three. Generous, noble, and enterprising, he was just on the eve of starting with the caravan from Mekka, for the Fezzan and Tomboctoo, when he was taken ill, and it pleased God to ordain it otherwise. "The expression of his countenance," says Mr. Salt, "when he noticed his intended journey, (and on which his heart was set,) was an evident struggle between disappointed hopes, and manly resignation; but less of the weakness of human nature was perhaps never exhibited upon a death bed! As a traveller, he possessed talents and acquirements which were rendered doubly useful by his qualities as a man. To the fortitude and ardour of mind which had stimulated him to devote his life to the advancement of Science, in the paths of geographical discovery, he joined a temper and prudence well calculated to insure his triumph over every difficulty. His liberality and high principles of honor, his admiration of those generous qualities in others, his detestation of injustice and fraud, his disinterestedness, and keen sense of gratitude, were no less remarkable than his warmth of heart, and active benevolence which he often exercised towards persons in distress, to the great prejudice of his limited means." *

MR. HOLROYD'S ACCOUNT OF MOHAMMED ALI'S EXPEDITION TO THE GOLD MINES OF FAZOGLOO.†

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—In your paper of the 4th, there is an article entitled an "Expedition of the Viceroy of Egypt to Nigritia, upon which I venture to offer a few remarks. Having visited Nigritia, or the Beled-Es-Soodan, and having, during a residence there of more than eight months, mixed and associated with the Turks, Arabs, and slaves, the oppressors and the oppressed, I presume that I may be considered properly qualified to offer opinions, and endeavour to explain the motives of the state-

* See the Memoir attached to Burckhardt's Travels in Nubia, as edited by Colonel Leake.

† See Vol. II. page 347; also Vol. I. page 121.

ment which has evidently been put forth *under the cognizance of Mohammed Ali Pascha himself.*

Mohammed Ali would lead us to believe that his object in visiting Nigritia was *philanthropic.* The plain English of his philanthropy and his real intentions were these: — Previous to 1837, he had heard that Shaboon and Fazogloo possessed productive and prolific gold mines; and in the spring of the same year, Colonel Rusigger was despatched to both mines, at the joint expense, I believe, of the Austrian and Egyptian Governments, and Signor Boreani, an *employé* of Mohammed Ali, was sent to Fozogloo only. I have seen nothing of Col. Rusigger since his return, but I have seen and conversed with Boreani upon the result of his expedition, and he distinctly informed me that the mines of Fazogloo were so productive, that a labourer, at wages of 20 parahs (about five farthings) a-day, could with ease obtain gold in ore or dust of the value of 2½ dollars or 10s. sterling. Is it, then, a matter of surprise that the Pascha should have been desirous of increasing his revenue by monopolizing the auriferous productions of this country, when his emissaries returned with such a dazzling account of its resources? There was, however, another reason for his leaving Alexandria. In the spring of last year, he called together the Representatives of the Four Great Powers, and in emphatic language, desired them to communicate with their respective Governments, that the time had arrived when it was indispensable for him to be independent of the Porte; that he was anxious to be recognized by England, France, Austria, and Russia; but that if they were not disposed to acknowledge him Sultan of Egypt, he should, upon receiving their answers, *declare himself independent.* In the course of the summer, the answers arrived at Alexandria, and, as every one expected, unfavourable to the views of Mohammed Ali; and to avoid the unpleasantness of constantly encountering the parties who had received a peremptory order that the Four Powers would not listen to his propositions, he availed himself of the opportunity of visiting the gold mines, *to escape their interviews,* and left Boghos Bey to deal with the European Consuls. Mohammed Ali had also a hankering after Abyssinia; he had despatched 10,000 troops up the Nile to its confines in the autumn of 1837, and these were still in the Beled-Es-Soodan. And then we find him leaving Cairo in the autumn of 1838, with 10,000 more, under the pretext of visiting and working the mines, whilst nothing was said about his wish, if a favourable opportunity offered, of *interesting himself about Abyssinia.* When he reached Fazogloo, he found, however, that the accounts of the produce of the mines had been grossly exaggerated, and that instead of a labourer being able to obtain daily, gold worth 10s., it would be with great difficulty, that he could procure gold worth 5d., and that the large number of soldiers required to protect the workmen, would hardly, when all expenses were paid, leave a nominal balance in favour of the Pascha.

A few months previous to Mohammed Ali undertaking this journey, he sent a peremptory order to M. Linant, his chief engineer, to request him immediately to blow up, *in three months*, all the cataracts between Cairo and Sennaar, that he might steam from his Capital to Fazogloo. Linant very properly replied, that he would not undertake to accomplish this stupendous undertaking, under *ten years*, and he was consequently informed that the Pascha did not longer require his services! It appears, then, that Colonel Hagreddin Bey received instructions to effect this passage through the rapids, and, like all Egyptians, undertook that which it was impossible to effect; for, as the result proved, the steamer was obliged to stop at Es-Sooan, and the Pascha continued his journey in dahabeehs. Since his return, Linant has been recalled to the service.

A passage in the narrative of the expedition, surprises me. It is to this effect:—"Thus was His Highness the Viceroy, who by his benefits, seems to be the true source of the Nile, while munificently rewarding the sailors, *the first man* to pass *with dahabeehs*, and at night, cataracts, which, from the earliest periods to our own time, no mortal had dared even to touch, much less to pass." It is difficult to suppose that this paragraph was dictated by the Viceroy; because he must be aware of the fact that the expedition under the command of his late son, Ismael Pascha, passed these very cataracts when he proceeded up the Nile, and subdued the country as far as Shendy. We have a work in our own language, entitled the *Narrative of an Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, (published without the author's name, though known to be from the pen of Mr. Inglish, an American, who was in the service of Ismael Pascha,) detailing the particulars of the journey through all these cataracts. Linant also passed them all once, if not twice. I think, therefore, this paragraph must have been introduced by the Pascha's secretary, who either supposed that His Highness was the first who had passed these cataracts, or, which is more probable, that he wished it to appear, in the usual Oriental style, that He alone was able to accomplish that which no one before him was capable of effecting.

The story of Mohammed Medin is amusing. I met this sable Prince at Aboo Gharat, on my journey from the White Nile to Kordofan. He is a high-spirited fellow, and I think that he left Darfoor not "flying the violent acts of his brother," but because, if my information be correct, he attempted to overthrow his brother, and endeavoured to obtain the sovereignty; and to avoid his brother's vengeance, he was obliged to take shelter in Kordofan.

Amongst the other persons who visited the Pascha at Rosseres, we find the name of Soohtan Tamar, the uncle of the Sultan at Darfoor. His Highness, like unhonoured Medin, is a renegade from his country. He has been living at El Abeid, the Capital of Kordofan, for the last thirty-five years, and during that period, has manufactured an enormous

number of eunuchs; nay, I have heard that at least 150 slaves were even now annually emasculated by Sultan Tamar. This wretch is in the receipt of a pension of 6*l.* a-month from Mohammed Ali, and the Viceroy receives him with respect, cultivates his friendship, and presents him with "vestments of honour suitable to his station." The Pascha, by this act, appears to approve of his brutal practices, and to sanction the inhuman conduct of this ruffian; His Highness does not demand of Sultan Tamar to relinquish his cruelties; neither does he show that he is the friend of the slave boy, brutalized, debased, and tortured, for the purpose of guarding the Harems of his subjects, and of rendering more private their libidinous gratifications. The abolition of the "gazzuahs," or slave hunts, was instantly adopted by the Pascha, at the recommendation of Dr. Bowring. And why did not that gentleman, armed as he was with authority from the British Government, point out to the Pascha that he never could in England be looked upon as ruling with justice and humanity, unless he issued an order that eunuchs were unnecessary, and that emasculation, as practised upon these innocent victims, should be the punishment inflicted upon those who, for the sake of profit, torture helpless children.

I am satisfied one word from Dr. Bowring would have altered materially the social relations of Cairo.

It is absurd to suppose that Mohammed Ali's intentions of sending presents to Abyssinia was for the purpose of *encouraging trade.* "In these proceedings," says the author of the narrative, "the Viceroy had no other end than to facilitate the commerce of both countries." Now, this is the most specious piece of humbug ever committed to paper. Previous to Mohammed Ali having conquered the Beled-es-Soodan, a considerable trade was carried on between the Abyssinians and the Soodanese, and ebony, gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and coffee were brought down to the bazaars of Sennaar and Shendy in considerable quantities. As these articles of commerce became monopolized by the Egyptian Government, so the quantity brought down annually decreased. About six years ago, M. Vizière, a Frenchman, farmed the monopoly of coffee for three or four years from Mohammed Ali, and during the last year which he had it, he sent, through the Beled-es-Soodan, to Upper and Lower Egypt, 460 camel loads, each load of 500 lbs. weight, which would give 200,000 lbs. in one year. Vizière's contract expired, and the Pascha, thinking he was enriching himself too rapidly, and that he could make more profit by monopolizing the trade of coffee than by permitting Vizière to farm it in future, refused to enter into a fresh arrangement. The trade again diminished, and, after the attack which the Pascha's troops made upon the Abyssinians in the month of April, 1837, the traffic in this commodity was entirely stopped, and it is questionable whether it will again flow through this channel during the life of Mohammed Ali. The Abyssinians have not forgotten the

treatment they have already received from the Viceroy; and they are far from wishing to have commercial transactions with him, or that his revenue should be augmented by his monopolizing their productions.

We are told that the mountains and valleys of Nigritia abound in all kinds of curious animals. There are birds with four wings. I did not visit Fazogloo; I did not proceed higher than Sennaar. I was told that if I did go there, I should see these *quadrialar* monsters, as well as another variety of birds, very common, with the body of a pig and the head of an ass. My informant had the candour to say he had never seen them, though he had heard people say that they had friends who had.

"Credat Judæus, non ego."

The Pascha has granted 100 feddans (100 acres) to each of the twenty engineers who have been left in Nigritia, promising not to exact any duty at present, and when a duty is exacted, that it shall not exceed 10 per cent. What a boon! Why, it is absurd to suppose that these people will remain free from taxation when their neighbours are obliged to pay their share of the prescribed contributions. Mohammed Ali leaves Ahmet Pascha as the Governor of the Beled-es-Soodan, and he will be a paragon of a Turkish Ruler if he does not enrich himself whilst in power. Suliman Kiaschef, who is mentioned in this narrative, and who has been fourteen years in this country, a great portion of which time he was a Mamlûk slave of Khoorshid Pascha, and consequently without pay, having been appointed Bache Bou (Commander-in-Chief) of the White Nile, and having received orders to ascend and explore the White River, having seven or eight years, with an income of 60*l.* a-year, kept a retinue of at least twenty servants, a Harem with its accompanying eunuchs, and lived in all the luxuries of an Eastern Prince, keeping a sumptuous table, clothing himself in all the magnificence of Oriental splendour, and possessing a stud of several horses—yet, this Suliman Kiaschef, has managed to be the proprietor of at least 100 slaves and a similar number of camels; of large herds of cattle, and numerous flocks of sheep and goats. I was curious in ascertaining how, with such a limited income, he had become the possessor of so much property, but I was not long in discovering that this condition had been obtained at the expense of the Scheikhs and Fellahs over whom he presided.

In conclusion, I may add, that whatever Mohammed Ali's motives were in his visit to Nigritia—and to me they are palpable enough—every credit should be awarded him for having, at his time of life, undertaken a journey from which he must have suffered great fatigue and endured severe privations.

I remain your obedient servant,

ARTHUR T. HOLROYD.

Athenæum Club, July 20, 1839.

THE FRENCH PLAGUE COMMISSION.*

The Contemporaine has been very severe upon Monsieur Pariset a the other gentlemen who formed the "French Plague Commissio It must be acknowledged that their inquiry was unsatisfactory; that was no fault of theirs, because they had no opportunity of see the plague. I found the same angry spirit existing against them Syria and Palestine as in Egypt. The English Consul at Tripoli a Beyrout, told me that the merchants complained of the injury done commerce by the reports circulated in Europe relative to their proce ings, and the restrictions to which they gave rise,—that on some casions, they put on the shirts of persons who had just died of *fev* but that they took the precaution of having them previously well soal in a strong solution of chlorate of lime, which, as every body kno is a powerful antiseptic, and destroyer of bad smells, and other noxi principles; the experiments of these gentlemen, therefore, teach nothing in reference to the doctrines of contagion: however, if as are led to believe, from being over-zealous, they betrayed a want discretion, we must, at all events, give them credit for the goodness their intentions.

THE INSCRIPTIONS AT KALABSHIEH.

It was my intention to have inserted here some Greek Inscriptio which I copied at the Great Temple at Kalabshieh; but the origin were so much battered, that to give them *faithfully*, I find it would necessary to have them lithographed. See page 493.

THE PYRAMIDS.†

"As a singular and extraordinary proof of the astronomical correctn with which these stupendous piles are constructed, the polar sta

* See Vol. II. pages 320 and 88; also Vol. I. pages 136 and 440.

† See Vol. II. page 275.

visible on the night of the 21st of March, when looking from the lower chamber, through the angular passage by which the Pyramid is entered.

The north star at this period, when on the meridian, would bear due north. An evidence is thus given of the exact direction of the other three sides of the quadrangle,—north, east, south, and west; and the corners, consequently, give the other directions,—north-east, south-west, south-east, and north-west.

The exactness in these points, in a structure which there is every reason to believe was built even before the invention of Hieroglyphics, (for the Sarcophagus in the chamber within being without any characters of this description, leads to this supposition) naturally gives rise to a very elevated idea of the knowledge the Ancient Egyptians must have possessed of the heavenly bodies: notwithstanding that Dendera and Esneh planispheres or zodiacs, (*as some call them,*) are supposed to be of the time of the Roman Empire."

The Honorable W. E. FITZ-MAURICE.

SUMMARY OF PUBLIC EVENTS DURING 1842.

At the close of the last year, the Porte continued arming against the Greeks. Fresh disturbances occurring in Macedonia, Thessaly, and Candia, 40,000 men were assembled in Roumelia, besides irregulars; and on the 15th of December the Porte forwarded a note to the Representatives of the Five Great Powers, apprizing them that "if within fourteen days, the Greek Government did not comply with all their just demands, the Sultan was determined to have satisfaction by force of arms." The English Minister at Vienna had an interview with Prince Metternich on the subject, and shortly afterwards it was quietly intimated to the Divan, that "the Five Powers would not permit any attack upon Greece!" A few French and English vessels made their appearance in the Archipelago, and the *fatal period* prescribed by the Turkish Authorities, passed away without any further demonstration. See page 138 and 144.

The disturbances in Syria have proceeded with little or no intermission; and the inhabitants have been exposed to every species of extortion and violence. On the 30th of November, Selim Pascha set out from Beyrout at the head of 3000 men, to quell the insurrection. The Maronites surrendered, but the Druses retired to the mountains. The Turkish Authorities at Damascus secretly stirred up the latter against the former, whilst those of the coast rather encouraged than

checked their sanguinary struggles, for which no other reason could be assigned than that, neither party being Mahomedans, they wished them to exterminate each other. The country rapidly filled with French Jesuits, who endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with the Maronites, and to cause a diversion in favour of France, whilst at the same time, Monsieur de Bourqueney, their Ambassador, strove, by his affable manners and marked attentions, to conciliate the Archbishop of Constantinople, the Bishop of Smyrna, and the Vicar General of the Maronites, at Stambool.

Accounts from Beyrout, dated April 2nd, inform us that Omar Pascha had succeeded in lulling the suspicions of the Druse Emirs; and after various overtures of friendship, invited the principal Scheikhs to an entertainment in the Palace of the Emir Kh'alil above Beit-ed Dein. They came with few attendants, and at a signal given, when about to mount their horses, the gates were closed, and they were all seized. One of the Emirs, who was without the walls, returned to Deir el Kh'ammar, and sounded the *tocsin* throughout the whole Druse country. This subject was mentioned in Parliament, and Sir Robert Peel informed Lord Palmerston that the British Government would see that justice was done to the parties. In the month of June, the Turkish force was considerably increased, a million and a half of piastres were sent from Stamboul to pay the troops, and the Divan openly declared their intention of pursuing the line of policy which had been objected to by England, Austria, and France. The Arnauts continued as insolent as ever, and were guilty of every brutal excess; they were in the daily habit of insulting the defenceless, and of plundering and ill-treating the shopkeepers. When their conduct was represented, the Tufengi Baschi, or Chief of Police, coolly replied, "Bring me the man and I will punish him,"—well knowing that no one would be so rash as to venture among such hornets, much less attempt to lay hold of one. At last, they attacked the commander of a French man-of-war in the open streets. The Mutzellim tried, by every artful stratagem, to evade bringing the offenders to justice; but the resolute conduct of the officer restored his senses: and having ascertained that the French were preparing to destroy the Arnaut camp, he caused the chief actor in the scene to be severely bastinadoed, and then imprisoned. It is of no use to attempt to reason with such fellows; the Turks are still the same haughty, ignorant, and over-bearing people; nothing but the exercise of physical force will convince them who are their masters, or induce them to respect the laws of society.* The professions of the Divan, in regard to Syria, are mere fudge, and the condition of the country, is truly deplorable. This I am assured from authentic private sources, and every account confirms the fact,—

* See Vol. II. pages 9, 90, 118, 150, 216.

the Mussulmaun Authorities think of nothing but enriching themselves. There are not less than 3000 Albanians on the coast, besides other troops; and Omar Pascha and his confederates pursue the most inveterate system of intimidation towards the meek, and oppress all whom they think in the slightest degree opposed to their administration:—they even compelled those who had signed a petition against them, to the Porte, to sign a counter petition in their favour;—hence, at the conference which took place at Balti Liman, between the Reis Effendi, the Ministers, and the Representatives of the Five Powers, attestations were produced *in support* of the Moslem Governor, and a false colouring was given to his proceedings. This bare-faced roguery being afterwards exposed, fresh promises were made, which, as usual, ended in nothing. In the mean time, those who had declared in favour of the House of Shehab, were cruelly beaten under various pretences, and thrown into prison, or subjected to heavy penalties. The Christians who had taken refuge in the Paschalic of Damascus petitioned that the Emir Beschir, or his son, the Emir Emeen, should be appointed Governor-General of Lebanon, the former of whom directed the affairs of the mountains fifty-five years, and the people were generally satisfied with his rule. The feuds of the Maronites and Druses were insidiously fomented, and every scheme that ingenuity could invent, was adopted, that the Government Officials might further their own ends. In August, an European force, consisting of two English and two French line-of-battle ships, and a British armed steamer, appeared off the coast, which frightened Mustapha Pascha, the Governor of Beyrout; and, for a time, matters were a shade better; but as soon as the vessels weighed, and bore from the land, diplomacy and intrigue again spread their nets to entangle the unwary, and in September, a sanguinary struggle took place between the Maronite Scheikhs of the Turkish party, and those who wished to bring about the independence of their countrymen. Accounts inform us that "Mustapha Pascha, who had either fomented the outbreak, or knew how to make the most of it, had sent 1,000 Albanians to *establish tranquillity*," and contemplated "letting loose the Druses of Lebanon against the Maronites, the Turks being determined to subjugate the mountain tribes by every means in their power." On the 15th of September, another grand conference was held at the Bosphorus, at the country seat of Sarim Effendi, to consider the affairs of Syria. The Ambassadors insisted on an immediate execution of the plan of administration which they had, some time previously, submitted. A respectful, but specious and highly diplomatic answer was returned, which gave additional proof of their determination to persist in the same obstinate course; notwithstanding the Exchequer was empty, fresh discussions were springing up daily on all sides, and Russian and French intrigue were vigorously at work. The policy of Omar Pascha was again defended, and the remonstrance of the Syrian population

disregarded, as on former occasions. The meeting was anything but satisfactory; and the Divan declared its inability to protect European merchandize on the Persian frontier, in consequence of the disputes pending between the Sultan and the Schah. A Tahtah who had just arrived, announced that the dispatches which had recently been forwarded through our Ambassador at Constantinople (and said to contain very important matter) had *reached their destination*, but that the Courier who bore them, and who was furnished with a strongly-worded firmaun from the Sultan, being handed over on the frontier to two Koordish Chiefs, who solemnly promised "to conduct him *in safety* with his charge, to the Persian town of Ourlac," these worthies, (interpreting their *pledge* of "legal delivery" in their own way,) as soon as they came in sight of the town, stripped the Courier of horse, baggage, and clothing, and sent him into the city *stark naked*, with his dispatches, *under his arm*. Mohammed Ali's Envoy, Sami Bey, whose mission had given rise to numerous reports, such as the negotiation of a marriage between Said Pascha, the Viceroy's grandson, and the Sultan's sister,—His Highness' interference in regard to the question then under discussion, &c., was treated with the "utmost courtesy and distinction by all the High Functionaries." According to the accounts received in October, the Boundary Question between Turkey and Persia, was not likely to be very long or seriously contested; for the resources of both countries being equally shackled, neither is in a position to bring an efficient army into the field; and they have an equal horror of foreign intervention:—they may carry on a protracted system of skirmishing, money may be fruitlessly expended, and excesses committed: there will doubtless be plenty of vapouring on both sides, respecting what each *could* have done, and so—the contention will cease. In Syria, every thing remains in the same state of uncertainty as when the Allies withdrew their forces; and it is obvious that they did so, well knowing that they had come to the conclusion of the *first act* only! The grand denouement of their performances will probably not be reached, for half a century to come. I am more than ever convinced that the only way to restore order to that unhappy country, is either to place it in the hands of Ibrahim Pascha, or to amalgamate the natives with Europeans, in the way which I have already described.* Important events are even now pending, and we may anticipate extensive wars: a new period will then dawn, and the eastern world, now in darkness, and in the lowest state of degradation, will become informed, peace will be established, fresh Governments will arise, and uniting under the benignant influence of a just and wise Providence, they will accomplish the restoration of its pristine greatness. Turkey is but the

* See Chaps. II. and V.; also pages 59, 96, 133, and 203. See also pages 118 and 149 to 157.

stepping-stone—the whole Ottoman Empire must fall—the Mussulmaun race is fast dwindling into insignificance—the Osmanlis will cease to throw the apple of discord, and the religion of Mohammed will be rooted out. The decline of Islamism receives additional corroboration from the remarks of an intelligent traveller in Anatolia, during the last summer. "Between Tockhat and Broussa, I found villages almost entirely abandoned by the inhabitants, in consequence of the severity with which the recruiting for the Nizàm is conducted in that part of the country. It would be an interesting study to seek out all the causes which contribute to the dreadful mortality which prevails among the young Turkish soldiers. The food which is distributed to the garrisons, is of sufficiently good quality, and contagious maladies have been unknown in Turkey in Europe, during the last five years. Some European physicians are of opinion, that these young soldiers not being married, like the ancient Janizaries, abandon themselves to infamous vices, and so destroy their constitution. But whatever may be the cause of this mortality, the consequence is *the ever increasing weakness of the Turkish Empire.* This fact is now here more perceptible than in the interior of Asia Minor, whence the greater number of conscripts are drawn to Constantinople. The desertion of the villages has not escaped the observation of the Koordish Chiefs, who, from the tops of their mountains, regard with profound attention, the decay of the Ottoman Empire, and who do not conceal their hopes of being entirely delivered from the Turkish yoke. At Broussa, however, and its environs, the diminution of the population is not so great as in other parts, because the conscription is not executed with the same rigour in those districts where silk is cultivated. The present population of Broussa is estimated at 60,000, of which 48,000 are Mussulmauns. The Armenians reckon 6,000, and the remainder are Greeks and Jews. The crop of silk raised in and about Broussa is calculated at 3000 bales, of 61 okes each (the oke being about $2\frac{3}{4}$ pounds weight). The number of families occupied in the culture of this article is about 15,000, and the approximate value of the silk exported from all Anatolia may be estimated at 120,000,000 of piastres—about 1,000,000*l.* sterling. Under a good and wise Government, which would protect the cultivators, the produce might acquire still greater importance; for there are few countries in the world where the mulberry tree grows to such perfection. The weaving of silk stuffs for which Broussa was formerly so celebrated, has almost entirely ceased. There remain only 160 frames, which produce about 9000 pieces of stuffs embroidered with gold. The market for this manufacture is Constantinople; there is none exported to foreign countries. In the district of Kutaiah, I observed many extensive manufactories of cushions for sofas, for which a vast quantity of English twisted cotton is used. The British Government is well aware of the advantage which British commerce might

acquire by increased intercourse with these countries; and for this purpose, an English Consul has been appointed at Broussa."

I am happy to be able to state, that Dr. Kerns, the first agent of the Syrian Medical Aid Association, is now actively engaged at Beyrout. His arrival was hailed with joy, and his services have been solicited by the suffering population of Syria. He is fully qualified for the arduous duties he has undertaken, and his labours are appreciated by all classes. He will endeavour, in pursuance of the objects of his mission, to walk in the steps of our blessed Saviour, who "went about doing good;" and, whilst administering to the necessities of his fellow-creatures, he will avail himself of every opportunity of inculcating practical religion, remembering always that in order to improve the condition of an ignorant people, it is necessary to teach by example, as well as by precept. The Society hope soon to be able to establish a Dispensary, and to send out other agents to the principal towns of Palestine and Syria; but this must depend on the philanthropy of Englishmen.* As regards Mohammed Ali, it appears that the same policy is pursued as heretofore; His Highness is following out his proposed plans, and converting Egypt into a *family estate:* the inhabitants are his *serfs*, and his soldiers and sailors *servants of all work*. In January, notwithstanding he was in arrears with them, he set them to work night and day as ordinary labourers: Boghos Youssouff Bey sold 50,000 ardebs of corn above the usual price, and tried to raise money in other ways. From Sennaar to the coast, all were under forced taxation; and even in Nigritia, the Sakies, or water wheels were taxed, and the monopoly of the fisheries was sold for 700 purses! In February, his finances were said to be "most critical," and Said Effendi, the Sultan's Envoy, waited *five months* at Alexandria for the tribute of the two last years, amounting to 75,000 purses, independently of 40,000 due for the current year, which would expire on the 11th of February. The pay due to the Syrians, moreover, had not been liquidated. In the month of March, Sami Bey arrived at Constantinople, bringing 9,000,000 of piastres, instead of 200,000,000, and made application to have the arrears reduced to 10,000,000. He also signified the Pascha's intention of adding 2 per cent. to the duty on Austrian and English goods, by the treaty of 1838. At the same time, Sami Bey protested against the Porte allowing England to send troops by Egypt to India. On the 25th of June, an attempt was made to sell some bales of cotton by auction; but as the auctioneer had orders not to put them up at less than 8¾ dollars the quintal, the merchants withdrew without making any offer. Notwithstanding Mohammed Ali's proclamation announcing "liberty of culture and commerce," there was at this time, a complete stagnation to trade;† the peasants would willingly have sold, because

* See Vol. II. p. 40, 159, 638. † See Vol. II. p. 96.

the merchants always pay ready money,—but they *dared not*. Towards the end of July, several European merchants returned to Alexandria from Upper Egypt, having found it impossible to purchase either ivory, gold dust, or anything else, the Government having monopolized every thing. A levy of 60,000 men was made, in order to recruit the regular army, which was reduced by disease to 12,000; and these were in such a miserable condition, that they were compelled to rob, to supply their daily wants, not having received any pay for some time. Accordingly, Mohammed Ali set about negotiating a loan of 1,500,000 dollars with some Armenian saraafs of Constantinople, to pay up his arrears. On the 26th, the caravan from Sennaar had reached Siout, in Upper Egypt, bringing 1000 *slaves*, and 3000 camels laden with tamarinds, elephants' teeth, gold-dust, gums, &c., from the interior of Africa. Another caravan, from Darfoor direct, had arrived within eighteen days march of Siout, with 3000 *slaves* and 6000 camels variously laden. But neither was allowed to proceed beyond Siout, until the Custom-house officers had repaired thither from Cairo to levy the usual duties.* The fleet had orders to put to sea under the Admiral Said Pascha, to exercise, as it was said, but it was thought that the Viceroy had a far more important object in view. At the beginning of August, considerable anxiety was evinced throughout the country; for on the 6th, the Nile had only risen five feet at Cairo, whereas the previous year, at that period, it had risen twenty-five feet! There was very little water in the canal, and the Pascha's restrictions and monopolies had already caused a scarcity of provisions. The public mind, however, was subsequently relieved; and by the middle of September, the waters had accumulated to twenty-two cubits. But, in the mean time, several deaths occurred from plague, and a disease appeared among the cattle which proved that the people's fears were not ill founded. It committed dreadful ravages, and along the banks of the Nile, from Rosetta to Cairo, the air was impregnated with noxious effluvia, arising from the putrefaction of dead bodies. Some of the towns and villages lost all they possessed; 13,000 oxen died on the Pascha's chiftliks, and 2,700 on those of Ibrahim Pascha. Not a single beast survived on the estate of Sami Pascha, and it was feared that the Royal farms could not be cultivated, in consequence. Mohammed Ali now talks of forming a canal, (or rather of re-opening the canal of Sesostris,) between Cairo and Suez, the advantages of which, if it can be kept in repair, are obvious:† he has also become more reasonable, and sold considerable quantities of wheat, beans, and lentils, and he offered the monopoly of nitre to any body who would take it at 177 purses, or 1,385*l.* sterling, per annum. Finally, two circumstances have occurred which sufficiently illustrate

* See Vol. I. p. 121.—Vol. II. p. 101, 132, 347, 359, 632, &c.

† See Vol. II. p. 577.

the tact, genius, and pliable disposition of this most indefatigable of all diplomatists:—We read that the Sultan has lately been induced to raise Mohammed Ali to the dignity of honorary Grand Vizier, "*in consideration of the sentiments of obedience, and devotedness to the Imperial Throne, with which the Governor of Egypt is animated, and of his long and faithful services.*" Secondly, the "Nile" steamer lately arrived at Marseilles with costly presents (consisting of Arabian horses and Cachemere shawls) for the King of the French. Now, whatever respect Mohammed Ali may entertain for Louis Philippe individually, he cannot have forgotten how he was treated by the French Ministry.* It is true, that the same individuals are not now in power; and he possibly anticipates better usage in future: but one thing is self-evident—he is endeavouring to propitiate the reigning Authorities, and this is confirmed by the choice of his Envoy on this occasion. He selected Artyn Bey, one of the most distinguished men in Egypt, the relative of Youssouff Pascha, and, like him, enjoying the entire confidence of his master—one who is, moreover, acquainted with the French character, having studied the Sciences there, and more particularly, Political Economy, under Mons. Macarel, Counsellor of State. The object which the Viceroy has in view, is clear enough. Aware of the continued unsettled state of Syria, and of the utter incapacity of the Porte to govern the country — aware also of the startling fact, that the power of Christians increases in proportion as the Turkish Empire is weakened, he is very sanguine that the Sultan may overlook his late rebellious conduct, and rather than subject himself to foreign intervention, call in *his* powerful assistance, if he did not even enter into a solemn compact with him by a matrimonial connection with his family:—but knowing that, happen what may, he has nothing to expect from England, he is desirous of ingratiating himself with the second Great Power of Europe, always — hoping the best, and trusting to circumstances and his own shrewdness for the result.

This brings us to the close of 1842. We are just entering on a new year; but as long as Mohammed Ali continues to gratify his predominant passion, it is not to be expected that the condition of Egypt will improve. His private character is good: he is an affectionate husband and kind parent; but his political principles are unchanged. When he has any important object in view, it is not a trifle that will divert him from it; nor is he particular about the means by which it is accomplished. His urbanity to Europeans, and toleration of Christians, cannot be misunderstood. He is at heart a Turk, and possesses the feelings of a Turk. Being asked one day by an influential individual for a lock of his hair, he said, "He had but one, and that was the tuft on the crown of his head, which, as a true Moslem, he should

* See Vol. I. pp. 438, 443.

carry with him to the tomb!" The Protestant Church at Alexandria, the first stone of which was laid on the 15th of December, 1839, by Colonel Hodges, has only just been commenced, although we are assured that there has been no want of funds. The Melliote Catholic Priests are compelled to wear a particular kind of cap that they may be known; indeed all classes, whether Christian, Jew, or Moslem, complain of the Pascha's rigorous and despotic measures; and although there is now an end to the war, the Fellahs are so oppressed, that it has been said, that "were a second Moses to come, the people would follow him *any where!*"—See pages 61 and 136.

> "Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just,
> And he but naked, though lock'd up in steel,
> Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."—SHAKSPEARE.

THE END.

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